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MEMORIALS OF EDINBURGH.

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MEMORIALS

OF

EDINBURGH

IN THE OLDEN TIME.

BY

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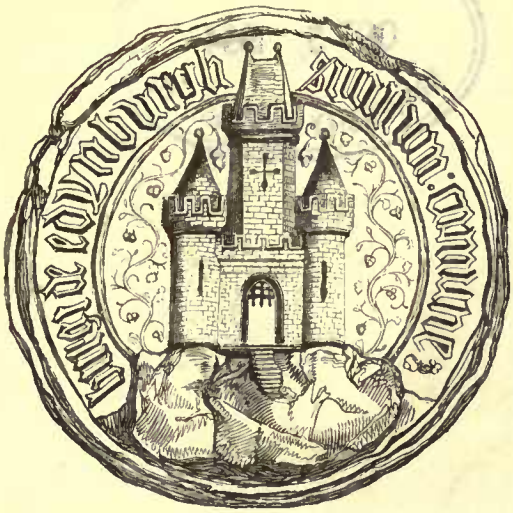

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PREFACE.

THE Work now brought to a close, under the title of MEMORIALS OF EDINBURGH IN THE OLDEN TIME, was begun years ago, not with the pen, but the pencil. In the gratification of a taste for the picturesque relics of the past, with which the old Scottish capital abounds, a considerable number of sketches and drawings accumulated, which acquired a value altogether apart from any claim to artistic merit, when the subjects of many of them disappeared in the course of the radical changes wrought of late years on the Old Town. Believing that the interest which these monuments of former ages are calculated to excite commands the sympathy of a numerous and increasing class, I was induced to prepare a selection of the drawings for engraving, and to draw up a slight descriptive narrative to accompany them; but the absence of desirable information in other works on the subject, and the accumulation of a good deal of curious material, led to a total change of plan, the result of which is now before the reader.

On referring to the works already published on the antiquities of Edinburgh, none of them seemed to embrace the object in view. Maitland's history presents a huge accumulation of valuable, and generally accurate, but nearly undigested materials; while Arnot furnishes a lively and piquant *rifacimento* of his predecessor's labours, embellished with occasional illustrations derived from his own researches; but, with one or two slight exceptions, neither of them have attempted to describe what they were themselves cognisant of. Both of the historians of Edinburgh seem, indeed, to have lacked that invaluable faculty of the topographer, styled by phrenologists *locality*, and the consequence is, that we are treated with a large canvas, composed in the historic vein of high art, when probably most readers would much rather have preferred a cabinet picture of the Dutch school. In striking contrast to either of these, are Mr Robert Chambers's delightful

"Traditions." The author has there struck out an entirely new path, and with the happiest results. The humour and the pathos of the old-world stories of Edinburgh in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ere New Town and Old Town improvements were more substantial than the dreams of future reformers, are secured—not without occasional heightening touches from the delineator's own lively fancy. It is only surprising that the "Traditions of Edinburgh" have not diffused an antiquarian taste far more widely than is yet to be found among the modern denizens of the Scottish capital.

The following Memorials of Old Edinburgh differ perhaps as much from the picturesque traditions of the latter writer, as from the stately historic quarto of Arnot, or from Maitland's ponderous folio. They are pen and pencil sketches, professing, in general, considerable minuteness of outline, though with a rapid touch that precludes very elaborate finish. Accuracy has been aimed at throughout, not without knowingly incurring the risk of occasionally being somewhat *dry*. I am well aware, however, of having fallen short of what was desired in this all-important point, notwithstanding an amount of labour and research in the progress of the work, only a very small portion of which appears in its contents. Some hundreds of old charters, title-deeds, and records of various sorts, in all varieties of unreadable manuscript, have been ransacked in its progress; and had it been possible to devote more time to such research, I have no doubt that many curious and interesting notices, referring to our local antiquities, would have amply repaid the labour. Of the somewhat more accessible materials furnished in the valuable publications of our antiquarian book-clubs, abundant use has been made; and personal observation has supplied a good deal more that will probably be appreciated by the very few who find any attraction in such researches. In the Appendix some curious matter has been accumulated which readers of moderate antiquarian appetites will probably avoid—to their own loss. I am not altogether without hope, however, that should such readers be induced to wade through the work, they may find antiquarian researches not quite so dull as they are affirmed, on common report, to be; since, in seeking to embody the Memorials of my native city, I am fortunate in the possession of a subject commanding associations with nearly all the most picturesque legends and incidents of our national annals.

In selecting the accompanying illustrations, the chief aim has been to furnish an example of all the varieties of style and character that were to be found in the wynds and closes of Old Edinburgh. The majority of them have some curious or valuable associations to add to their interest, but some were chosen for no other reason than to illustrate

ancient manners, all records of which are rapidly disappearing. Their accuracy is their chief recommendation. It would have been easy to have embellished them with spurious additions, such as are of frequent occurrence in the illustrated candidates for the drawing-room table. Their claim to any value, however, rests solely on their being true Memorials of Old Edinburgh, as it has come down to us from former generations. If they should appear somewhat plain, and sparingly furnished with ornaments, the best apology is, that our old Scottish style of architecture, apart from ecclesiastical edifices, partook of the national character; it was solid, massive, and enriched with little display of ornament, yet exhibiting, as a whole, an accidental, but striking, picturesqueness altogether beyond the reach of elaborate art.

In the progress of the work I have been indebted for much kind and valuable assistance to some of the most zealous students of Scottish literary and topographical antiquities. To Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., I am under special obligations for many curious reminiscences of the olden time; for free access to his valuable museum of antiquities, which rivals the more famed collection of Abbotsford; for the use of some of the rare treasures of his library; and, indeed, for an amount of courtesy and kindness for which any acknowledgment I can offer is a very inadequate return. To David Laing, Esq., I owe the use of a book of pencil sketches, drawn by Mr Daniel Somerville in 1817 and 1818, which has enabled me to recover views of several ancient localities demolished before my own sketching days. The use which has been made of these sketches is acknowledged on the several plates. To Mr Laing's well-known courtesy I have been still more indebted for access to rare books, and other curious sources of information, which were otherwise beyond my reach. To Mr William Rowan, of New College Library, I have also to express my obligations for valuable materials derived from original sources, and still more from the stores of his singularly retentive memory. From W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Esq., I have received, in addition to much friendly assistance, free access to his extensive library, well known as probably the most perfect collection in the kingdom on his own favourite studies of Topography and Heraldry. To Robert Chambers, Esq., Alexander Smellie, Esq., and the Rev. Principal Lee, as well as to others, I have to return thanks for much kind and unexpected aid.

To John Sinclair, Esq., City Clerk, and to James Laurie, Esq., of the Sasine Office, my thanks are due for facilitating my researches among the city charters and

records, as well as to many others, whose obliging assistance has in various ways lightened the labour of the work. It is impossible, indeed, to do more than allude to these. In searching for the charters and title-deeds of old mansions, by which alone accurate and trustworthy information could in many cases be obtained, I have met with the frankest co-operation from strangers, to whom my sole introduction was the object of research; while the just appreciation of such courtesy has been kept alive by the surly or supercilious rebuffs with which I was occasionally arrested in similar inquiries. Some of the latter have been amusing enough. On one occasion access to certain title-deeds of an ancient property was denied in a very abrupt manner, while curiosity was whetted meanwhile by the information, somewhat testily volunteered, that the deeds were both ancient and very curious. All attempts to mollify the dragon who guarded these antiquarian treasures proving unavailing, the search had to be abandoned; but I learned afterwards, that the old tenement which had excited my curiosity—and which, except to an antiquary, seemed hardly worth a groat—was then the subject of litigation between two Canadian claimants to the heirship of the deceased Scottish laird; and the unconscious archæologist had been set down as the agent of some Yankee branch of the Quirk-Gammon-and-Snap school of legal practitioners!

In acknowledging the assistance I have been favoured with, I must not omit to notice that of my friend Mr James Drummond, A.R.S.A., to whose able pencil the readers owe the view in the interior of St Giles's Church, which forms the vignette at the head of the last chapter. To the Rev. John Sime, I am also indebted for the drawing of the ground-plan of St Giles's Church, previous to the recent alterations, an engraving of which illustrates the Appendix; and to the very accurate pencil of Mr William Douglas, for several of the inscriptions which illustrate that peculiar feature of our ancient buildings. The remainder of the vignettes are from my own sketches, unless where other sources are stated, and for the correctness of these I am responsible, nearly the whole of them having been drawn on the wood with my own hand.

It may be desirable to state, that the historical sketch comprised in the first seven chapters of the Work was written, and nearly all through the press, before I found time to arrange a large collection of materials in the form in which they are now presented in the Second Part. I have accordingly, in one or two cases, somewhat modified my earlier views. The opinion expressed on p. 50, for example, as to the total destruction of the whole private buildings of the town in 1544, I am now satisfied is erroneous, and various edifices are

accordingly described in succeeding chapters, the walls of which evidently suffered no very great injury from that destructive conflagration.

I am far from conceiving that the materials for an antiquarian history of Edinburgh are exhausted, though probably nearly all has now been gleaned from traditional sources to which any worth can be attached. There is, indeed, no lack of such legends to those who choose to go in search of them. The Scottish antiquary finds an amount of sympathy in his pursuit among the peasantry and the lower classes of the town population, which, however it be accounted for, he will look for in vain among the more educated, as a class. The tenants of the degraded dwellings of the old Holyrood aristocracy cherish the memory of their titled predecessors with a zeal that would do credit to the most accomplished editor of the Blue Book. One half of the old wives of Edinburgh prove, on evidence which it would be dangerous to dispute, that their crazy mansions were once the abodes of royalty, or the palaces of Scottish grandees, while the monotony of hackneyed tales of Queen Mary and Cromwell—the popular hero and heroine of such romances—is occasionally varied by the ingenious embellishments of some more practised story-teller. Modern local traditions, however, are like the modern antiques of our ballad books; their genealogy is more difficult to trace than the evidence of their spuriousness. One might, indeed, pardon the fictions of antiquarian romancers, if they brought to the aid of the memorialist such skilful forgeries as Chatterton furnished to the too credulous historian of Bristol; finding in the unfailing treasures of the old muniment chest of St. Mary's Redcliffe, and the versatile parchments of "*The gode prieste Rowley*," whatever the diligent antiquary wished to discover. The exorcisms of such disenchanters as the modern architect of St. Giles's, however, have put to flight more pleasant facts, and fictions too, than the inventive genius even of a Chatterton can restore; while popular periodical literature, diluted into halfpenny worths of novelette and romance, has so poisoned the pure old springs of tradition, that one detects in the most unsophisticated *grand-dame tales* of the present day, some adulteration from the manufactory of the literary hack. This it is which makes it so reasonable a source of regret, that Arnot should have stalked through the parlieus of Old Edinburgh, elevated on historic stilts, at a time when a description of what lay around him, and a relation of the fireside gossip of the stately old Scottish dames of the eighteenth century, would have snatched from oblivion a thousand curious reminiscences, now altogether beyond recall. To a very different and much less attractive source, we are compelled to turn for the chance of recovering

some of those curious associations with which the picturesque haunts of Old Edinburgh abound. My own researches have satisfied me that the clues to many such still lie buried among the dusty parchments of old charter chests; but their recovery must, after all, depend as much on a lucky chance as on any very diligent inquiry. It has often chanced that, after wading through whole bundles of such dull MSS.—those of the sixteenth century frequently measuring singly several yards in length—in vain search for a fact, or date, or other corroborative evidence, I have stumbled on it quite unexpectedly while engaged in an altogether different inquiry. Should, however, the archæological spirit which is exercising so strong an influence in France, Germany, and England, as well as in other parts of Europe, revive in Scotland also, where so large a field for its enlightened operations remains nearly unoccupied, much that is valuable may yet be secured which is now overlooked or thrown aside as useless.

Antiquarian research has been brought into discredit, far less by the unimaginative spirit of the age than by the indiscriminating pursuits of its own cultivators, whose sole object has too frequently been to amass "*a fouth o' auld nick-nackets.*" Viewed, however, in its just light, as the handmaid of history, and the synthetic, more frequently than the analytic, investigator of the remains of earlier ages, it becomes a *science*, bearing the same relation to the labours of the historian, as chemistry or mineralogy do to the investigations of the geologist and the speculations of the cosmogonist. In this spirit, and not for the mere gratification of an aimless curiosity, I have attempted, however ineffectually, to embody these MEMORIALS OF EDINBURGH IN THE OLDEN TIME.

D. W.

EDINBURGH, *Christmas* 1847.

NOTE BY THE PUBLISHER.

This edition of the MEMORIALS OF EDINBURGH is an exact reprint of the original work, with the exception that, where buildings have been removed, or other alterations made, the fact is stated either in a foot-note or otherwise.

MEMORIALS OF EDINBURGH.

PART I.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS.

The Past.

TO THE FRONTISPIECE OF ABAKUK BISSET'S BOOKE OF THE OLD MONUMENTS OF SCOTLAND.

'Twixt Was, and Is, how various are the Ods!
What one man doth, another doth vndoe:
One consecrates Religious Workes to Gods,
Another leaues sad Wrackes and Ruines now.
Thy Booke doth shew that such and such things were,
But, would to God that it could say, They are.

When I pererre the South, North, East, and West,
And mark, alace, each Monument amis;
Then I conferre Tymes present with the past:
I reade what was, but cannot see what is;
I prayse thy Booke with wonder, but am sorie,
To reade olde Ruines in a recent storie.

Poetical Recreationes of Mr Alexander Craig, of Rose-Craig. Scoto Britan. 1623.

St Anthony's Well.

A silver stream, as in the days of yore,
When the old hermit of the neighbouring cell
Bless'd the clear waters of St Anton's Well;
And yon grey ruins, on whose grassy floor
The lambkins browse, rung out the matin bell,
Whose voice upon the neighbouring city fell
Waking up 'mong its crowds old hearts that wore
Griefs like our own; sounding to one the knell
Of ruined hopes, to which another heeds
As joyful music on his marriage morn.
Up yon steep cliff how oft light steps have borne
The wedding or the christening train; where weeds
So long have grown the chapel altar stood,
And daily pilgrims knelt before the Holy Rood.

Thus fashions change, while Nature is the same;
The altar gone,—the chapel's crumbling walls
O'erlooking there the Stuarts' ancient halls,
Deserted all and drear; with but the fame
Of buried glories giving them a name;
Where yet the past as with a spell enthralls
The wanderer's fancy, rapt in musing dream
Of ancient story, helping it to frame
Old scenes in yon grey aisles, when mass was sung,
While Mary—hapless Queen—knelt low the while,
And thrilling chaunts and incense filled the aisle;—
Vain dream!—Of all that there so fondly clung,
Nought save the daisy and the blue harebell
Breathe their old incense by St Anton's Well.

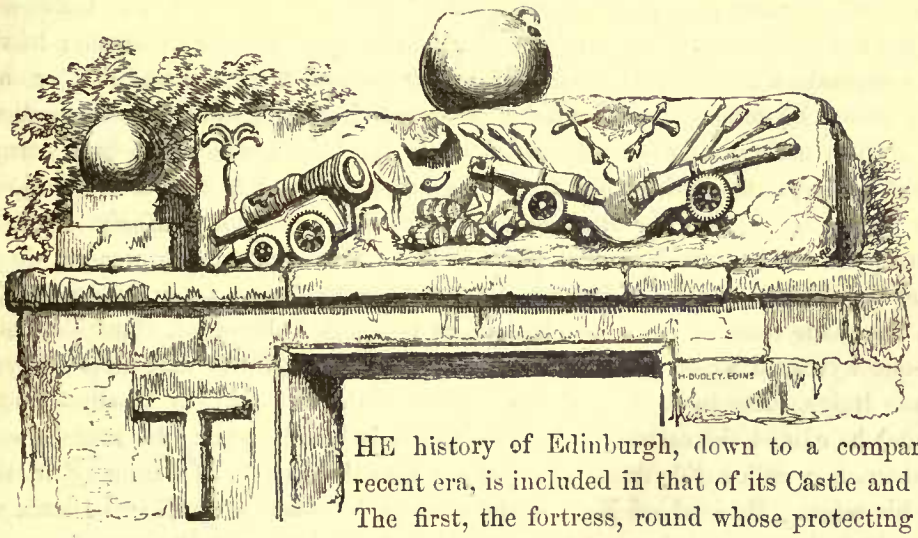
MEMORIALS

OF

EDINBURGH IN THE OLDEN TIME.

CHAPTER I.

EARLIEST TRADITIONS.



THE history of Edinburgh, down to a comparatively recent era, is included in that of its Castle and Abbey. The first, the fortress, round whose protecting citadel the rude huts of our forefathers were gathered and continued to increase, until, amid the wealth and security of more peaceful times, the Abbey of the Holyrood reared its consecrated walls, and absorbed to itself much of the wealth and the learning, many of the virtues, and doubtless also some of the vices, of the wild Saxons that peopled the fertile Lothians. It is unnecessary to follow in this History the fanciful disquisitions of zealous antiquaries, respecting the origin and etymology of Edinburgh; it has been successively derived, both in origin and name, from Saxon, Pict, and Gael; and in each case, with sufficient ingenuity only to leave the subject more deeply involved than at first. To expect that the first rude gathering of the hamlet, that forms the nucleus of the future capital, should leave its traces in the surviving records or traditions of the past, were as unreasonable as that the rustic should challenge the veracity of a living historian, because he

VIGNETTE—Ancient carved stone over the entrance to the Ordnance Office, Edinburgh Castle.

fails to adorn his pages with the "mute inglorious" history of his native village. All that tradition could have preserved of its early history, may still be traced by the intelligent eye in the natural features of its romantic site.

In the midst of a fertile and beautiful country, and within easy distance of a navigable estuary of the sea, rises a bold and precipitous cliff, towering upon three of its sides, an inaccessible natural fortress, to the height of 300 feet above the plain. In immediate connection with this, the sloping hill forms at once the natural approach to the Castle, and a site protected already on one side by a marsh and lake, and on all but one by steep approaches, admitting of ready defence and security from surprise. Here at once is discovered a situation, planned, as it were, by the hand of Nature, to offer to the wandering tribes of early Caledonia the site for their Capital; when every one's hand was against his brother, and war was deemed the only fitting occupation of men. Nor was it until the union with our once natural foes, had made the rival sisters, "like kindred drops to mingle into one," that Edina ventured forth from her hilly stronghold, and spread abroad her noble skirts over the valley of the Forth.

But in addition to the natural obscurity of an infant city, the history of Edinburgh, as of Scotland, is involved in more than usual uncertainty, even down to a period when both should fill an important page in the annals of the British Isles, owing to the double destruction of the national records, first under Edward I., and again under Cromwell; leaving its historian dependent for much of his material on vague and uncertain tradition, or on information obtained by patient labour, or fortunate chance in the pursuit of other investigations.

The earliest notices refer almost exclusively to the Castle, which has been occupied as a fortified station as far back as our traditions extend. The remotest date we have been able to discover, assigned for its origin, is in Stow's *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles*, where it is placed as far back as 989 years before Christ; sufficiently remote, we should presume, for the most zealous chronologist. "Ebranke," says he, "the sonne of Mempricius, was made ruler of Britayne; he had, as testifieth Policronica, Ganfride, and other twenty-one wyves, of whom he receyved twenty sonnes and thirty daughters; whyche he sente into Italye, there to be maryed to the blood of the Troyans. In Albanye (now called Scotlande) he edified the castell of Alclude, which is Dumbritayn;[1] he made the castell of Maydens, now called Edenbrough; he made also the castell of Banburgh in the 23d yere of his reign. He buylded Yorke citie, wherein he made a temple to Diana, and set there an Arch-flame; and there was buried, when he had reigned 49 yeares."

From more trustworthy sources, we learn of its occupation as far back as the fifth century by the Picts, from whom it was wrested by the Northumbrian Saxons in the year 452. And from that time, down to the reign of Malcolm II., its history exhibits a constant struggle, maintained between them and the Picts, and each alternately victorious. From Edwin, one of these Northumbrian invaders, it may be remarked, who rebuilt the fortress about the year 626, the name of Edwinesburg, as it is termed in the oldest charters we have any notice of, is derived with more plausibility, than from any other of the contradictory sources from which learned antiquaries have sought to deduce it.

Passing intermediate incidents of uncertain significance, the next important epoch is that of 1093, when Donald Bane laid siege to the Castle, in an unsuccessful endeavour to pos-

[1] Dumbarton.

sess himself of Edgar, the youthful heir to the crown, then lodged within its walls. In that year, also, Queen Margaret (the widow of Malcolm Canmore, and the mother of Edgar), to whose wisdom and sagacity he entrusted implicitly the internal polity of his kingdom, died in the Castle, of grief, on learning of his death, with that of Edward, their eldest son, both slain at the siege of Alnwick castle;[1] and while the usurper, relying on the general steepness of the rocky cliff, was urgent only to secure the regular accesses, the body of the Queen was conveyed through a postern gate, and down the steep declivity on the western side, to the Abbey Church of Dunfermline, where it lies interred; while the young Prince, escaping by the same egress, found protection in England, at the hand of his uncle, Edgar Atheling. In commemoration of the death of Queen Margaret, a church was afterwards erected, and endowed with revenues, by successive monarchs; all trace of which has long since disappeared, the site of it being now occupied by the barracks forming the north side of the great square.

[1107.] In the reign of Alexander I., at the beginning of the twelfth century, the first distinct notices of the town as a royal residence are found; while in that of his successor David, we discover the origin of many of the most important features still surviving. He founded the Abbey of Holyrood, styled by Fordun "Monasterium Sanctæ Crucis de Crag," which was begun to be built in its present situation in the year 1128. The convent, the precursor of St David's Abbey, is said to have been placed at first within the Castle; and some of the earliest gifts of its saintly founder to his new monastery, were the churches of the Castle and of St Cuthbert's, immediately adjacent, with all their dependencies; among which, one plot of land belonging to the latter is meted by "the fountain which rises near the corner of the King's garden, on the road leading to St Cuthbert's church."[2]

[1178.] According to Father Hay, the Nuns, from whom the Castle derived the name of Castrum Puellarum, "were thrust out by St David, and in their place the Canons introduced by the Pope's dispense, as fitter to live among souldiers. They continued in the Castle dureing Malcolm the Fourth his reign; upon which account we have severall charters of that king granted, apud Monasterium Sanctæ Crucis de Castello Puellarum. Under King William [the Lion], who was a great benefactor to Holyrood-house, I fancie the Canons retired to the place which is now called the Abbay."[3] King David built also for them, and for the use of the inhabitants, a mill, the nucleus of the village of Canonmills, which still retains many tokens of its early origin, though now rapidly being surrounded by the extending modern improvements.

The charter of foundation of the Abbey of the Holyrood, besides conferring valuable revenues, derivable from the general resources of the royal burgh of Edinburgh, gives them

[1] Lord Hailes records a monkish tradition, which may be received as a proof of the popular belief, in the strong attachment of the Queen to her husband. "The body of Margaret, Queen of Scotland, was removed from its place of sepulture at Dunfermline, and deposited in a costly shrine. While the mouks were employed in this service, they approached the tomb of her husband Malcolm. The body became on a sudden so heavy, that they were obliged to set it down. Still, as more hands were employed in raising it, the body became heavier. The spectators stood amazed; and the humble monks imputed this phenomenon to their own unworthiness; when a bystander cried out, 'The Queen will not stir till equal honours are performed to her husband.' This having been done, the body of the Queen was removed with ease." —Annals, vol. i. p. 303.

[2] Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis, p. xi.

[3] Father Hay, Ibid. xxii. Richard Augustin Hay, canon of St Genevieve, at Paris, and *prospective* Abbot of Holyrood at the Revolution, though an industrious antiquary, seems to have had no better authority for this nunnery than the disputed name *Castrum Puellarum.*

a right to dues to nearly the same amount from the royal revenues at the port of Perth, the more ancient capital of Scotland; justifying the quaint eulogy of his royal descendant, that "he was an soir sanct for the crown."[1]

By another important grant of this charter, liberty is given to the Canons to erect a burgh between the Abbey and the town of Edinburgh, over which they are vested with supreme rule, with right of trial by duel, and by fire and water ordeal. Hence the origin of the burgh of Canongate, afterwards the seat of royalty, and the residence of the Scottish nobility, as long as Scotland retained either to herself. In the same charter also, the first authentic notice of the parish church of St Cuthbert's, and the chapelries of Corstorphine and Libberton are found, by which we learn that that of St Cuthbert's had already, at this early date, been endowed with very valuable revenues; while it confirms to its dependency at Libberton, certain donations which had been made to it by "Macbeth of Libberton," in the reign of David I., erroneously stated by Arnot[2] as Macbeth the Usurper.

The well-known legend of the White Hart most probably had its origin in some real occurrence, magnified by the superstition of a rude and illiterate age. More recent observations at least suffice to show that it existed at a much earlier date than Lord Hailes referred it to.[3] According to the relation of an ancient service-book of the monastery, in which it is preserved, King David, in the fourth year of his reign, was residing at the Castle of Edinburgh, then surrounded with "ane gret forest, full of hartis, hyndis, toddis, and sic like manner of beistis;" and on the Rood Day, after the celebration of mass, he yielded to the solicitations of the young nobles in his train, and set forth to hunt, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasions of a holy canon, named Alkwine. "At last, quhen he wes cumyn throw the vail that lyis to the eist fra the said Castell, quhare now lyis the Cannongait, the staill past throw the wod with sic noyis and dyn of bugillis, that all the bestis wer raisit fra thair dennis." The King, separated from his train, was thrown from his horse, and about to be gored by a hart "with auful and braid tyndis," when a cross slipt into his hands, at sight of which the hart fled away. And the King was thereafter admonished, in a vision, to build the Abbey on the spot.[4] The account is curious, as affording a glimpse of the city at that early period, contracted within its narrow limits, and encircled by a wild forest, the abode alone of the fox and the hind, where now for centuries the busy scenes of a royal burgh have been enacted.

David I. seems to have been the earliest monarch who permanently occupied the Castle as a royal residence—an example which was followed by his successors, down to the disastrous period when it was surrendered into the hands of Edward I.; so that with the reign of this monarch, in reality begins the history of Edinburgh, as still indicated to the historian in the vestiges that survive at the present day. After the death of David I., we find the Castle successively the royal residence of his immediate successor, Malcolm IV., of Alexander II., and of William, surnamed the Lion, until after his defeat and capture by Henry II. of England, when it was surrendered with other principal fortresses of the kingdom, in ransom for the King's liberty. Fortunately, however, that which was thus lost with the fortunes of war, was speedily restored by more peaceful means; for an alliance

[1] Sir D. Lindsay's Satyre of the Estaitis. Ed. 1806, vol. ii. p. 67.

[2] Arnot, p. 5. Macbeth of Libberton's name occurs as a witness to several royal charters of David I. [1124-53.] Vide Liber Cart. Sanctæ Crucis, pp. 8 and 9. Macbeth the Usurper was slain 1056.

[3] Annals, David I.

[4] Liber Cart. Sanctæ Crucis, p. xii.

having been concluded between Ermengarde de Beaumont, cousin to King Henry, Edinburgh Castle was gallantly restored as a dowry to the Queen, after having been held by an English garrison for nearly twelve years.

In the year 1215, Alexander II., the son and successor of William, convened his first Parliament at Edinburgh; and during the same reign, still further importance was given to the rising city, by a Provincial Synod being held in it by Cardinal l'Aleran, legate from Pope Gregory IX. The revenues of Alexander could not rival the costly foundations of his great-grandfather, David I.; but he founded eight monasteries of the Mendicant Order, in different parts of Scotland; one of which, the monastery of Blackfriars, stood nearly on the same spot as the Royal Infirmary now occupies; near which was the Collegiate Church of St Mary-in-the-Field, better known as the Kirk-o'-Field, occupying the site of the College—all vestiges of which have long since disappeared. But of these we shall treat more at large in their proper place. His son and successor, Alexander III., having been betrothed to Margaret, daughter of Henry III. of England, nine years before, their nuptials were celebrated at York, in the year 1242. Arnot tells us "the young Queen had Edinburgh Castle appointed for her residence;" but it would seem to have been more in the character of a stronghold than a palace; for, whereas the sumptuousness of her namesake, Queen of Malcolm Canmore, the future St Margaret of Scotland, while residing there, excited discontent in the minds of her rude subjects, she describes it as "a sad and solitary place, without verdure, and by reason of its vicinity to the sea, unwholesome; that she was not permitted to make excursions through the kingdom, nor to chose her female attendants; and lastly, that she was excluded from all conjugal intercourse with her husband, who by this time had completed his fourteenth year." "Redress of her last grievance," Dalrymple adds, "was instantly procured, redress of her other grievances was promised."

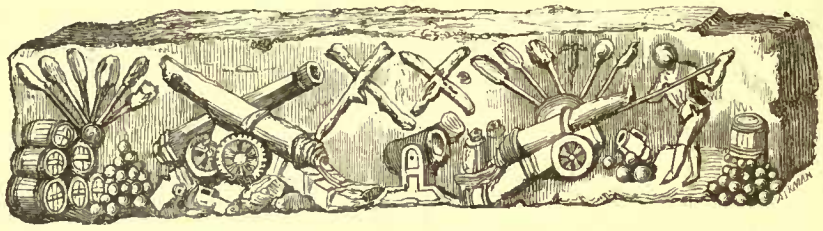
Shortly after, the Castle was surprised by Alan Dureward, Patrick Earl of March, and other leaders, while their rivals were engaged in preparation for holding a Parliament at Stirling; and the royal pair being liberated from their durance, we shortly afterwards find them holding an interview with Henry, at Werk Castle, Northumberland. During the remainder of the long and prosperous reign of Alexander III., the Castle of Edinburgh continued to be the chief place of the royal residence, as well as for holding his courts for the transaction of judicial affairs;[1] it was also during his reign the safe depository of the principal records, and of the regalia of the kingdom.[2]

From this time onward, through the disastrous wars that ultimately settled the Bruce on the throne, and established the independence of Scotland, Edinburgh experienced its full share of the national sufferings and temporary humiliation; in June 1291, the town and Castle were surrendered into the hands of Edward I. Holinshed relates that he came to Edinburgh, where "he planted his siege about the Castell, and raised engines which cast stones against and over the walls, sore beating and bruising the buildings within; so that it surrendered by force of siege to the King of England's use, on the 15 daie after he had first laid his siege about it."[3] He was here also again on 8th July 1292, and again on the 29th of the same month; and here, in May 1296, he received within the church in the Castle, the unwilling submission of many magnates of the kingdom, acknowledging him as Lord Paramount; and on the 28th of August following, William de

[1] Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 585. [2] Ibid., p. 587. [3] Chronicles, 1586, vol. iii. p. 300.

Dederyk, Alderman of Edinburgh, with the whole community of the town, swore fealty to the usurper.

Immediately after the final triumph of the Bruce, few occurrences of importance, in connection with Edinburgh, are recorded; though here, on the 8th March 1327, his Parliament held its sittings in the Abbey of Holyrood,[1] and here also his sixteenth and last Parliament assembled in March 1328. From the glimpses we are able to obtain from time to time, it may be inferred that it still occupied a very secondary station among the towns of Scotland; and while the Castle was always an object of importance with every rival power, its situation was much too accessible from the English border to be permanently chosen as the royal residence. In the interregnum, for example, after the death of Margaret, the Maid of Norway, we find, in 1304, when a general Parliament was summoned by Edward to be held at Perth, for the settlement of Scotland, sheriffs are appointed for each of twenty-one burghs named, while Edinburgh is grouped with Haddington and Linlithgow, under "Ive de Adeburgh;"[2] and the recapture of the Castle, on two successive occasions, by Edward, obtains but a passing notice, amid the stirring interest of the campaigns of Bruce.



Towards the close of 1312, when the persevering valour of Bruce, and the imbecility of Edward II., had combined to free nearly every stronghold of Scotland from English garrisons, we find the Castle of Edinburgh held for the English by Piers Leland, a Gascon knight; but when Randolph, the nephew of the Bruce, laid it under strict blockade, the garrison, suspecting his fidelity, thrust him into a dungeon, and prepared, under a newly chosen commander, to hold out to the last. Matters were in this state, when a romantic incident restored this important fortress to the Scottish arms. William Frank, a soldier, who had previously formed one of the Scottish garrison, volunteered to guide the besiegers by a steep and intricate path up the cliff, by which he had been accustomed in former years to escape during the night from military durance, to enjoy the society of a fair maiden of the neighbouring city, of whom he was enamoured. Frequent use had made him familiar with the perilous ascent; and, under his guidance, Randolph, with thirty men, scaled the Castle walls at midnight; and after a determined resistance, the garrison was overpowered. Leland, the imprisoned governor, entered the Scottish service on his release, and, according to Barbour, was created by the King Viscount of Edinburgh; but afterwards, he adds, he thought that he had an English heart, and made him to be *hangit and drawen*.[3]

[1] Acts of Parliament of Scotland, vol. i. fol.

[2] Hailes' Annals, vol. i. p. 285.

[3] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 38.

VIGNETTE—Ancient stone from Edinburgh Castle, now in the Antiquarian Museum.

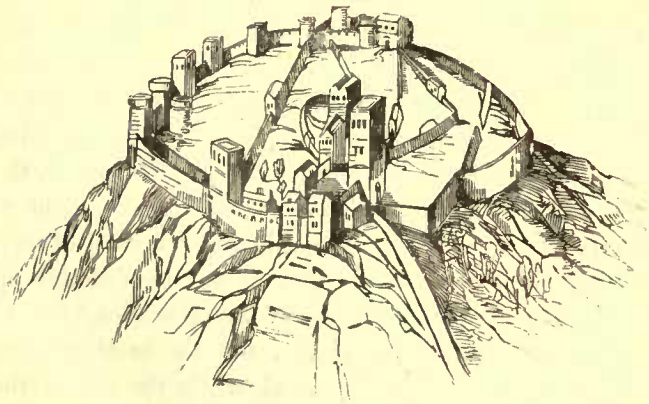
In the commencement of the following reign, during the unfortunate minority of David II., the usurper, Edward Baliol, held a Parliament at Edinburgh, 10th February 1333, consisting of what are known as the *disinherited barons*, with seven bishops, including both William of Dunkeld, and, it is said, Maurice of Dunblane, the Abbot of Inchaffray, who there agreed to the humiliating conditions proposed by Edward III. It is even affirmed by Tyrrel, though disproved by later authorities, that Edward attended in person, and received the homage of Baliol as Lord Paramount of Scotland; but two years later, Leland informs us of his residence at Edinburgh from the 16th to the 26th September, when "he received the homage of Robert, sunne to the doughter of Robert Bruse, King of Scotland."

Soon after this return of Edward to Scotland, Guy, Count of Namur, landed at Berwick, with a considerable body of men-at-arms, to the assistance of the English; and marching upon Edinburgh, its Castle being at that time dismantled and ruinous, he was encountered on the Borough-muir by the Earls of Moray and March, with a powerful force, when a fierce and bloody battle ensued. In accordance with the chivalrous notions of the times, Richard Shaw, a Scottish esquire, was challenged to single combat by a knight in the train of the Count of Namur, when, after a brave encounter, each fell, transfixed by the other's spear. On the bodies being afterwards stripped of their armour, the chivalrous stranger proved to be a woman, who, from some undiscovered cause, had perilled her life in this romantic and fatal enterprise. While victory seemed inclining to the enemy, the opportune arrival of William de Douglas with a reinforcement determined the fortune of the day. The Count's force gave way and retreated, though still in order, and fighting gallantly with the pursuing enemy. Part of them, retreating through St Mary's Wynd, were met there by a body of Scots, headed by Sir David de Anand, and suffered great slaughter; the few who escaped joined the remainder of the force that had effected a retreat to the Castle rock, then dismantled and defenceless, and there piling up a temporary rampart with the dead bodies of their horses, they made a last attempt to hold out against the Scottish forces. But thirst and hunger compelling them to capitulate on the following day, they were suffered by the Earl of Moray to depart, on promising not to bear arms against David in the Scottish wars. In the following year the Castle was rebuilt by Edward, and put in a state of complete defence, as one of a chain of fortresses, by which he hoped to hold the nation in subjection; but while Edinburgh then remained in the hands of the English, the adjacent country was filled with predatory bands of Scots, ever ready to take them at advantage. Alexander Ramsay, in particular, after having succeeded, with a band of only forty resolute men, in raising the siege of Dunbar, concealed himself and his followers in the caves, excavated in the cliffs beneath the romantic house of Hawthornden,[1] and so ingeniously constructed for concealment, as to elude the vigilance of the most cunning enemy to whom the secret was unknown. The entrance is still shown in the side of the draw-well, which served at once to cloak its purpose, and to secure for the hiders a ready

[1] On the gable of the old house at Hawthornden, the well-known residence of the poet and historian, is a tablet erected by Bishop Abernethy Drummond, with the following inscription:—"To the memory of Sir Lawrence Abernethy of Hawthornden, 2d son of Sir William Abernethy of Salton, a brave and gallant soldier, who, at the head of a party, in 1338, conquered Lord Douglas five times in one day, yet was taken prisoner before sunset."—Fordun, lib. xiii. c. 44.

supply of water. From thence they sallied out from time to time, as occasions offered, and not only harassed the enemy in the neighbouring capital, but extended their inroads even as far as into Northumberland.[1]

In 1341, the Castle was recovered from the English by an ingenious stratagem, planned by William Bullock, who had previously held the castle of Coupar for Baliol. Under his directions, one Walter Curry of Dundee received into his ship two hundred Scots, under the command of William de Douglas, Frazer, and Joachim of Kinbak, and casting anchor in Leith Roads, he presented himself to the governor of the Castle, as master of an English vessel, just arrived with a valuable cargo of wines and provisions on board, which he offered to dispose of for the use of the garrison. The bait took; and the pretended trader appeared at the Castle, according to appointment, early on the following morning, attended by a dozen armed followers, disguised as sailors. Upon entering the Castle, they contrived to overturn their casks and hampers, so as to obstruct the closing of the gates, and instantly slew the porter and guard. At an appointed signal, Douglas and his men sprung from their concealment in the immediate neighbourhood, and, after a fierce conflict, overpowered the garrison, and took possession of the Castle, in the name of David II. In the following month the young King, with his consort, Johanna, landed from France, and, within a short time, the English were expelled from Scotland. When, a few years afterwards, the disastrous raid of Durham terminated in the defeat of the Scottish army, and the captivity of the King, we find, in the treaty for his ransom, the merchants and burgesses of Edinburgh, along with those of Aberdeen, Perth, and Dundee, are held bound for themselves, and all the other merchants of Scotland, for its fulfilment. And, ultimately, a Parliament was held at Edinburgh, in 1357, for final adjustment of the terms of the royal ransom, where the Regent Robert, the steward of Scotland (afterwards King Robert II.), presided; at which, in addition to the clergy and nobles, there were delegates present from seventeen burghs, among which Edinburgh appears for the first time placed at the head.



After David II. returned from England, he resided during his latter days in the Castle, to which he made extensive additions, enlarging the fortifications so recently rebuilt, and adding in particular an extensive building, afterwards known by the name of "David's Tower," which stood for 200 years, till battered to pieces in the regency of James VI.; and here he died on the 22d February 1370, in the forty-second year of his age, and was buried in the church of the Abbey of Holy rood, before the high altar. He was a brave and gifted prince, who in happier times might

[1] Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 290.

VIONETTE—The Castle, from a map engraved in 1575, showing King David's Tower.

have elevated the character of his people. Tradition represents him as beguiling his tedious captivity in England with his pencil; and Barnes relates that he left behind him, in a vault in Nottingham Castle, the whole story of our Saviour's passion, curiously engraved on a rock with his own hand.[1]

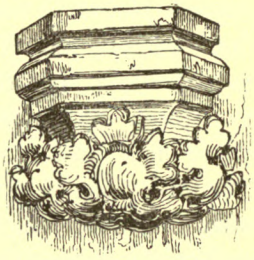
With the death of this unfortunate prince terminated the direct line of the Bruce, that had so nobly established, in the independence of Scotland, their right to the throne; and with it, too, may be considered to close the first epoch in the history of the Scottish capital, while as yet it was only the occasional seat of her Parliaments, and the temporary residence of her prince; with many of the characteristics of a frontier town, ever on the watch to repel the approach of foreign invaders, or with resolute endurance to stand the first brunt of the Southron's hostile inroads.

Abercromby[2] says of it at this time: "Edinburgh was then but a small burgh, or rather, as Walsingham calls it, a village, the houses of which, because they were so often exposed to incursions from England, being thatched for the most part with straw and turf; and when burnt or demolished, were with no great difficulty repaired. The strength of the Castle, the convenience of the Abbey, the fruitfulness of the adjacent country, and its no great distance from the borders, made after kings chuse to reside for the most part, to hold their Parliaments, and keep their courts of justice in this place." Their mode of defence corresponded with the character of their habitations. When an overwhelming host crossed the borders, and poured down in irresistible fury upon the neighbouring Lothians, like the borderers of later times, they drove off their cattle, concealed their more bulky wealth, and even carried away the straw roofs of their houses, as some security against a conflagration,[3] leaving the enemy to wreak their futile vengeance upon the walls, that could be again replaced, to satisfy their simple wants, almost ere the retreating foes had reached their homes. Yet they never failed to retaliate; and no sooner had the invaders been starved into a retreat from the deserted plains, than the burghers of the smoking hamlet were at their heels; and, as Abercromby adds, "Conformably to their usual custom, followed the enemy into his own country, and never put up their swords till by a retaliating invasion they had made up for their losses."

To complete the view of national manners at this early period, we shall add the lively picture of Froissart,[4] which, notwithstanding the peculiarities incident to a foreigner's description of habits altogether new to him, exhibits traits that may still be found under comparatively slight modifications at the present day, after all the changes that five centuries have produced. "The Scots," says he, "are bold and hardy, and much inured to war; they bring no carriages with them, on account of the mountains they have to pass, neither do they carry with them any provisions of bread or wine; they have no occasion for pots or caldrons, for they dress the flesh of their cattle in the skins, after they have taken them off, and being sure to find plenty of them in the country they invade, they carry none with them. Under the flaps of his saddle, each man carries a broad plate of metal,[5] and he trusses behind him a bag full of meal. They place this plate over the fire,

[1] Martial Achievements, vol. ii. p. 141.
[2] Ibid, vol. ii. 189.
[3] Banatyne, Misc. Edin. Regiæ Scotorum Descrip.
[4] Ibid, vol. i. p. 32.
[5] *Scottice*, A Girdle.

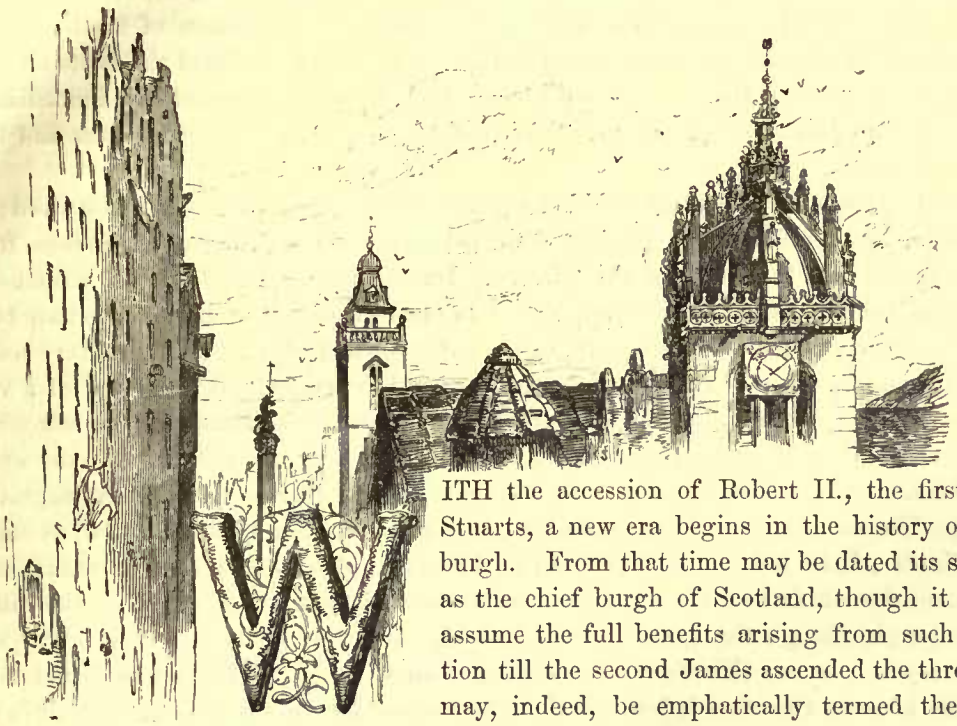
mix with water their oatmeal ; and when the plate is heated, put a little of the paste upon it, and make a thin cake, like a cracknell or biscuit, which they eat to warm their stomachs : it is therefore no wonder that they should perform a longer day's march than any other soldiers ! "



VIGNETTE—Corbel, from St Giles's Church

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE STUARTS TO THE DEATH OF JAMES III.



WITH the accession of Robert II., the first of the Stuarts, a new era begins in the history of Edinburgh. From that time may be dated its standing as the chief burgh of Scotland, though it did not assume the full benefits arising from such a position till the second James ascended the throne. It may, indeed, be emphatically termed the capital of the Stuarts; it rose into importance with their increasing glory; it shared in all their triumphs; it suffered in their disasters; and with the extinction of their line, it seemed to sink from its proud position among the capitals of Europe, and to mourn the vanished glories in which it had taken so prominent a part. The ancient Chapel of Holyrood, neglected and forgotten by their successors, was left to tumble into ruins; and grass grew on the unfrequented precincts of the Palace, where the Jameses had held high court and festival; and the lovely but unfortunate Mary Stuart had basked in the brief splendour of her first welcome to the halls of her fathers; and endured the assaults of the rude barons and reformers, with whom she waged so unequal a contest.

During the reigns of the earlier Stuarts, the relative positions of Scotland and England continued to preserve more of the character of an armistice in time of war, than any approach to settled peace; and in the constant incursions which ensued, Edinburgh ex-

perienced the same evils formerly resulting from its exposed position. In 1383,[1] we find King Robert II. holding his court there, and receiving the ambassador of Charles VI. of France, with whom he renewed the league entered into with his predecessor; and from this time so constant an intercourse was maintained between the two courts, that both the manners of the people and the style of building of the Scottish capital were formed on the French model—traces of which were abundant in the last century, and are not quite extinct even in the present day.

Immediately thereafter, in 1384, the town is found in the hands of the English. The Scots, under the Earls of Douglas and March, having begun the war with great success, the Duke of Lancaster, at the head of "an army almost innumerable," as Walsingham styles it, passed the border, and marched straight to Edinburgh, which, however, he spared from the destruction to which it was devoted, in grateful remembrance of his hospitable entertainment there, while an exile from the English Court—a kindness the Scots showed little appreciation of, in the reprisals with which they, as usual, followed him immediately on his retreat to England. In requitance of this, he returned the following year and laid the town in ashes.

[1385.] It was in this incursion that the first edifice of St Giles's was destroyed; at this time only a parish church, originally in the patronage of the Bishop of Lindisfarn, from whom it passed into the hands of the Abbot of Dunfermline. Yet, from the remains of the original church that were preserved almost to our own day, it would seem to have been a building of great richness and beauty, in the early Norman style. There is a very scarce engraving, an impression of which is in the Signet Library, exhibiting a view of a very beautiful Norman doorway, destroyed about the year 1760, in the same reckless manner as so many other relics of antiquity have been swept away by our local authorities; and which was, without doubt, a portion of the original building that had survived the conflagration in 1385. The ancient church was, doubtless, on a much smaller scale than now, as suited to the limits of the town; thus described by Froissart, in his account of the reception of De Kenne, the admiral of France, who came to the assistance of Robert II. at this time: —"Edinburgh, though the kynge kepte there his chefe resydence, and that is Parys in Scotland; yet it is not like Tourney or Vallenciennes, for in all the towne is not foure thousande houses; therefore it behoved these lordes and knyghts to be lodged about in the villages."[2] The reception they met with was in keeping with their lodging. We are told the Scots "dyde murmure and grudge, and sayde, Who the devyll hath sent for them? cannot we mayntayne our warre with Englande well ynoughe without their helpe? They understand not us, nor we theym; therefore we cannot speke toguyder. They wyll annone ryffle, and eat up alle that ever we have in this countrey; and doo us more dispytes and damages than thoughe the Englysshemen shulde fyght with us; for thoughe the Englysshe brinne our houses, we care lytell therefore; we shall make them agayne chepe ynough!"

In the succeeding reign, at the close of 1390, we again find the ambassadors of Charles VI. at the Scottish Court, where they were honourably entertained, and witnessed, in the Castle of Edinburgh, the King's putting his hand and seal to the treaty of mutual aid and defence against the English, which had been drawn up in the reign of his father. Shortly

[1] Martial Achievements, vol. ii. p. 185.

[2] Lord Berners Froissart.

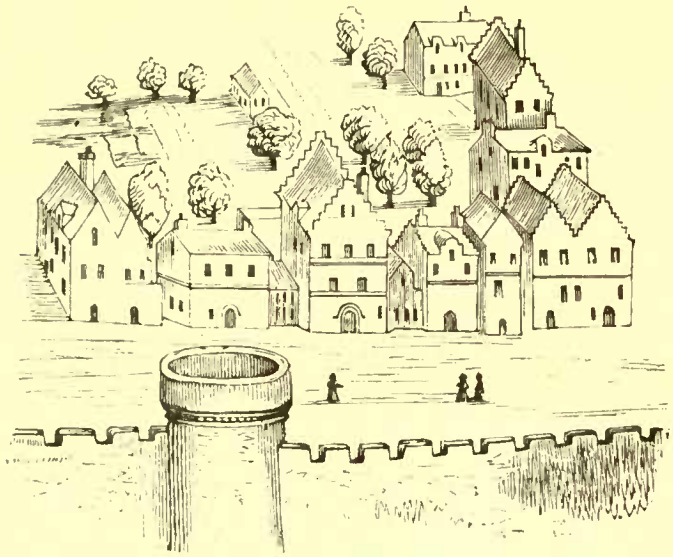
after this, Henry IV. of England renewed the oft-confuted claim of superiority over Scotland; and in pursuance of this, wrote letters to the Scottish King, and to the nobles and prelates of Scotland, requiring them to meet him at Edinburgh by the 23d of August, in order to pay the homage due to him as their superior and direct lord.[1] King Henry was as good as his word, for with a well-ordered and numerous army, he crossed the Borders, and was at Edinburgh before the day he had appointed; as appears from a letter written by him to the King of Scots, dated at Leith, 21st August 1400.[2] While there, the Duke of Rothsay, who then held the Castle of Edinburgh, sent him a challenge to meet him where he pleased, with an hundred nobles on each side, and so to determine the quarrel. But King Henry was in no humour to forego the advantages he already possessed, at the head of a more numerous army than Scotland could raise; and so contenting himself with a verbal equivocation in reply to this knightly challenge, he sat down with his numerous host before the Castle, till (with the usual consequences of the Scottish reception of such invaders), cold and rain, and absolute dearth of provisions, compelled him to raise the inglorious siege and hastily recross the Border, without doing any notable injury either in his progress or retreat.

During the minority of James I., the royal poet, and his tedious captivity of nineteen years in England, Edinburgh continued to partake of all the uncertain vicissitudes of the capital of a kingdom under delegated government, though still prosperous enough to contribute 50,000 merks towards the payment of his ransom. When at length he did return to enter on the cares of royalty, his politic plans for the control of the Highland clans seem to have led to the almost constant assembly of the Parliaments, as well as his frequent residence at Perth. Yet, in 1430, we find him residing in Edinburgh, attended by his Queen and court, as appears from accounts of the surrender of the Earl of Ross. At this time, the rebellious Earl, having made a vain attempt to hold out against the resolute measures of the King, wrote to his friends at court to mediate a peace; but finding their efforts unavailing, he came privately to Edinburgh,[3] where, having watched a fit opportunity, when the King and Queen were in the church of Holyrood Abbey at divine service, he prostrated himself on his knees, and holding the point of his sword in his own hand, presented the hilt to the King, intimating that he put his life at his Majesty's mercy. At the request of the Queen, King James granted him his life, but confined him for a time in the castle of Tantallan. His imprisonment, however, seems to have been brief, and the reconciliation, on the King's part at least, sincere and effectual; for the Queen having shortly after this given birth to two sons—Alexander, who died soon after; and James, afterwards the second monarch of the name;—the King not only liberated him, with many other prisoners, but is said to have selected him to stand sponsor for the royal infants at the font.

The style of building, still prevalent at this period, was of the same rude and fragile nature as we have already described at an earlier period; and repeated enactments occur, intended to avert the dangerous conflagrations to which the citizens were thus liable. In the third Parliament of this reign, a series of stringent laws were passed, requiring the magistrates to keep "siven or aught twenty fute ledders, as well as three or foure sayes to the commoun use, and sex or maa cleikes of iron, to draw down timber and ruiffes that are fired." And, again, "that na fire be fetched fra ane house, til ane uther within the town,

[1] Martial Achievements, vol. ii. p. 200. [2] Ibid, p. 215. [3] Ibid, p. 289.

bot within covered weshel or lanterne, under the paine of ane unlaw;"[1] from all which it would seem that the houses were still mostly wooden tenements, thatched with straw, and never higher than two storeys. The nobility had not yet begun to build mansions for their residence in the capital while attending on the court; but continued to take up their abode in the monasteries, according to the fashion of the times.



Still earlier in the same reign, all travellers are forbid to lodge with their friends when they visit the borough, but in the "hostillaries; bot gif it be the persones that leadis monie with them in companie, that sall have friedome to harberie with their friends; swa that their horse and their meinze be harberied and ludged in the commoun hostillaries;" and burgesses are forbid to harbour their friends under pain of forty shillings.

In this and the following reign, occur successive sumptuary laws, which give considerable insight into the manners of the age. All save knights and lords, of at least 200 merks yearly rent, are prohibited from wearing silk or furs, of various descriptions; "and none uther were borderie, pearle, nor bulzeone, bot array them in honest arraiments, as serpes, beltes, broches, and cheinzies." While, again in the fourteenth Parliament of James II., held in Edinburgh in 1457, the ladies seem to have called down such restrictions upon them in an especial manner, by their love of display. It is there required of the citizens, "that they make their wifes and dauchters gangand correspondant for their estate; that is to say, on their heads short curches, with little hudes; and as to their gownes, that na women weare mertrickes nor letteis, nor tailes unfitt in length, nor furred under, bot on the Halie-daie. And, in like manner, the barronnes and other puir gentlemen's wives. That na laborers nor husbandmen weare on the warke daye, bot gray and quhite: and on the Halie-daie, bot lichtblew, greene, redde, and their wives richt-swa; and courchies of their awin making, not exceeding the price of xl. pennyes the elne."

On the 21st of February 1438, James I., the poet, the soldier, and the statesman, fell by the hands of his rebellious subjects, in the convent of the Dominicans at Perth, spreading sorrow and indignation over the kingdom. Within less than forty days thereafter, all the conspirators had been apprehended and brought to Edinburgh for trial. The meaner sort were left to the hangman; but for their titled leaders, the ingenuity of a barbarous

[1] Scots Acts, 12mo. 3d and 4th Parliaments, James I.

VIGNETTE—Ancient houses near the Kirk-of-Field, from a map 1575.

age was exercised to devise more novel and exquisite tortures to satisfy the indignation of the people. The sufferings of the Earl of Athol were prolonged through three days; on the second of which he was elevated on a pillar at the cross, to the gaze of the people, and with a hot iron coronet, crowned in derision as the King of Traitors. On the third day, he was dragged on a hurdle through the High Street to the place of public execution, where, after further indignities, he was at length beheaded, and his head exposed on a pole at the cross—the body being quartered and sent to the four chief towns of the kingdom. With the like barbarous indignities, Robert Graham, the most active of the regicides, suffered at the same time and place.

Æneas Sylvius, who afterwards filled the papal chair as Pope Pius II., was at this time resident in Edinburgh, as the Pope's nuncio for Scotland, and witnessed, as Abercromby says, "with some horror, but more admiration,"[1] these executions. The remark of the Italian ecclesiastic, "that he was at a loss to determine whether the crime of the regicides, or the punishment inflicted on them by the justice of the nation, was the greatest"—would not seem to imply any censure on the bloody revenge with which the Scottish Capital thus expressed her indignation on the murderers of her King.

King James II. was not above seven years old, when the officers of state called a Parliament in his name, which accordingly met at Edinburgh on the 20th of March 1438. Their first act was the condemnation, already recorded, of the regicides; and thereafter, the youthful Sovereign was brought from the Castle, where he had been lodged since shortly after his birth, attended by the three estates of the kingdom; and being conducted in state to Holyrood Abbey, was there crowned with great magnificence—the first of the Scottish Kings that is thus united, in birth and royal honours, with the capital of the kingdom. During the two succeeding years, he continued to reside entirely in the Castle, under custody of the Chancellor Crichton, greatly to the displeasure of the Queen and her party, who thus found him placed entirely beyond their control. She accordingly visited Edinburgh, professing great friendship for the Chancellor, and a longing desire to see her son; by which means she completely won the goodwill of the old statesman, and obtained ready access, with her retinue, to visit the Prince in the Castle, and take up her abode there. At length having lulled all suspicion, she gave out that she had made a vow to pass in pilgrimage to the *White Kirk of Brechin*, for the health of her son;[2] and bidding adieu to the Chancellor over night, with many earnest recommendations of the young King to his fidelity and care, she retired to her devotions, having to depart at early dawn on the ensuing morrow. Immediately on being left at liberty, the King was cautiously pinned up among the linen and furniture of his mother, and so conveyed in a chest to Leith, and from thence by water to Stirling, into the hands of Sir Archibald Livingstone. Immediately thereafter, the latter raised an army and laid siege to the Chancellor in the Castle of Edinburgh; but the wary statesman, having lost the control of the King, wisely effected a compromise with his opponent, and delivering the keys into the King's own hands, they both supped with him the same night in the Castle, and, on the following day, he confirmed the one in his office of Chancellor, and the other in that of guardian of his person. This state of affairs did not continue long, however, for Sir Archibald Livingstone having quarrelled with the Queen, the King was shortly afterwards again carried off and restored to the guardianship

[1] Martial Achievements, vol. ii. p. 310.

[2] Lindsay of Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 7.

of the Chancellor, in the Castle of Edinburgh. His increasing years, however, seem to have led to his enjoying greater liberty of person, as well as deference to his opinion. Under the guidance of the Bishops of Aberdeen and Moray, then residing in Edinburgh, a conference was held in the church of St Giles, between him and his rival guardians, which, from their mutual hatred to the Earl of Douglas, again led to an amicable arrangement, the King making choice of Edinburgh Castle as the place where he should continue to reside.

No sooner were the rival statesmen reconciled, than they consulted together to secure the overthrow of the Douglas, whose exorbitant power was employed for the most oppressive and tyrannical objects. To have openly proceeded against him as a criminal, while at the head of his numerous forces, would only have proved the sequel for a civil war. He was accordingly invited to Edinburgh, with the most flattering assurances of friendship. On the way, the Chancellor met him at Crichton Castle, about twelve miles S.E. of Edinburgh, where he was entertained with every mark of hospitality, insomuch so as to have excited the jealous fears of his friends. He rode thereafter to the Castle of Edinburgh, accompanied by his brother and Sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld: they were received with every show of welcome, and admitted to the same table with the King; but, towards the close of the entertainment, a bull's head, the well-known symbol of destruction, was set before them. They recognised the fatal signal, and sprang from the board, but being immediately surrounded by armed men, they were led forth, in defiance of the tears and entreaties of the young King, and immediately beheaded "in the back court of the Castle that lyeth to the west;"[1] or, according to Balfour, in the great hall of the Castle.[2] In the year 1753, some workmen digging for a foundation to a new storehouse within the Castle, found the golden handles and plates of a coffin, which are supposed to have belonged to that in which the Earl of Douglas was interred.[3]

From a protest afterwards taken by the son of Sir Malcolm Fleming, against the sentence of his father, as being unwarrantable and illegal, as well as from the fact of no attempt being made to bring the Chancellor to trial for the deed when the Douglas faction prevailed, there would seem to have been some form of trial, and a sentence of condemnation pronounced, with the assumed authority of the King.[4] The popular estimation of the deed may be inferred from the rude rhymes quoted by Hume of Godscroft:—

"Edinburgh Castle, towne and tower,
God grant thou sinke for sinne;
An' that even for the black dinner
Earle Douglas gat therein."

The Chancellor continued to maintain possession of the Castle, even when the Douglas party succeeded in obtaining the guardianship of the young King, and used the royal authority for demanding its surrender. Here he held out during a siege of nine months, till he succeeded in securing satisfactory terms for himself; while of his less fortunate coadjutors some only redeemed their lives with their estates, and the others, including three members of the Livingstone family, were all tried and beheaded within its walls.

[1] History of the Douglasses, 1643, p. 155.
[2] Balfour's Annals, vol. i. p. 169.
[3] Arnot, p. 11.
[4] Martial Achievements, vol. ii. p. 330.

The increasing importance which the royal capital was now assuming, speedily drew attention to its exposed situation. In the reign of Robert II. the singular privilege had been conceded to the principal inhabitants, of building dwellings within the Castle, so as to secure their families and wealth from the constant inroads of the English; but now, in the year 1450, immediately after the battle of Sark, the ancient city was enclosed within fortified walls, traces of which still exist. They extended along the south declivity of the ridge on which the older parts of the town are built; after crossing the West Bow, then the principal entrance to the city, from the west; and running between the High Street, and the hollow where the Cowgate was afterwards built, they crossed the ridge at the Nether Bow, and terminated at the east end of the North Loch. Within these ancient limits the Scottish capital must have possessed peculiar means of defence; a city set on a hill, and guarded by the rocky fortress—"There watching high the least alarms,"—it only wanted such ramparts, manned by its burgher watch, to enable it to give protection to its princes, and repel the inroads of the southern invader. The important position which it now held, may be inferred from the investment in the following year of Patrick Cockburn of Newbigging, the Provost of Edinburgh, in the chancellor's office as governor of the Castle; as well as his appointment along with other commissioners, after the defeat of the English in the battle of Sark, to treat for the renewal of a truce. To this the young King, now about twenty years of age, was the more induced, from his anxiety to see his bride, Mary of Guelders,—"a lady," says Drummond, "young, beautiful, and of a masculine constitution,"—whose passage from the Netherlands was only delayed till secure of hindrance from the English fleet.

She accordingly arrived in Scotland, accompanied by a numerous retinue of princes, prelates, and noblemen, who were entertained with every mark of royal hospitality, and witnessed the solemnisation of the marriage, as well as the coronation, of the young Queen thereafter, both of which took place in the Abbey of Holyrood, with the utmost pomp and solemnity.

The first fruit of this marriage seems to have been the rebellion of the Earl of Douglas, who, jealous of the influence that the Lord Chancellor Crichton had acquired with the Queen, almost immediately thereafter proceeded to revenge his private quarrel with fire and sword; so that in the beginning of the following year, a Parliament was assembled at Edinburgh, whose first enactments were directed against such encroachments on the royal prerogative. His further deeds of blood and rapine, at length closed by a hasty blow of the King's dagger in Stirling Castle, belong rather to Scottish history; as well as the death of the Monarch himself shortly after, by the bursting of the Lyon, a famous cannon, at the siege of Roxburgh Castle, in the year 1460.

At this time, Henry VI., the exiled King of England, with his heroic Queen and son, sought shelter at the Scottish Court, where they were fitly lodged in the monastery of the Greyfriars, in the Grassmarket; and so hospitably entertained by the court and citizens of

VIGNETTE—Mary of Guelders' Arms—from her seal.

Edinburgh, that in requital thereof, he granted to them a charter, empowering the free citizens to trade to any part of England, subject to no other duties than those payable by the most highly favoured natives: in acknowledgment, as he states, of the humane and honourable treatment he had received from the provost, ministers, and burgesses of Edinburgh. As, however, the house of Lancaster never regained the crown, the charter survived only as an honourable acknowledgment of their services.

About this time it was that the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, and the Hospital attached to it, were founded by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guelders: and here the royal foundress was interred in the year 1463.

In 1471, the Scottish capital again witnessed a royal marriage and coronation; Margaret, Princess of Denmark, having landed at Leith in the month of July of that year, where she was received with every demonstration of welcome and rejoicing. The courtly historians of the period describe her as winning the favour of both Prince and people, by a beauty and grace rarely equalled among the ladies of the age. Lindsay of Pitscottie adds—"The gentlevoman being bot twelff yeires of age at the tyme."[1] The alliance was further rendered acceptable to the nation, by the royal bridegroom, King James III., having "gatt with the King of Denmarkis dochter, in tocher guid, the landis of Orkney and Zetland." To all this we may add, from Abercromby[2]—"The very sight of such a Queen could not but endear her to all ranks of people, who, to congratulate her happy arrival, and to create in her a good opinion of themselves and the country, entertained her and her princely train for many days, with such variety of shows, and such delicious and costly feasts, that Ferrerius, a foreigner, who had seen all the gallantry and pomp of the Courts of France and Savoy, tells us that no pen can describe them so much to the advantage as they deserve." It is to be regretted that a more detailed account of this royal reception has not been given, as it would better than any other have served to convey a lively picture of the manners of the citizens, and the character of the Scottish capital at this period.

These joyous proceedings speedily gave place to others of a very different character. The historians, in accordance with the credulity of the times, have preserved the tradition of numerous prophecies and omens, wherewith the king was forewarned of the troubles that awaited him, and his jealousy excited against his brothers. The youngest of them, the Earl of Mar, was committed a prisoner to Craigmillar Castle, from whence he was afterwards permitted to remove to the Canongate, when suffering under a violent fever, of which he died there, under the care of the King's physician; not without suspicion of foul play. After his death, some reputed witches were tried at Edinburgh, and condemned to the stake, for plotting, along with him, the death of the King; and these, according to the historians of the time, confessed that the Earl had dealt with them to have him taken away by incantation—"For the King's image being framed in wax, and with many spells and incantations baptized, and set unto a fire, they persuaded themselves the King's person should fall away as it consumed."[3]

The successful confederacy against Cochrane, the succeeding Earl of Mar, and the other royal favourites, belong not to our subject. But immediately thereafter, in 1481, we find the King a captive in the Castle of Edinburgh, which served alternately as a palace and a

[1] Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 176. [2] Martial Achievements, vol. ii. p. 407. [3] Drum. of Hawthornden, p. 48.

prison, down to the accession of James VI. to the English throne; and often, as in the present case, fulfilled the double purpose at once. Not only was he held in a sort of honourable durance there by his rebellious barons; having, according to Drummond, "all the honour which appertained to a Prince, save that he could not come abroad, and none were permitted to speak unto him, except in the audience of his lord-keeper; his chamber doors were shut before the setting of the sun, and long after the rising opened; such who only heard of him could not but take him to be a free and absolute Prince; yet when nearly viewed, he was but a King in phantasy, and his throne but a picture!" but, at the same time, there lay within its dungeons the King's own prisoner, the Earl of Douglas; to whom, in this extremity, he at last made unsuccessful overtures of reconciliation.

The King having at length appealed, through the Duke of Albany, to Edward IV. of England, the Duke of Gloucester marched to Edinburgh at the head of ten thousand men, and encamped with them on the Borough Muir, at the very time when the rebellious barons were assembled in council, in the Tolbooth. Here the Duke of Albany, who continued to assume a very specious show of loyalty, joined them, attended by the Duke of Gloucester, and about a thousand English and Scottish gentlemen; and the parties having come to terms, two heralds-at-arms were commanded to pass with them, to charge the captain of the Castle to open the gates, and set the King's grace at liberty; who, if Lindsay is to be relied upon, somewhat contrary to our modern notions of kingly dignity, forthwith "lap on a hackney to ride down to the Abbay: but he would not ride forward, till the Duik of Albanie his brother lap on behind him; and so they went down the geat to the Abbey of Hallyruid hous, quhair they remained ane long tyme in great mirrines;"[1] and, as Abercromby adds, he "would needs make him a *partner in his bed*, and a comrade at his table." On the following day, William Bertraham, the Provost of Edinburgh, and with him the whole fellowship of merchants, burgesses, and community of the said town, loyally and generously obliged themselves to repay to the King of England, under certain circumstances, the dowry to his daughter, the Lady Cecil; or otherwise, "undertook for the King of Scotland, their Sovereign Lord, that he should concur in his former obligations, provided he or they, the said provosts and merchants, were informed of the King of England's pleasure, by the next Feast of All Saints;" which obligations they afterwards fulfilled, repaying the money, amounting to 6000 merks sterling, upon the demand of Garter King-at-Arms, the King of England's messenger. In acknowledgment of this loyal service, the King granted to the city a deed, in 1492, by which the provost and bailies were created sheriffs within all the bounds of their own territories, and rewarded with other important privileges contained in that patent, which is known by the name of the Golden Charter.[2] He also conferred upon the craftsmen the famous banner, long the rallying point of the burgher ward in every civil commotion, or muster for war, which is still preserved by the incorporated trades, and known by the popular title of the Blue Blanket. The history of this famous banner has been written by Alexander Pennycuik, an enthusiastic guild brother of the last century, who begins the record—"When the Omnipotent Architect had built the glorious fabric of this world!" and after recording for the consolation of his brother craftsmen, that "Adam's eldest son was educate a plowman, and his brother a grazier," with many other flattering instances of "God's distinguishing honour put upon tradesmen," he tells that

[1] Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 200.

[2] Drum. of Hawthorn. p. 52.

the order of the Blue Blanket was instituted by Pope Urban II., about 1200, and so is older than any order of knighthood in Europe. According to this author, vast numbers of Scottish mechanics having followed to the Holy War, took with them a banner bearing the inscription—"*In bona voluntate tua edificenter muri Jerusalem*," which they styled the banner of the Holy Ghost, though, from its colour, familiarly called "The Blue Blanket;" and this, on their return, they dedicated to St Eloi's altar in St Giles's Church. Whatever foundation there may be for this remoter origin, it is undoubted that James III. at this time, in requital of the eminent services of the burghers, confirmed them in many privileges, and bestowed on them this ensign, with their heraldic bearings embroidered by the Queen's own hands. It has ever since been kept in the charge of the kirk-master or deacon-convener of the crafts for the time being; every burgher, not only of the capital, but of Scotland, being held bound to rally at the summons, when it is unfurled.

Within a brief period after the incidents related, the Duke of Albany being confined a prisoner in the Castle, succeeded in effecting his escape in a very daring fashion. His rivals having just obtained their own deliverance, "counselled the King to *justify*[1] the Duke his brother;" which being known at the court of France, a French ship arrived in Leith Roads the very day before his intended "justification," the captain of which sent a messenger to the Duke, offering to supply him with a stock of wines; and a confidential servant being thereupon sent for "two bosses full of Malvesy;" they were returned by him, the one containing a letter informing him of the design against his life, and the other filled with cord to aid him in his escape. Acting on this advice, he invited the captain of the Castle to supper, and so liberally dispensed the supposed new supply of wine among his guard, that watching his opportunity, he and his faithful attendant succeeded in overpowering them, and putting them to the sword; and escaping to an unguarded wall of the Castle, they let themselves down by the cord, and so escaped to the French ship; the Duke carrying his attendant on his back, his thigh having been broken in dropping from the wall. So that his escape was not discovered till the nobles arrived on the following morning to wait on the King—then himself residing in the Castle—and to witness the execution.

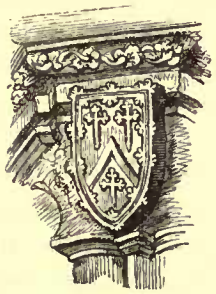
During this and succeeding reigns, the Parliaments continued to assemble generally at Edinburgh, although Stirling Castle was the favourite residence of James III., where he retired from the cares of the state; and there in particular he found opportunity for displaying that love for "building and trimming up of chapels, halls, and gardens,"[2] with which Drummond charges him, as a taste that usually pertains to the lovers of idleness. His love of display seems to have been shown on every opportunity during his residence at Edinburgh. We learn from the same authority, he acquired an easily won character for devotion, by his habit of riding in procession from the Abbey of Holyrood to the churches in the high town, every Wednesday and Friday.

King James III. was slain on the 8th of June 1488, by his own rebellious nobles, on the field of Stirling, nearly on the same arena as had been the scene of Scotland's greatest victory under the Bruce. Whatever view the historian may take of this Monarch's character and influence on the nation, he contributed more than any other of the

[1] Put to death.

[2] Hawthornden, p. 61.

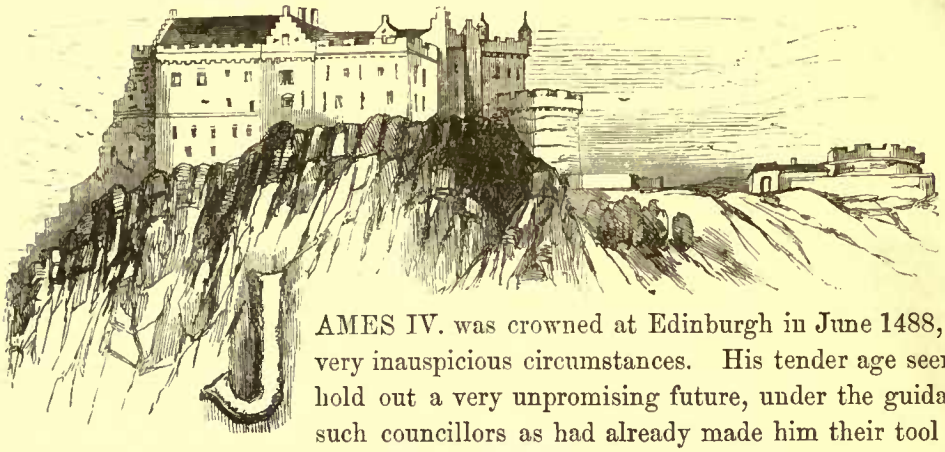
Stuart race towards the permanent prosperity of the Scottish capital. By favour of his charters, its local jurisdiction was left almost exclusively in the hands of its own magistrates; on them were conferred ample powers for enacting laws for its governance; with authority, in life and death—still vested in its chief magistrate—an independence which was afterwards defended amid many dangers, down to the period of the Union. By his charters also in their favour, they obtained the right, which they still hold, to all the customs of the haven and harbour of Leith, with the proprietorship of the adjacent coast, and of all the roads leading thereto; as well as many special privileges conferred on the craftsmen, which they were not slow to protect from encroachment; as his descendant James VI. points out to his son Prince Henry, in the *Basilicon Doron*—"The craftsmen think we should be content with their work, how bad soever it be; and if in any thing they be controuled, up goes the Blue Blanket!"



Bishop Kennedy's Arms—from the choir of St Giles's Church.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES IV. TO THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN.



JAMES IV. was crowned at Edinburgh in June 1488, under very inauspicious circumstances. His tender age seemed to hold out a very unpromising future, under the guidance of such councillors as had already made him their tool in the Field of Stirling. Yet his reign of twenty-five years is one of the brightest in our national history, and furnishes many valuable local associations, as well as curious traditions connected with our present subject.

The opening scenes of this eventful reign introduce to our notice Sir Andrew Wood, the most famous of our Scottish seamen, whose undaunted courage and loyalty shone conspicuously, while yet the death of his royal master, James III., remained uncertain.

The Prince, as James IV. was still called, had assembled the nobility adhering to him, along with their followers at Leith, from whence messengers were despatched to Sir Andrew's ships, then lying in the Firth, to ascertain if the King had found refuge on board; and, if not, to endeavour to engage his adherence to their party.[1] The sturdy seaman indignantly rejected the latter proposition, and refused to come on shore, till certain of the nobility were delivered up as hostages for his safe return; and he being detained long on shore, his noble substitutes, the Lords Seton and Fleming, narrowly escaped the halter, by his opportune arrival.[2]

Immediately after the coronation of the young King, his heralds were sent to demand the restitution of the Castle in his name; and this, with other royal strongholds, being promptly surrendered to his summons, he assumed the throne without further obstacles.

Towards the close of the same year, 1488, his first Parliament assembled within the

[1] Martial Achievements, vol. ii. p. 489. [2] Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 225.

VIGNETTE—The Castle, from the West Port, J. G., about 1640.

Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and under the influence of the leaders at the Field of Stirling, enacted, in his name, many harsh and unjust laws, directed against the adherents of the late King, involving suspension or deprivation to all officers of state, and handing over "all churchmen taken in armour, to their ordinaries, to be punished according to law." The first occurrence that tended to rescue the King from implicit confidence in his father's enemies, was the splendid victory obtained by Sir Andrew Wood, over a fleet sent by Henry VII. of England, to execute reprisals on the murderers of the late King. They had committed great ravages on the Scottish shipping, and completely blockaded the mouth of the Forth; when Sir Andrew sailed against them, and with an inferior force, completely defeated, and brought the whole armament, consisting of five large ships, into Leith. Shortly after this, the King concluded a truce with England, and on the 15th day of February 1490, his second Parliament met at Edinburgh, and again another in the following year, both of which enacted many salutary laws; and, at the same time, Andrew Foreman, Protonotary of Pope Alexander VI., arrived at the Scottish Court with consolatory letters to the King, whose grief at the share he had taken in the fatal rebellion against his father still manifested itself in severe penances and mortifications. He was also the bearer of a bull, addressed to the abbots of Paisley and Jedburgh,[1] empowering them to absolve and readmit into the church all such as had been accessory to the death of King James III. of famous memory, on their expressing sincere repentance for the same.[2] And now the King, drawing towards manhood, the ominous clouds that had threatened the commencement of his reign disappeared, and a long and prosperous calm succeeding his early troubles, left him free to give the rein to his chivalrous tastes, and extend his royal patronage to the many eminent men that adorned the Scottish Court.

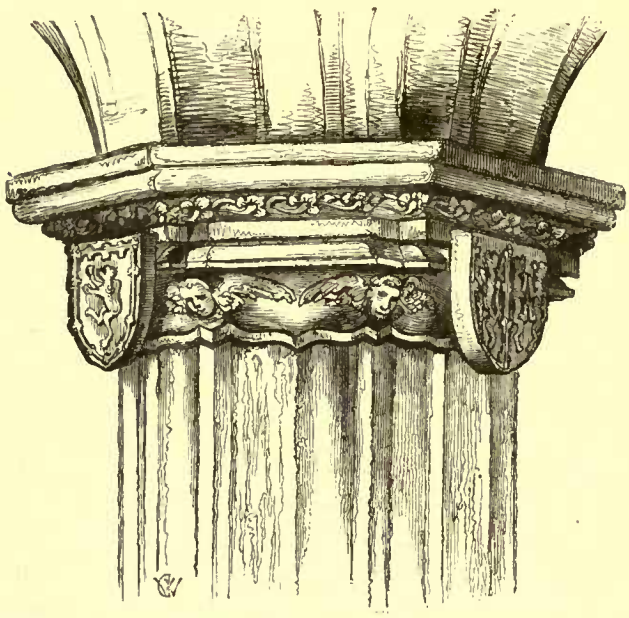
During this reign, Edinburgh became celebrated throughout Europe, as the scene of knightly feats of arms. "In this country," says Arnot, "tournaments are of great antiquity; they were held in Edinburgh in the reign of William the Lion, and in those of many of the succeeding Princes. The valley or low ground lying between the wester road to Leith, and the rock at Lochend, was bestowed by James II. on the community of Edinburgh, for the special purpose of holding tournaments and other martial sports."[3] Here, most probably, the weaponshaws which were of such constant recurrence at a later period, as well as such martial parades as were summoned by civic authority, were held, unless in cases of actual preparation for war, when the Borough Muir seems to have been invariably the appointed place of rendezvous. The favourite scene of royal tournaments, however, was a spot of ground near the King's Stables, just below the Castle wall. Here James IV., in particular, often assembled his lords and barons, by proclamation, for jousting; offering such meeds of honour as a spear headed with gold, and the like favours, presented to the victor by the King's own hand; so that "the fame of his justing and turney spread throw all Europe, quhilk caused many errand knyghtis cum out of vther pairtes to Scotland to seik justing, becaus they hard of the kinglie fame of the Prince of Scotland. Bot few or none of thame passed away vnmached, and oftymes overthrowne."[4]

One notable encounter is specially recorded, which took place between Sir John Cockbewis, a Dutch knight, and Sir Patrick Hamilton. "Being assembled togidder on great

[1] Hawthornden, p. 68.
[2] Martial Achievements, vol. ii. p. 497.
[3] Arnot, p. 71.
[4] Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 246.

horsis under the Castle wall, in the barrace," the Scottish knight's horse having failed him in the first onset, they encountered on foot, continuing the contest for a full hour, till the Dutchman being struck to the ground, the King cast his hat over the Castle wall as a signal to stay the combat, while the heralds and trumpeters proclaimed Sir Patrick the victor.

A royal experiment, of a more subtle nature, may be worth recording, as a sample of the manners of the age. The King caused a dumb woman to be transported to the neighbouring island of Inchkeith, and there being properly lodged and provisioned, two infants were entrusted to her care, in order to discover by the language they should adopt, what was the original human tongue. The result seems to have been very satisfactory, as, after allowing them a sufficient time, it was found that "they spak very guid Ebrew!"



But it is not alone by knightly feats of arms, and the rude chivalry of the Middle Ages, that the court of James IV. is distinguished. The Scottish capital, during his reign, was the residence of men high in every department of learning and the arts.

Gawin Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, the well-known author of "The Palice of Honour," and the translator of Virgil's Æneid into Scottish verse, was at this time Provost of St Giles's,[1] and dedicated his poem to the

"Maist gracious Priuce ouir Souerain James the Feird,
Supreme honour renoun of cheualrie."

Dunbar, "the greatest poet that Scotland has produced,"[2] was in close and familiar attendance on the court, and with him Kennedy, "his kindly foe," and Sir John Ross, and "Gentill Roull of Corstorphine," as well as others afterwards enumerated by Dunbar, in his "Lament for the Makaris." Many characteristic and very graphic allusions to the manners of the age have been preserved in the poems that still exist, by them affording a curious insight into the Scottish city and capital of the James's. Indeed, the local and temporary allusions that occur in their most serious pieces, are often quaint and amusing, in the highest degree, as in Kennedy's "Passioun of Crist:"—

"In the Tolbuth then Pilot enterit in,
Callit on Christ, and sperit gif He wes King?"

[1] Keith's Bishops, 8vo, 1824, p. 468.

[2] Ellis' Specimens, 8vo, 1845, vol. i. p. 304.

VIGNETTE—North-east pillar, St Giles's choir.

And in Dunbar's "Droichis part of the Play;"[1]—

"My name is WELTH, thairfor be blyth,
I come heir comfort yow to kyth;
Supposs that wretchis wryng and wryth,
All darth I sall gar dé;
For sekerly, the treuth to tell,
I come amang yow heir to duell;
Fra sound of Sanct Gelis bell,
Nevir think I to flé.

"Quharfor in Scotland come I heir,
With yow to byde and perseveir,
In Edinburgh, quhar is meriast cheir,
Plesans, disport and play;
Quhilk is the lampe, and A per se,
Of this regioun, in all degré,
Of welefair, and of honesté,
Renoune, aud riche aray."

Other local allusions of a similar nature might be selected, but these may suffice as examples.

In the year 1496, Edinburgh was visited by the famous Perkin Warbeck,[2] the reputed Duke of York, who was murdered in the Tower. He arrived with a rich equipage and a gallant train of followers, and was received by the King with every token of sincerity, as the unfortunate Richard Plantagenet, son to King Edward IV. It is not easy now, nor is it our province to decide, how far the King was really imposed on by his specious tale, or if he was solely actuated by reasons of state policy. He undoubtedly espoused his cause with zeal; involving, as it did, not only a breach with his intended father-in-law, Henry VII.; but the immediate prospect of a war with England, an event seemingly at no time an object of great dislike to the Scottish nation: and, moreover, testified the sincerity of his partizanship, by giving him in marriage his own kinswoman, the Lady Catherine Gordon, whose beauty long after procured her at the English Court the name of the White Rose. The peaceful policy of the English Monarch speedily won over the inclinations of his future son-in-law, and the negotiations were renewed for the marriage of James with the Princess Margaret; at the same time that messengers arrived at Holyrood Palace, bearing, as a gift from Pope Julius II. to the Scottish King, a sword aud diadem wrought with flowers of gold, which had been consecrated by him on Christmas eve;[3] the former of which is still preserved among the Scottish regalia, in Edinburgh Castle.

Fully four years elapsed between the conclusion of the treaty of marriage and its fulfilment; and during that time, the King was actively occupied in preparations for the reception of his bride. Up to this time, the Scottish Kings seem to have resided at the Abbey of Holyrood, as the abbot's guests: but he now set earnestly to work, "for the bigging of a palace beside the Abbay of the Haly Croce,"[4] the only part of which still in existence is the "for-yet" or vaulted gateway to the Abbey Court, the south wall and other remains of which may yet be seen in the Court-house of the Abbey, the indications of the arches of its groined roof being still visible on the outer wall. The Treasurer's accounts of the

[1] Dunbar's Poems, vol. ii. p. 41.
[2] Martial Achieve., vol. ii. p. 506.
[3] Hawthornden, p. 69.
[4] Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis, Pref. 58.

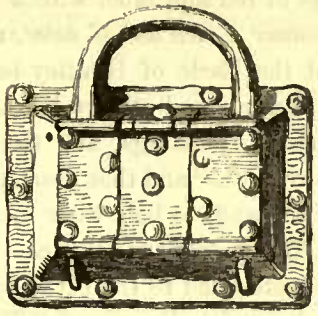
expenses of the building, preserve a valuable record of its progress and character; no expense seems to have been spared to render it a fitting residence for the future Queen. Though some idea of the homely fashion of building still common, may be inferred from an allusion of Dunbar, in his poem of the "Warld's Instabilitie:"—

"Greit Abbais grayth I nill to gather,
Bot ane Kirk scant coverit with hadder!"

James IV. was not only an eminent encourager of literature, but by fame reputed both a poet and musician, though nothing survives from his pen but the metrical order to his treasurer, in reply to "The Petition of the Grey Horse, Auld Dunbar;" but whatever may have been the value of his own productions, his taste is abundantly proved by the eminent men he drew around him.

Gawin Douglas undoubtedly owed his favour at court, as well as the friendship and patronage of the Queen, and the partiality of Leo X. at a later period, to his learning and talents, when through their good offices, he obtained, against the most violent opposition, his appointment to the bishopric of Dunkeld in 1516. Kennedy, too, seems to have been a constant attendant at court, while Dunbar was on the most intimate footing with his royal master, and employed by him on the most confidential missions to foreign courts. In 1501, he visited England with the ambassadors sent to conclude the negotiations for the King's marriage, and to witness the ceremony of affiancing the Princess Margaret in January following;[1] and at length, on the 7th of August 1503, the Queen, who had attained the mature age of fourteen years, made her public entrance into Edinburgh, amid every demonstration of national rejoicing. A most minute account of her reception has been preserved by John Young, Somerset Herald, her attendant, and an eye-witness of the whole; which exhibits, in an interesting light, the wealth and refinement of the Scottish capital at this period.[2] The King met his fair bride at the castle of Dalkeith, where she was hospitably entertained by the Earl of Morton, and having greeted her with knightly courtesy, and passed the day in her company, he returned "to hys bed at Edinborg, varey well countent of so fayr meetyng." The Queen was attended on her journey by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Surrey, and a numerous and noble retinue; and was received, on her near approach to Edinburgh, by the King richly apparelled in cloth of gold, the Earl of Bothwell bearing the sword of state before him, and attended by the principal nobility of the court.[3] The King, coming down from his own horse, "kyssed her in her litre, and mounting on the pallefroy of the Qwene, and the said Qwene behind hym, so rode thorow the towne of Edenburgh." On their way, they were entertained with an opposite scene of romantic chivalry—a knight-errant rescuing his distressed ladye love from the hands of her ravisher. The royal party were met at the entry to the town by the Grey Friars—whose monastery, in the Grassmarket, they had to pass—bearing in procession their most valued relics, which were presented to the royal pair to kiss; and thereafter they were stayed at an embattled barrier, erected for the occasion, at the windows of which appeared "angells synging joyously for the comynge of so noble a ladye," while another angel presented to her the keys of the city.

[1] Dunbar's Memoirs. D. Laing. 1834. [2] Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p 287-300 [3] Ibid, 287.



Within the gate, the houses were gaily decorated, the windows being hung with tapestry, and filled with "lordes, ladyes, gentylwomen and gentylmen; and in the churches of the towne, bells rang for myrthe." Here they were received by the chapter and prebendaries of St Giles's Church in their richest vestments, and bearing the arm of their patron saint, which they presented to their Majesties to kiss; while the good city vied with the ecclesiastics in testifying their joy by pageants and quaint mysteries, suited to the auspicious occasion. Nigh to the cross, at which a fountain flowed with wine, whereof all might drink,[1] they were received by Paris and the rival goddesses, "with Mercure that gaffe him the apylle of gold for to gyffe to the most fayre of the thre." Further on was the salutation of the Angel Gabriel to the Virgin; while on another gate, probably the Netherbow, appeared the four virtues—Justice, treading Nero under her feet; Force, bearing a pillar, and beneath her Holofernes, all armed; Temperance, holding a horse's bit, and treading on Epicurus, and Prudence, triumphing over Sardanapalus! while the tabrets played merrily as the royal procession passed through, and so proceeded to the Abbey. There they were received by the Archbishop of St Andrews, accompanied by a numerous retinue of bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastics, in their official robes, and conducted to the high altar, at which they knelt, while the "*Te Deum*" was sung, and then passed through the cloisters into the Palace.

In the great chamber (the hangings of which represented the history of Troy, and the windows filled with the arms of Scotland and England, and other heraldic devices, in coloured glass), were many ladies of great name and nobly arrayed; and the King letting go the Queen, till she had kissed all the ladies, the Bishop of Moray acted as Master of the Ceremonies, naming each as she saluted her:—"After she had kyssed them all, the Kyng kyssed her for her labour, and so took her again with low cortesay and bare hed, and brought hyr to hyr chammer, and kyssed her agayn, and so took his leve right humble!"

"The eighth day of the said month, every man apointed himself richly for the marriage, the ladies nobly aparelled, some in gowns of cloth of gold, others of crimson, velvet, and black; others of satin, tynsell, and damask, and of chamlet of many colours; hoods, chains, and collars upon their necks. . . . . The Kyng sat in a chayre of cramsyn velvet, the pannells of that sam gylte, under hys cloth of astat of blew velvet fygured of gold;" with the Archbishop of York at his right haud, and the Earl of Surrey on his left; while the Scottish bishops and nobles led the Queen from her chamber, "crowned with a varey ryche crowne of gold, garnished with pierry and perles, to the high altar, where the marriage was solemnised by the Archbishop of Glasgow, amid the sound of trumpets and the acclamation of the noble company." At the dinner which followed, the Queen was served at the first course with "a wyld borres hed gylt, within a fayr platter," followed by sundry other equally queenly dishes. The chamber was adorned with hang-

[1] Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 289.

VIGNETTE—Ancient padlock, dug up in Greyfriars' Churchyard, 1841.

ings of red and blue, with a canopy of state, of cloth of gold. "Ther wer also *in the sam chammer a rich bed of astat*, and the Lord Gray served the King with water for to wash, and the Earle of Huntley berred the towalle!" The commons testified their sympathy by bonfires and other tokens of public rejoicing, while dancing, music, and feasting, with coursing, joustings, and the like pastimes of the age, were continued thereafter during many days, "and that done, every man went his way," the Earl of Surrey, with the chivalry of England, to bide their second meeting on the field of Flodden.

This propitious alliance—which, notwithstanding the disastrous period that intervened, ultimately led to the permanent union of the two kingdoms—was celebrated by Dunbar in his beautiful allegory of "The Thrissil and the Rois," a poem, notwithstanding its obsolete language, scarcely surpassed in beauty by anything written since. "At this time," says its excellent biographer, "Dunbar appears to have lived on terms of great familiarity with the King, and to have participated freely in all the gaieties and amusements of the Scottish Court; his sole occupation being that of writing ballads on any passing event, and thus contributing to the entertainment of his royal master.[1] From several of his writings, as well as from "The Flyting" with his poetic rival Walter Kennedy, many curious local allusions may be gleaned. One satirical poem, an "Address to the Merchants of Edinburgh," is particularly interesting for our present object, conveying a most graphic, though somewhat highly-coloured picture of the Scottish capital at this period.[2] "The principal streets crowded with stalls—the confused state of the different markets—the noise and cries of the fishwomen, and of other persons retailing their wares round the cross—the booths of traders crowded together 'like a honeycomb,' near the church of St Giles, which was then, and continued till within a very recent period, to be disfigured with mean and paltry buildings, stuck round the buttresses of the church—the outer stairs of the houses projecting into the street—the swarm of beggars—the common minstrels, whose skill was confined to one or two hackneyed tunes—all together form the subject of a highly graphic and interesting delineation."

TO THE MERCHANTS OF EDINBURGH.

Quhy will ye, Merchants of renoun,
Let Edinburgh, your noble toun,
For lak of reformation
The common profit tyne and fame?
Think ye nocht schame,
That ony other region
Sall with dishonour hurt your name!

May naue pass throw your principal gates,
For stink of haddocks and of scates;
For cries of carlings and debates;
For sensum flyttings of defame:
Think ye nocht schame,
Before strangers of all estates
That sic dishonour hurt your name!

[1] Dunbar, by D. Laing, 1834, vol. i. p. 23.

[2] Ibid, p. 32.

Your stinkand scule[1] that standis dirk,
Holds the light from your Parroche Kirk;
Your forestairs makis your houses mirk,
Lyk nae country but here at hame:
  Think ye nocht schame,
Sae little policie to work
In hurt and sclander of your name!

At your high Cross, quhair gold and silk
Sould be, thair is but curds and milk;
And at your Trone but cokill and wilk,
Pansches, pudings of Jok and Jame:
  Think ye nocht schame,
Sen as the world sayis that ilk
In hurt and sclander of your name!

Your common Meustrals have no tone,
But, Now the day dawis, and Into June;
Cuninger men maun serve Sanct Cloun,
And never to other craftis clame:
  Think ye nocht schame,
To hold sic mowes on the moon,
In hurt and sclander of your name!

Tailors, Soutters, and craftis vyll,
The fairest of your streets do fyll;
And merchandis at the Stinkand Styll
Are hampert in ane hony came:
  Think ye nocht schame,
That ye have neither witt nor wyle
To win yourself ane better name!

Your Burgh of beggars is ane nest,
To shout thai swenyours will nocht rest;
All honest folk they do molest,
Sa piteouslie they cry and rame:
  Think ye nocht schame,
That for the poor hes no thing drest,
In hurt and sclander of your name!

Your proffeit daily does increas,
Your godlie workis less and less;
Through streittis nane may mak progress,
For cry of cruikit, blind, and lame:
  Think ye nocht schame,
That ye sic substance do possess,
And will nocht win ane better name!

In Gawin Douglas's Prologue to the Eighth Book of the Æneid, there is another admirable satire on the manners of the times, but the allusions are mostly more general in their application. Again, in Dunbar's "Tydingis fra the Sessioun," where a country man tells his neighbour, "I come of Edinburgh fra the sessioun," the picture is equally lively and pungent. In his "Remonstrance to the King," there occurs an inventory of

[1] Probably *stile;* a passage which led through the Luckenbooths, to St Giles's Church, directly opposite the Advocates' Close, coutinued to be known by this name till the whole was removed in 1811.

the various royal servitors, affording a curious insight into the crafts of the period. A brief extract will suffice:—

> Cunyouris, carvouris, and carpentaris,
> Beildaris of barkis, and ballingaris;
> Masounis, lyand upon the land,
> And schip wrichtis hewand upone the strand;
> Glasing wrichtis, goldsmythis, and lapidaris,
> Pryntouris, payntouris, and potingaris; &c.

The introduction of printers in the list, shows the progress literature was making at this time; as early as 1490, the Parliament enjoined the education of the eldest sons of all barons and freeholders, in the Latin language, as well as in science and jurisprudence; but it was not till 1507 that the art of printing was introduced into Scotland, under the royal auspices, when a patent was granted to Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, conferring on them the exclusive privilege of printing there. Some of Dunbar's own poems seem to have been among the very first productions that issued from their press, and form now very scarce and highly valued reliques of the art. It affords evidence of the success that attended the printing press, immediately on its introduction, that, in the year 1513, Walter Chepman founded a Chaplainry at the altar of St John the Evangelist, on the southern side of St Giles's Church, and endowed it with an annuity of twenty-three marks.[1] But, perhaps, the most lively characteristics of the times, occur in "The Flytings" of Kennedy and Dunbar, already referred to,—a most singular feature of the age, afterwards copied by their successors,—in which many local and personal allusions are to be found. These poems consist of a series of pungent satires, wherein each depicts his rival in the most ridiculous characters, and often in the coarsest language.

This literary gladiatorship originated in no personal enmity, but seems to have been a friendly trial of wits for the amusement of the court. A few extracts, in connection with our local history, will suffice, as specimens of these most singular literary effusions. Dunbar addresses Kennedy,[2]—

> Thou brings the Carrick clay to Edinburgh Cross,
> Upon thy buitings hobbland hard as horn,
> Strae wisps hing out quhair that the wats ar worn;
> Come thou again to skar us with thy straes,
> We sall gar skale our Schulis all thee to scorn,
> And staue thes up the calsay as thou gaes.
>
> The boys of Edinburgh, as the bees out thraws,
> And crys out ay, Heir cums our awin queer Clerk!
> Then fleis thou like a houlat chaist with craws,
> Quhyle all the bitches at thy buitings bark,
> Then carlings cry, Keip curches in the merk,
> Our gallows gapes, lo! quhair ane graceless gaes:
> Anither says, I ses him want a sark,
> I red ye, Kimmer, tak in your lining clais.

---

[1] Maitland, p. 271.

[2] These extracts from "The Flyting" are taken, with a few verbal exceptions, from Ramsay's Evergreen, as being more easily understood by the general reader, than the pure version of Mr Laing.

Then rins thou down the gate with gild of boys,
  And all the town-tykes hingand at thy heels·
Of lads and louns, ther ryses sic a noise,
  Quhyle runsys rin away with cairt and wheels,
  And cadger's avers, cast baith coals and creils,
For rerd of thee, and rattling of thy butes.
  Fish wyves cry, Fy, and cast down skulls and skeils,
Some clashes thee, some clods thee on the cutes.

An allusion of the same nature as the concluding lines, to the fraternity of fishwives, occurs in the "Devil's Inquest," by the same author, and would seem to afford historical evidence that the ancient characteristics of that hardy race are still ably represented in their descendants.

Kennedy replies in equally caustic terms, ransacking history for delinquencies of the Dunbars, with which to brand their namesake, and thus advises him:—

Pass to my Commissar and be confest,
  Before him cour on knees, and cum in will;
And syne gar Stobo for thy life protest;
  Renunce thy rymes, baith ban and burn thy bill,
  Heive to the Heaven thy hands and hald thee still.
Do thou not thus, Brigane, thou sall be brint,
With pik, tar, fyre, gun-powder, and lint,
  On Arthur-sate, or on ane higher hill!

It may surprise us that this poetic warfare, though begun in play, did not end in earnest feud, from the zeal with which it is conducted; yet they seemed to have remained to the last good friends; and in the "Lament for the Makaris," Dunbar bewails the approaching death of his rival, as a friend and brother.

But we must hasten from these merry pastimes of the court, that open on us like a glimpse of some lively comedy enacted to sweet music of the olden time, delaying us too long by its quaint pleasantries, and pass on to the more stirring events of the time, that ended in "Flodden's bloody rout." The leading historical incidents that preceded this disastrous field belong not to our subject, even if they were less familiar than they are to the general reader. But among those that possess a local interest, may be mentioned the General Synod of the Clergy, which assembled, by permission of the King, in the Blackfriars,[1] at Edinburgh, where, in presence of the Pope's nuncio, Bagimont's roll was revised, and all benefices above forty pounds sterling yearly value, held bound to pay a certain sum to the Pope; the King, however, reserving to himself the right of making still larger demands when needed.[2]

The Queen had already given birth to two sons at Holyrood Palace, both of whom died in infancy; and in 1512, her third son, who speedily succeeded to the throne as James V., was born at Linlithgow; when the King, seduced by the romantic challenge of the Queen of France, "To ride, for her sake, three feet on English ground," forgot his fair young Queen and infant son, and in defiance of every argument and artifice that his nobles could adopt to win him from his purpose, flung away the fruits of a prosperous reign in one unequal contest. Lindsay of Pitscottie's account of the warnings that preceded the departure

[1] A.D. 1511.

[2] Martial Achievements, vol. ii. p. 529.

of the Scottish army from the capital, though familiar to many, are too intimately associated with our local history to be omitted here. The King had already been warned against the war, by an apparition of St John, at Linlithgow; "yet this but hasted him fast to Edinburgh, to make him ready, and to make provision for himself and his army against the day appointed. That is, he had seven great canuons out of the Castle of Edinburgh, called the Seven Sisters, casten by Robert Borthwik, the master-gunner; furnished with powder and lead to them at their pleasure; and in the meantime, they were taking out the artillery, the King himself being in the Abbey, there was a cry heard at the Market-cross of Edinburgh, about midnight, proclaiming, as it had been, a summons, which was called by the proclaimer thereof the summon of Plotcok,[1] desiring all earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, and sundry burgesses within the town, to compear before his master within forty days; and so many as were called, were designed by their own names. But whether this summons was proclaimed by vain persons, night walkers, for their pastime, or if it was a spirit, I cannot tell. But an indweller in the town, called Mr Richard Lawsoun, being evil disposed, ganging in his gallery-stair, fornent the Cross, hearing this voice, thought marvel what it should be: So he cried for his servant to bring him his purse, and took a crown and cast it over the stair, saying, 'I, for my part, appeal from your summons and judgment, and take me to the mercy of God.' Verily, he who caused me chronicle this, was a sufficient landed gentleman, who was in the town in the meantime, and was then twenty years of age; and he swore after the field there was not a man that was called at that time that escaped, except that one man, that appealed from their judgment."[2] But neither this, nor the entreaties of his Queen, who urged that "she had but one son to him, quilk was over weak ane warrand to the realme of Scotland!" could turn back the King from his rash purpose. In defiance, as it seemed, alike of earth and heaven, the gallant, but headstrong and devoted Monarch led forth the flower of Scottish chivalry to perish with him on the bloody field of Flodden. The body of the King having fallen, as is understood, into the hands of the victors, he was believed by many to have gone on his intended pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and popular tradition continued long after to regard him as another King Arthur, or Sebastian, who was yet to return in the hour of danger, and right the nation's wrongs.

We shall close this chapter with a curious, and we believe unique fragment of a ballad, embodying this tradition, with other more local and apposite allusions.

* * * *

An about the mids o' the night
He crap to the field o' the bluid;
Laigh he bowit an dour he lookit,
But never a worde he spak.[3]

He turned the dead knight round about,
Till the moon shon on his bree;
But his soth was tined wit a bluidy gash,
Drumbelee grew his ee.

---

[1] Pluto.

[2] Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 266.

[3] Probably should be "*said.*"

Up and awa my lither foot page,
An Scotland and I maun part;
But sweere by the deed in ilk bluidy shrowd,
That thou layn my lare i' thy hart.

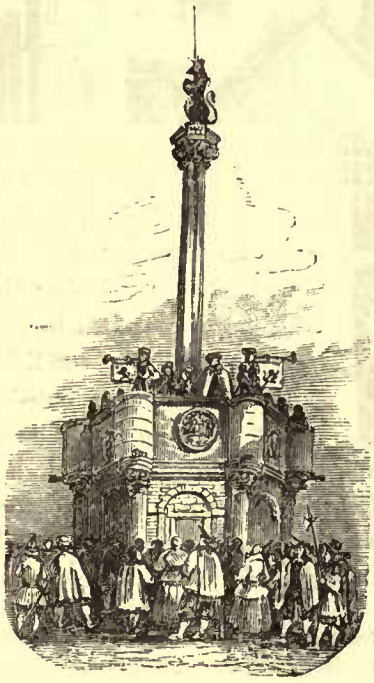
Giffe I were a King, as now I 'm nane,
Ille battell wold I prove,
My birde ladie in Halyroode;
Wae worth the wyt o' luve.

Sanct Giles sall ring ilk larum belle,
Wauk up the craimes and bowse.
Earl Angus has taen hime to Floudenne
* * * *

He cut the crosse on his right shoulder
O' claith o' the bluidy redde,
An hes taen his ways to the haly land
Wheras Christe was quick and dead.[1]

---

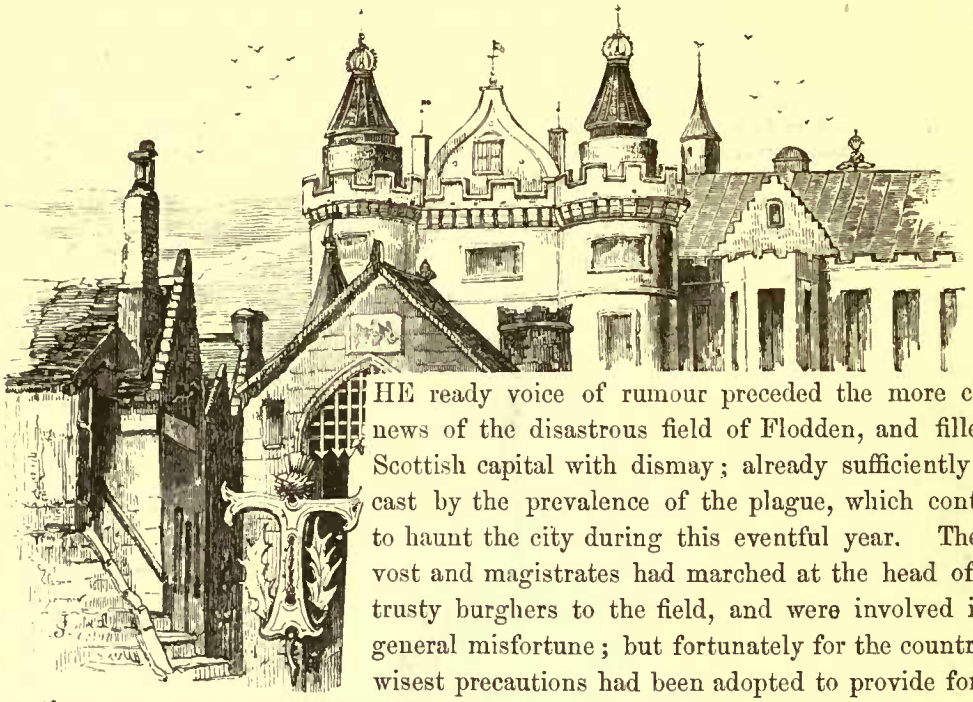
[1] This curious fragment was found by the author in an interleaved copy of "Dalrymple's remarks on the History of Scotland." Two leaves have been torn out, so that these are only the concluding stanzas. The following note is appended in the same hand:—"This I got from an old man, James Spence, gardener at Earlsha'; it had been on the fly leaf of a Psalm-book in the family as long as he remembered."



City Cross.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN TO THE DEATH OF JAMES V.



THE ready voice of rumour preceded the more certain news of the disastrous field of Flodden, and filled the Scottish capital with dismay; already sufficiently overcast by the prevalence of the plague, which continued to haunt the city during this eventful year. The provost and magistrates had marched at the head of their trusty burghers to the field, and were involved in the general misfortune; but fortunately for the country, the wisest precautions had been adopted to provide for such a contingency. The provost and bailies "in respect that they were to pass to the army, chose and left behind thame George of Touris, president, for the provost, and four others for the bailies, till have full jurisdictioun in thair absence."[1]

The battle of Flodden was fought on the 9th of September 1513, and on the following

[1] Registers of the City—Lord Hailes' Remarks.

VIGNETTE—James V.'s Tower, Holyrood, previous to 1554.

[Note]—The following ballad, the scene of which is laid in St Giles's Church, may find a place here, both from its local allusions, and its general reference to the subject of the text:—

Wae worth the day our burghers leal
Rade our the Ynglish yird;
Wae worth the day whan leman's guile,
To bluidy grave fand wit to wyle
Our gallant James the Feird.

Gawn Douglas rase frae a dead-troth sleep,
Teenefu' wi' erie dreams;
Queen Margaret in Halyrood waukt to weep
Sin' their maister a leman's tryst will keep
Ayont Tweed's border streams.

day, with the first rumours of the disaster, these magistrates issued a proclamation, couched in plain and simple terms, yet exhibiting such firmness as showed them well fitted for the trying occasion. It begins, "For sa meikle as thair is ane greit rumber[1] now laitlie rysin within this toun, tueching our Soverane Lord and his army, of the quilk we understand thair is cumin na veritie as yet, quhairfore we charge straigtlie, and commandis that all maner of personis, nyhbours within the samen, have reddy their fensible geir and wapponis for weir, and compeir thairwith to the said president's, at jowing of the commoun bell, for the keeping and defens of the toun against thame that wald invade the samyn."[2] It likewise warns women not to be seen on the street, clamouring and erying, but rather to repair to the church, and offer up prayers for the national welfare.

All the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, were thus required to be in readiness; twenty-four men (the origin of the old town-guard), were appointed as a standing watch; and £500 Scots were forthwith ordered to be levied for purchasing artillery and fortifying the town.

We have already described the line of the first circumvallations of the city, erected in the reign of James II.; but its narrow limits had speedily proved too confined for the rising capital, and now with the dread of invasion by a victorious enemy in view, the inhabitants of the new and fashionable suburb of the Cowgate became keenly alive to their exposed position beyond the protecting shelter of the city wall.

The necessity of enclosing it seems to have come upon the citizens in the most un-

It is na ae day, but ouly ten,
Sin' Sanct Giles his quire had rung
Wi' the high mass an' the haly sign,
An' the aisles wi' the tramp o' stalwart men
That the *Nunc Demittis* sung.

But only ten sin' prince and squire,
An' churl, an' burger bauld,
In mauger o' hell's or heaven's forbear,
Had hlght to ride, wi' helm an' spear,
Three yards on Ynglish mould—

When Douglas sought nigh the noon o' night
The altar o' gude Sanct Giles,
Up the haly quire, whar the glimmerand light
O' the Virgin's lamp gae the darkness sight
To fill the eerie aisles.

Belyve, as the boom o' the mid-mirk hour,
Rang out wi' clang an' mane;
Clang after clang frae Sanct Giles's tower,
Whar the fretted ribs like a boortree bower
Mak a royal crown o' stane—

Or the sound was tint—'fore mortal ee
Ne'er saw sic sight, I trow,
Shimmering wi' light ilk canopy,
Pillar an' ribbed arch, an' fretted key,
Wi' a wild uneardly low.

An' Douglas was ware that the haly pile
Wi' a strange kent thrang was filled,—
Yearls Angus an' Crawford, an' bauld Argyle,
Huntly an' Lennox, an' Home the while,
Wi' mony ma' noble styled.

An' priests stood up in cope and stole,
In mitre an' abbot's weede,
An' James y'wis ábon the whole,
Led up the kirk to win assoyl
Whar the eldritch mass was said.

Let the mass be sung for the unshriven dead!—
Let the dead's mass bide their ban!—
An' grim an' stalwart, in mouldy weed,
Priest after priest, up the altar lead,
King James his forbear wan.

Let the dead's mass sing! said Inchaffrey's priest—
Dead threap na to the dead;
Now peace to them wha tak' their rest,
A' smoured in bluid on Flodden's breast!—
Crist's peace!—Priest Douglas cried.

Gane was the thrang frae the glymerand aisle,
As he groped to the kirk yard boun';
But or the mornin' sun 'gan smile,
'Twas kent that a woman was Scotland's mail,
A wean wore Scotland's crown.

[1] Rumour.

[2] Lord Hailes' Remarks, p. 147.

expected manner; they no doubt regretted that luxury and taste for improvement had led them so far out into the unprotected country. But they certainly did afterwards retrieve their native character of prudence, as scarcely a house arose beyond the second wall for two hundred and fifty years; and if Edinburgh increased in any respect, it was only by piling new flats on the Ancient Royalty, and adding to the height rather than to the extent of the city.[1]

The utmost energy was immediately displayed in supplying the needful defences; the farmers of the Lothians lent their labourers and horses to the national work; the citizens rivalled one another in their zeal for the fortification of the capital against the dreaded foe, "our auld inymis of Ingland."[2] So that, in an incredibly short time, the extended city was enclosed within defensive walls, with ports, and battlements, and towers, an effective protection against the military engineering of the age.

Considerable portions of this wall have remained to the present time, exhibiting abundant tokens of the haste with which it was erected, as well as preserving, in the name of the Flodden wall, by which it is still known, another proof of the deep impression that disastrous field had left on the popular mind.

Fortunately for Scotland, Henry VIII. was too deeply engrossed with the French war to follow up the advantage he had gained; and Queen Margaret, who now assumed the government in name of her infant son, having appealed to his generosity, towards a sister and nephew, he willingly secured the neutrality of the Scots by a peace. Shortly after this truce, a legate arrived at Edinburgh from the Pope, bearing his congratulations to the young King on his accession to the crown,[3] and presented him with a consecrated cap and sword from his Holiness—the latter of which is still preserved among the Regalia in Edinburgh Castle.

[1515.] The nation now experienced all the evils of a long minority; the Queen having speedily accepted Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, in marriage, was thereby held to have forfeited the Regency; and from this time, till the young King asserted his independence, the people knew scarcely any other rule than the anarchy of rival factions contending for power, in all which the capital had always a principal share.

The Earl of Arran, upon the marriage of the Queen, marched to Edinburgh, numerously attended by his kinsmen and friends, and laid claim to the Regency, as the nearest of blood to the King. The Earl of Angus immediately followed him thither, attended by above 500 armed retainers, ready to assert his claims against every opponent. So soon as Arran, who, "with the chief of the nobility of the west, had assembled at the Archbishop of Glasgow's house, in the foot of Blackfrier Wynd,"[4] had learned of his arrival, he ordered the gates to be secured, little aware of the formidable host he was thus enclosing within the walls. On the following morning, Angus received early intimation of the rash scheme of his rival, for making him prisoner, and lost no time in mustering his followers, whom he drew up, well armed and in battle array, above the Nether Bow, and thereupon a fierce and sanguinary conflict ensued between them, which was not stayed till Sir Patrick Hamilton, Montgomery, and above seventy men had fallen in the affray. Though the Regent pub-

[1] Chambers's Traditions, vol. i. p. 3.
[2] Diurnal of Occurrents.
[3] Balfour's Ann. vol. i. p. 239.
[4] Crawford's Lives, vol. i. p. 69.

lished an edict prohibiting any of the name of Douglas or Hamilton to interfere in the election of provost, the Earl of Arran, who had held that high office during the previous year, 1519, attempted to control the citizens in their free choice. They immediately shut their gates upon him, and a scuffle ensued, in which one of the deacons of the crafts was slain. A fierce and sanguinary tumult followed this, in consequence of the attempt of Arran and the nobles of the west to surprise the Earl of Angus; in which Gawin Douglas, the Bishop of Dunkeld, tried in vain to act as mediator. The following is the graphic account which Drummond furnishes of this famous contest:—Angus with an hundred resolute followers, armed with long spears and pikes, which the citizens, as he traversed the streets, furnished them from their windows, "invested a part of the town, and barricado'd some lanes with carts and other impediments, which the time did afford. The adverse party, trusting to their number, and the supply of the citizens (who, calling to mind the slaughter of their deacon, showed them small favour), disdaining the Earl should thus muster on the streets, in great fury invade him. Whilst the bickering continued, and the town is in a tumult, William Douglas, brother to the Earl of Angus, Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, George Hume, brother to the late Lord, with many others by blood and friendship tyed together, enter by violence the east gate of the town, force their passage through the throngs, seek the Earl's enemies, find them, and scour the streets of them. The Master of Montgomery, eldest son to the Earl of Eglinton, Sir Patrick Hamilton, brother to the Earl of Arran, with almost fourscore more, are left dead upon the place. The Earl himself findeth an escape and place of retreat through a marsh upon the north side of the town; the Chancellor and his retinue took sanctuary in the Dominican Friars. Some days after, the Humes, well banded and backed with many nobles and gentlemen of their lineage, took the Lord Hume's and his brother's heads from the place where they had been fixed, and with the funeral rites of those times interred them in the Black-Friars."[1] James Beatoun, Archbishop of Glasgow and Chancellor of the kingdom, who was a zealous adherent of Arran, and had taken an active share both in planning and executing the scheme, on the discomfiture of his party "fled to the Black Freir Kirk, and thair was takin out behind the alter, and his rockit rivin aff him, and had beine slaine, had not beine Mr Gawin Douglas requeisted for him, saying, it was shame to put hand on ane consecrat bischop."[2]

It was at the commencement of this affray, which took place on the 30th April 1520, and is known by the name of *Cleanse the Causey*, from the scene of contest, that the well-known repartee of Gawin Douglas to the Archbishop of Glasgow occurred. Douglas, who was uncle to the Earl of Angus, and now Bishop of Dunkeld, having appealed to the Archbishop to use his influence with his friends to compromise matters, and prevent, if possible, the bloodshed that must otherwise ensue; the Archbishop excused himself, on many accounts, adding, "Upon my conscience, I cannot help it;" at the same time, striking his breast in the heat of his asseveration, he betrayed the presence of a concealed coat of mail, whereupon Douglas retorted, "How now, my lord, methinks your conscience clatters."[3]

[1] Hawthornden, p. 88.

[2] Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 288.

[3] Crawford's Lives, vol. i. p. 62. The term *clatters* is peculiarly expressive here, as it signifies either *makes a noise*, or *tattles*, and may be rendered thus:—*Methinks your conscience tells another tale!*

The streets of Edinburgh continued to partake largely of the general misrule that prevailed throughout the kingdom during the long minority of James V. The Lord Home had convened a council of the nobility so early as 1515, to devise some remedy for the anarchy that existed, and at his urgent suggestion, John Duke of Albany was invited from France to assume the reins of government. On his arrival the same year, "he wes ressaueit with greit honour, and convoyit to Edinburgh with ane greit cumpany, with greit blythnes and glore, and thair wes constitute and maid governour of this realme; and sone thairefter held ane Parliament, and ressaueit the homage of the lordis and thre estaittis; quhair thair wes mony thingis done for the weill of this cuntrey. Evill doaris wes punnesit; amang the quhilkis ane Petir Moffet, ane greit rever and theif, was heidit, and for exampill of vtheris, his head wes put on the West Port of Edinburgh."[1] The Duke took up his residence at Holyrood, and seems to have immediately proceeded with the enlargement of the Palace, in continuation of the works which the late King had carried on till near the close of his life. Numerous entries in the Treasurer's accounts, for the year 1515–16, furnish evidence of the building being then in progress.

The new governor, after having made a tour of the kingdom and adopted many stringent measures for strengthening his party, returned to Edinburgh, and summoned a convention of the nobility to meet him in the Abbey of Holyrood. But already the Lord Chamberlain had fallen out of favour, and "Prior John Hepburn of St Andrews clamb next the Governor, and grew great in the Court, and remembered of old malice and envy betwixt him and the Humes."[2] Lord Home, who had been the sole means of the Duke of Albany's elevation to the regency, was suddenly arrested by his orders, along with his brother William. An old annalist states, that "the Ducke of Albany tooke the Lord Houme, the chamberlane, and wardit him *in the auld touer* of Holyrudhouss, which was foundit by the said Ducke,"[3] an allusion confirming the previous account of the new works in progress at the palace. A series of charges were preferred against the brothers, of which the most remarkable is the accusation by the Earl of Murray, the natural son of the late King, that the Lord Chamberlain had caused the death of his father, "who, by many witnesses, was proved to be alive, and seen to have come from the battle of Flowden."[4] They were both condemned to be beheaded, and the sentence immediately thereafter put in execution, "and their heads fixt on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh,"[5] from whence, as we have seen, they were removed by their faithful adherents, and laid in consecrated ground.

Throughout the minority of James V. the capital continued to be disturbed by successive outbreaks of turbulence and riot, from the contentions of the nobility and their adherents, and especially from the struggles of the rival Earls of Angus and Arran. In order to suppress this turbulent spirit, the Town Council augmented the salary of the provost, and appointed four attendants armed with halberts, as a perpetual guard to wait upon him, but altogether without effect on the restless spirit of the nobles.

During nearly the whole of this time the young monarch resided in the Castle of Edinburgh, pursuing his education under the tuition of Gawin Dunbar, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow; and his sports, with the aid of his faithful page, Sir David Lindsay;

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 5.
[2] Marjoribank's Annals, Liber Cart. p. lxxi.
[3] Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 296.
[4] Hawthornden, p. 85.
[5] Crawford's Lives, vol. i. p. 324. Balfour's Ann. vol. i. p. 245.

unconscious of the tumultuous scenes of the neighbouring capital, and seemingly but little thought of by its turbulent rivals, for his poor tutor was compelled to defray, from his own purse, the necessary repairs of the royal apartments, then devoted to his use; while such was the straitened means of the young King, that he was indebted at one time to the kindness of his natural sister, the Countess of Morton, for a new doublet and a pair of hose. Sir David Lindsay has furnished, in his Complaynt, a lively description of their pastimes at this period—

How as ane chapman beris his pack,
I bure thy Grace upon my back:
And sumtymes, stridlingis, on my nek,
Dansand with mony bend and bek:
The first sillabis that thow did mute,
Was pa, da, lyn, upon the lute;
Than playit I twentie springis perqueir,
Quhilk was greit plesour for to heir:
Fra play, thow leit me never rest,
Bot gynkertoun thow luffit ay best;
And ay, quhen thow come fra the scule,
Then I behuffit to play the fule
Thow hes maid lordis, schir, be Sanct Geill
Of sum that hes nocht servit so weill.[1]

Though placed within the Castle for safety, the King was not entirely confined to its straitened bounds; when not prevented by the disturbed state of the town and neighbourhood, he was not only permitted to ride forth in the intervals of his studies, but occasionally took up his residence both at Craigmillar and Dalkeith.

Shortly after the period referred to, the Duke of Albany quitted the kingdom for the last time, and the King, who had been removed to Stirling, to be out of reach of the Queen's party, was brought to Holyrood, attended by a numerous train of nobles, and at the mature age of twelve invested with the full powers of royalty, as the only means of terminating the frightful anarchy that prevailed; and on the 22d of August 1524, "he maid his solempnit entree with the lordis in the tolbuytht of Edinbrughe, with sceptour, croune, and sword of honour."[2]

Sir David Lindsay alludes to this in his Complaynt, and pictures with lively satire the obsequious courtiers joining in the diversions of the juvenile King.

Pitscottie tells with great naivetè, that "the King and the lordis remained in Edinburgh and Hallirudhouse the space of ane yeir, with great triumph and merrines, quhil

Imprudently, lyke witles fulis,
Thay tuke the young Prince fra the sculis,
Quhare he, under obedience,
Was leirnand vertew, and science,
And haistely pat in his hand
The governance of all Scotland.

* * * *

Schir, sum wald say, your Majestie
Sall now gae to your libertie;
Ye sall to na man be coarcit,
Nor to the scule na mair subjectit;
We think thame varrey naturall fulis,
That lernis over meikle at the sculis:

[1] Sir D. Lindsay's Poems, 1806, vol. i. p. 257.

[2] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 9.

* * * *

Ilk man efter thair qualitie,
Thay did solist his Majestie,
Sum gart him ravell at the rakket,
Some harlit him to the hurly hakket.
And sum to schaw their courtlie corsis,
Wald ryid to Leith, and rin thair horsis.

at the last thair vaiked ane benefice quhilk pat thame all at variance for the dispositioun of the same."[1] And so, after dividing with more or less success the patronage of the crown, the nobles parted in greater disagreement than ever; "bot Bischope James Beatoun remained still in Edinburgh, in his awin ludging, quhilk he biggit in the Frieris Wynd."[2]

[1525.] The nominal rule of the youthful Sovereign proved of little avail to stay the turbulence of his haughty nobles; Angus again seized the government, nominating his uncle, Archibald Douglas, Provost of Edinburgh. And such was the power he possessed, that, under his protection, the assassins of M'Lellan of Bombie, who was slain in open day at the door of St Giles's Church, walked with impunity about the streets; while the Queen herself deemed his safe conduct necessary, while she resided in Edinburgh, though the Parliament was sitting there at the time. And so the King returned again to honourable durance in the dilapidated palace of the Castle; or only made his appearance to act as the puppet of his governor.

At this time it was that Arran and his faction demanded that the Parliament should assemble within the Castle, to secure them against popular coercion; but Angus, and a numerous body of the nobles, and others, protested "that the Parliament be kept in the accustomed place, and that the King be conveyed along the High Street, and in triumph shown to his own people." And this being denied them, they surrounded the Castle with two thousand men in arms, completely preventing the supplies of the garrison. Those in the Castle retaliated, by firing on the town: but their differences were happily accommodated, and "the King in magnificence and pomp is convoyed from the Castle to his palace at Holyrood House, and the Estates assemble in the wonted place of the town of Edinburgh."[3]

[1526.] The Earl of Lennox assembled a numerous body of adherents in the following year, and marched towards Edinburgh to the rescue of the King; but Angus not only caused the provost to ring the alarum bell, and raise the town in his defence, but he persuaded the King, though much against his will, to head the burgher force against his own friends. "Then the King caused sound his trumpets, and lap upon horse, and caused ring the commoun bell of Edinburgh, commanding all manner of men to follow him; so he issued forth at the Wast Port, and the tounes of Edinburgh and Leith with him, to the number of thrie thousand men, and passed forwards with thame," but only to arrive in time to witness the death of the Earl of Lennox, and the complete discomfiture of his party.

[1528.] Frequent attempts were made thereafter for the King's delivery from this thraldom; but that which so many had failed in securing, he at length effected, by his own

[1] Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 312. [2] Ibid, p. 313. [3] Hawthornden, p. 93.

address and vigour, and with only two attendants, made his escape from the Douglas faction, at Falkland, to Stirling Castle. Shortly after this, he repaired to Edinburgh, whither he summoned his barons to advise with him, and, with a degree of decision far beyond his years, proceeded to assert his own independence and authority. One of the acts of this Parliament against them, "quha cummis and burnis folkes in their housis,"[1] exhibits in no very pleasing light the rude violence prevailing at the period.

The year 1530 is assigned as the date of Lindsay's famous satire, The Complaint of the Papingo,[2] which may be regarded as the first note of the reforming movement by him, of whom Pinkerton has said, "In fact, Sir David was more the reformer of Scotland than John Knox; for he had prepared the ground, and John only sowed the seed." The farewell of the papingo to the capital is couched in terms the more flattering, as coming from so keen a satirist,—

> "Adew Edinburgh, thou heich triumphand toun,
> Within quhose boundis, richt blythful have I bene,
> Of trew merchaudis, the rute of this regioun,
> Most reddy to ressave Court, King, and Quene;
> Thy policie, and justice, may be seue,
> Were devotioun, wysedom, and honestie,
> And credence, tint, they micht be found in thee."

Various notices occurring about this period, exhibit the first symptoms of the reforming doctrines showing themselves in the capital, *e.g.*, in the Diurnal of Occurrents for 1532, "In this zeir was ane greit objuratioun of the favouraris of Mertene Lutar, in the Abbay of Halyrudhous."[3] About the same period, it records the destruction of nearly the whole town by an accidental fire. This same year, the nobles assembled at Edinburgh, at the King's summons, with their followers, to the number of twelve thousand, for the famous hunting match, in which Johnnie Armstrong, the Border reiver, renowned in song and story, was hanged, "to daunton the theives of Tividaill and Annandaill."[4]

Notice has already been taken of Dunbar's allusions to the Court of Session, in the former reign, but now, in 1537, the King instituted the College of Justice, and established the Court on a permanent footing, with the confirmation of Pope Clement VII.[5] This event is one of the most important in the history of Edinburgh, on which, from that time, both its prosperity and its metropolitan claims have more depended than on any occurrence in its history; and which, from the security and the ready means of redress it afforded to the inhabitants against the turbulent nobles of the period, made the town a place of greater resort than it had ever before been.

The King now, with that self-reliance and energy that marked his entire character, after negotiating for the hand of various noble ladies in marriage, set sail from Leith, accompanied by a large fleet and a numerous retinue; and, arriving at the French Court, he wooed and won for himself the Princess Magdalene, eldest daughter of Francis I. On the 29th of May the royal pair landed at Leith, amid every display of welcome; and after tarrying for a few days at the Palace of Holyrood, till the preparations of the citizens were completed, the Queen made her entry in state into the capital, with processions of great

[1] Scots Acts, 12mo, vol. i. p. 201.
[2] Parrot.
[3] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 15.
[4] Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 342.
[5] Hawthornden, p. 99. Scots Acts, 12mo, vol. i. p. 217.

magnificence, and such displays of loyal attachment, as testified the hearty welcome of the people. The young Queen was of a most tender and affectionate disposition; she seems to have given

"Her hand with her heart in it"

to her royal lover, with a gentle spirit of resignation. So soon as she stepped on the Scottish shore, she knelt and kissed the ground, praying for all happiness to her adopted country and people;[1] but ere six weeks had elapsed, the pomp of worldly honour that had greeted her arrival, was called to follow the young bride to the tomb. She was buried with the greatest mourning Scotland ever, till that time, was participant of, in the church of Holyrood House, near King James II.[2] Buchanan, who was an eye-witness, says it was the first instance of mourning-dresses being worn by the Scots; and "triumph and mirrines was all turned into deregies and soull massis, verrie lamentable to behold."[3]

Sir David Lindsay, in a poem of singular inequality, has expressed his Deploratioun of the Deith of Quene Magdalene. He thus apostrophises (Crewell Deith):—

Theif! saw thow nocht the greit preparatyvis
Of Edinburgh, the nobill famous toun,
Thow saw the pepill, lauboring for thair lyvis,
To mak tryumphe, with trump, and clarioun;
Sic plesour was never into this regioun,
As suld haif bene the day of hir entrace,
With greit propynis,[4] gevin till hir Grace.

Thow saw makand right costlie scaffalding,
Depaintit weill, with gold, and asure fyne,
Reddye preparit for the upsetting,
With fontanis, flowing water cleir, and wyne,
Disagysit folks,[5] lyke creaturis divyne,
On ilk scaffold, to play ane syndrie storie,
Bot, all in greiting turnit thow that glorie.

Provest, haillies, and lordis of the toun,
And princis of the preistis venerabill,
Full plesandlye in thair processioun,
With all the cunnyng clerkis honorabill;
The herauldis, with their awful vestimentis,
With maseris[6] upon ather of thair handis,
To rewle the press, with burneist silver wandis.

Syne, last of all, in ordour tryumphall,
That maist illuster Princes honorabill,
With hir the lustye ladyis of Scotland,
Quhilk sulde haif bene ane sicht maist delectabil:
Hir rayment to rehers, I am nocht habill,
Of gold, and perle, and precious stonis brycht,
Twinklyng lyke sterris in ane frostie nycht.

Under ane pale of golde scho suld haif past,
Be burgeis borne, clothit in silkis fyne,

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[1] Hawthornden, p. 104.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 374.
[4] Presents.
[5] Disguised folk or actors.
[6] Macer.

The greit maister of housholde, all thair last,
With him, in ordour, all the kingis tryne,
Quhais ordinance war langsum to defyne;
On this maner, scho passing throw the toun,
Suld haif resavit mony beniseun.

Thou sulde haif hard the ornate oratouris,
Makand her Hynes salutatioun,
Baith of the clergy, toun, and counsalouris,
With mony notabill narratioun,
Thow sulde haif sene hir Coronatioun,
In the fair abbay of the Haly Rude,
In presence of ane myrthfull multitude.

Sic banketting, sic awfull tournaments,
On hors, and fute, that tyme quhilk suld haif bene,
Sic chapell royall, with sic instruments,
And craftye musick, singing from the splene,
In this cuntre was never hard, nor sene:
Bot, all this greit solempnitie, and gam,
Turnit thow hes in *requiem æternam.*

James, though without doubt sincerely attached to his Queen, very speedily after his bereavement, for reasons of state policy, began to look about him for another to supply her place. And while his ambassadors were negotiating his alliance with Mary of Lorraine, daughter of the Duke of Guise, the Scottish capital became the scene of tragical events, little in harmony with the general character of this gallant Monarch. Groundless charges of treason were concocted, seemingly by the malice of private enmity, in consequence of which, John, son of Lord Forbes, and chief of his name, was convicted of having conspired the King's death. He was beheaded and quartered on the Castle Hill, and his quarters exposed on the principal gates of the city. This execution was followed in a few days by a still more barbarous deed of like nature. The Lady Glamis, sister of the Earl of Angus, convicted, as it would seem, by the perjury of a disappointed suitor, on the charge of a design to poison the King, and of the equally hateful crime of being of the blood of the Douglasses, was condemned to be burned alive. The sentence was immediately put in execution on the Castle Hill, and in sight of her husband, then a prisoner in the Castle, who, either in desperation at the cruel deed or in seeking to effect his escape, was killed in falling over the Castle rock.

The horror of such barbarous events is somewhat relieved by an ordeal of a different nature, which immediately followed them, and which, as it is related by Drummond, seems a grave satire on the knightly prowess of the age.

"Upon the like suspicion," says he, "Drumlanrig and Hempsfield, ancient barons, having challenged others, had leave to try the verity by combat. The lists were designed by the King (who was a spectator and umpire of their valour) at the Court of the Palace of Holyrood House. They appeared upon the day, armed from head to foot, like ancient Paladines, and after many interchanged blows, to the disadvantage of their casks, corslets, and vantbraces, when the one was become breathless, by the weight of his arms and thunder of blows, and the other, who was short-sighted, had broken his ponderous sword, the King, by heraulds, caused separate them, with disadvantage to neither of these

champions; and the verity which was found, was, that they dared both to fight in close arms!"[1]

In the month of June 1538, the new Queen, Mary of Guise, destined to enact so prominent a part in the future history both of the city and kingdom, was welcomed home with costly gifts and every show of welcome, and "on Sanct Margarete's day thairafter, sho maid her entres in Edinburgh, with greit triumphe, and als with ordour of the haill nobillis; hir Grace come in first, at the West Port, and raid doun the hie gait to the Abbay of Halyrudhous, with greit sportis playit to hir Grace throw all the pairtis of the toun."[2] Pitscottie adds, that "the Queine was richlie rewairdit and propyned by the proveist and tounschip, both with gold and spyces, wynes, and curious playes maide to her by the said toun;"[3] and, indeed, such was the zeal of the good town to testify its gratulations on the King's speedy escape from widowhood, that we find, shortly after, "the city cash had run so low, as to render it necessary for the council to mortgage the northern vault of the Nether Bow Port, for the sum of 100 merks Scots, to repair the said port or gate withal." From this state of exhaustion, they do not seem to have again recovered during the King's lifetime, as in 1541, the year before his death, they had to borrow from him 100 merks Scots, to put the park walls of Holyrood in repair,—a duty that seems to have been somewhat unreasonably imposed on the town.

In the year 1539, Sir David Lindsay's *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, the earliest Scottish drama, if we except the Religious Mysteries, that we have any account of, was represented for the first time at Linlithgow, at "the feaste of the epiphane," in presence of the Court. At a later date, it was "playit beside Edinburgh, in presence of the Queen Regent, and ane greit part of the nobilitie, with ane exceiding greit nowmber of pepill; lestand fra nyne houris afore none, till six houris at euin,"—an extent of patience in the listeners that implies no slight degree of entertainment.

The extreme freedom with which *the Pardoner*, and others of the *dramatis personæ*, treat of the clergy, and the alleged corruptions of the Church, may excite our surprise that this satire should have obtained, thus early, so willing an audience. Dr Irving has inferred from this, that the King was better inclined to a reformation than is generally supposed,[4] but the more probable explanation is to be sought for in the favour of the author at Court. Not long after, Killor, a blackfriar, constructing a drama on the Passion of Christ, which was performed before the King on Good Friday morning, and wherein the author indulged in the same freedom, he was condemned to the flames.

In the seventh Parliament of this reign, held at Edinburgh, in March 1540, a curious and interesting Act was passed "Tuitching the bigging of Leith Wynde," wherein "it is ordained that the Provost, Baillies, and Conneil of Edinburgh, warne all manner of persones that hes ony landes, biginges, and waistes, upon the west side of Leith Wynde, that they within zeir and day, big and repaire, honestlie, their said waistes and ruinous houses, and gif not, it sall be leifful to the saidis Proveste and Baillies to cast down the said waiste landes, and with the stuffe and stanes thereof, bigge ane honest substantious wall, fra the Porte of the Nether Bow, to the Trinitie College. And because the easte side of the saide Wynde perteines to the abbot and convente of Halyrude-house, it is

[1] Hawthornden, p. 105. [2] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 22. [3] Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 378.
[4] Dissertation on the early Scottish Drama. Lives of Scot. Poets, vol. i. p. 209.

ordained that the Baillies of the Cannongate garre sik like be done upon the said east side."[1]

Although all the Parliaments during this reign assembled at Edinburgh, the Palace of Holyrood was only the occasional residence of James V. Yet he seems to have diligently continued the works begun here by his father, and tradition still assigns to him, with every appearance of truth, the erection of the north-west towers of the Palace, the only portion of the original building that has survived the general conflagration by the English in the following reign. On the bottom of the recessed pannel of the north tower, could be traced, about thirty years since, in raised Roman letters, gilt, the words, —IACOBVS REX SCOTORVM.

The last occurrence of local interest in the lifetime of this Monarch, is thus recorded in the Diurnal of Occurrents:—"Upon the last day of Februar, their was ane certaine of personnes accusit for heresie in abbay kirk of Halyrudhous; and thair was condempnit twa blackfreris, ane Channon of Sanct Androis, the vicar of Dollour; ane preist, and ane lawit man that duelt in Stirling, were brynt the same day on the Castell Hill of Edinburgh."[2] Thus briefly is recorded an occurrence, which yet is the pregnant forerunner of events that crowd the succeeding pages of Scottish history, until the Stuart race forfeited the throne.

Our subject does not require us to deal further with the character of James V., or the general events of his reign. He died at Falkland on the 14th of December 1542, and his body was thereafter conveyed to Edinburgh, where his faithful servitor and friend, Sir David Lindsay, must have directed the mournful ceremony that laid his royal master by the side of Queen Magdalene, his first young bride, in Holyrood Church. The sumptuous display, that can neither lighten grief nor ward off death, attended, as usual, on the last rites of the poet King. From the household books of the Cardinal Beaton, we learn that he spent "for a mannal at the King's funeral, 10s.; for a mitre of white damask, 42s.; for four mourning garments, £3, 18s. 10d.," wherewith to officiate in the services of the church, that committed the remains of his royal master to their final resting-place.

Of the general manners of the age, considerable insight may be obtained from the acts of the Parliaments held during this reign, regulating inn-keepers and travellers, bailies, craftsmen, judges, and beggars, all of whom are severally directed in their callings, with careful minuteness.

But the satires of Sir David Lindsay are still more pointed and curious in their allusions to this subject. His *Supplication to the Kingis grace in Contemptioun of Syde Taillis*, attacks a fashion that had already excited the satiric ire of Dunbar, as well as the graver but less effectual censures of the Parliament; and already, in this early poem, he begins to touch with sly humour on the excesses of the clergy, even while dealing with this humble theme. Though bishops, he says,—with seeming commendation,—for the dignity of their office, have men to bear up their tails, yet that is no reason

> That every lady of the land
> Suld have hir taill so syde trailland

[1] Scots Acts, 12mo, vol. i. p. 248.

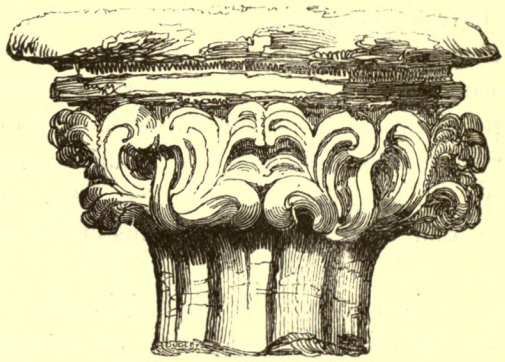
[2] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 23.

Quhare ever they go, it may be sene,
How kirk and calsay they soup clene.

Yet shortly after he adds :—

I trow, Sanct Barnard, nor Sanct Blais,
Gart never man beir up their claes,
Peter, nor Paule, nor Sanct Androw,
Gart never bear up their taillis, I trow.

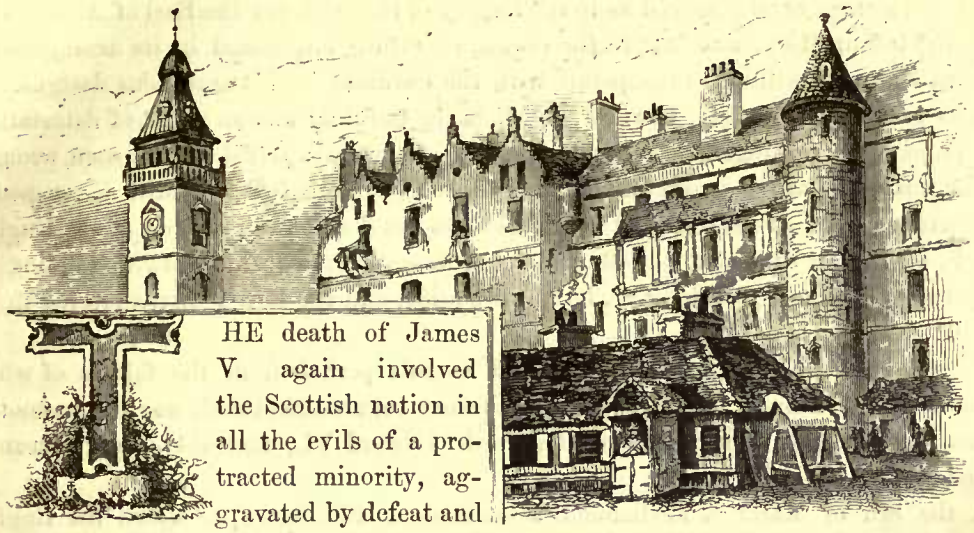
The whole poem evidently depicts the extravagance of an age, when the clown trod on the noble's heel. Nuns, and milkmaids, and burghers' wives, are alike charged with the fashionable excesses that neither satire nor sumptuary laws proved able to suppress.



VIGNETTE—Norman Capital from Holyrood Abbey.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DEATH OF JAMES V. TO THE ABDICATION OF QUEEN MARY.



THE death of James V. again involved the Scottish nation in all the evils of a protracted minority, aggravated by defeat and internal discord. The fatal events of Flodden had placed the Crown of Scotland on his infant brow, at the early age of eighteen months, and he again bequeathed its onerous dignities to the unfortunate Mary, then only an infant of a few days old, the sole heir of his crown, and of more than all his misfortunes.

With a sad presentiment of the future, the broken-hearted Monarch received on his death-bed the intelligence, that his Queen had given birth to a daughter in Linlithgow Palace, and exclaimed in the bitterness of his heart, "It came with a lass, and it will go with a lass!"

"Woe is me!" exclaimed Henry VIII., when the news of the King's death reached the English Court, "for I will never have any King in Scotland so set to me again, nor one whom I favoured so well!" Yet the advantages that such an occurrence afforded were not lost sight of by that wily Monarch. His recent success had placed a number of the Scottish nobility in his power, and these he now sought to secure to his interests, by granting them their freedom, and loading them with costly gifts. And from this time forward, until the final accession of James VI. to the crown of England, an English party continued to be maintained among the Scottish nobility, plotting the overthrow of every patriotic scheme, the ready tools of their country's enemies; and if occasionally they are

VIGNETTE—The Black Turnpike, where Queen Mary slept after her surrender at Carberry Hill.

found to throw the weight of their influence into the scale of liberty and right, it is only because the interests of England chanced to tally with such views.

One of the most eminent Scotsmen of this period was the celebrated Cardinal Beaton. As the head of the Scottish clergy, he was naturally opposed to the entire system of policy pursued by Henry VIII., and was mainly instrumental in preventing the promised interview between James V. and the English Monarch at York, and thereby bringing on the war, the disastrous issue of which is justly considered to have occasioned James's death.

This sudden event, as it overturned many of the schemes of the Cardinal, set him only the more zealously to devise others. Immediately thereafter, he produced a will of the late King, in which he was nominated Regent, with three of the nobility as his assistants, and which he caused forthwith to be proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh.

Historians are generally agreed as to the forgery of this will, yet the Earl of Arran, who, next to the infant Mary, was heir to the crown, cheerfully acquiesced in its arrangement, and showed himself willing to co-operate with the Cardinal in his ambitious designs. A numerous part of the nobility, however, to whom the Cardinal was an object of detestation, as his projects were altogether incompatible with their own selfish views, soon wrought upon the imbecile Earl to desert his faction, and while the matter was still in suspense, the opportune arrival of the liberated prisoners from London, now in the pay of the English Monarch, on the 1st of January 1543, completed his overthrow; and, notwithstanding his having already assumed the Regency, he was set aside, and the Earl of Arran elected in his stead.

The grand scheme of the English Monarch at this period, from the failure of which originated all the enmity he afterwards manifested towards Scotland, was the promotion of a marriage between his own son, afterwards Edward VI., and the young Queen of Scotland.

On the 8th of March a Parliament assembled at Edinburgh, to which the English Monarch sent an ambassador with offers of lasting peace should they comply with his proposed alliance. The Cardinal, who saw in this the certain downfall of the Church, brought the whole influence of the clergy, as well as that of the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, to bear against it, but at the moment without effect. The Cardinal, by a vote of Parliament, was committed a prisoner to Dalkeith Castle, under the care of Lord Seton, and everything was forthwith settled with England on the most friendly terms.

About the same time, Marcus Grymanus, patriarch of Aquileia, or, according to Lesly and others, Contareno, patriarch of Venice, arrived at Edinburgh, as the Papal Legate, commissioned to use all his influence to prevent the proposed alliance between the Scottish Queen and Prince Edward of England, and bearing the amplest promises of assistance from the Pope, in case of a rupture with that crown. "After he had been courteously and splendidly entertained at Edinburgh by persons of the greatest rank, he departed in the beginning of March, and was so well pleased with the reception he had met with, that wherever he went afterwards, he spoke of the magnificent civilities of the Scottish nation."[1] Bishop Leslie thus records a costly entertainment furnished to him in the Scottish capital. "The Earle of Murray makand him the banquet in his house, although

[1] Bishop Keith's History of Scotland, 1845, vol. i. p. 96.

he had great store of all kind of silver wark, yet nottheless, for the greater magnificence, he set forth ane cupboard furnished with all sorts of glasses of the finest chrystal that could be made; and to make the said patriarch understand that there was great abundance thereof in Scotland, he caused one of his servants, as it had been by sloth and negligence, pull down the cupboard cloth, so that all the whole christellings suddenly were cast down to the earth and broken; wherewith the patriarch was very sorry, but the Earl suddenly caused bring another cupboard, better furnished with fine chrystal nor that was; which the patriarch praised, as well for the magnificence of the Earl, as for the fineness of the chrystal, affirming that he never did see better in Venice, where he himself was born."[1]

The legate exercised considerable influence over the Queen Dowager, and on his departure, transferred his legatine power to Cardinal Beaton.

Meanwhile, the people were filled with the utmost joy at the prospect of a peace, the uncertainty which had prevailed for so many years having nearly destroyed trade. The merchants bestirred themselves immediately with the liveliest zeal, every seaport of the kingdom exhibited the most active symptoms of preparation for renewing the commercial intercourse, so long interrupted with England, and Edinburgh alone fitted out twelve large vessels, and despatched them laden with the most valuable merchandise. But the Cardinal soon regained his liberty, and, aided by the co-operation of the Queen Dowager and the contributions of the clergy, who at a convocation held at St Andrews, in May of the same year, not only voted him money, but even the silver vessels of their churches, he speedily overturned all the amicable arrangements with the English Monarch, and the numerous fleets of merchantmen, that had so recently sailed for the English seaports, were there seized, their merchandise confiscated, and the crews declared prisoners of war. The first use the Cardinal made of this fund, was to turn his arms against his rivals at home. The Earl of Lennox having appropriated the larger portion of thirty thousand crowns sent by the King of France to aid the efforts of the Catholic party, the Cardinal persuaded the facile Regent to raise an army to proceed against him to Glasgow, where he then lay in the Bishop's Castle there; but Lennox immediately summoning his own friends and vassals to his standard, marched to Leith at the head of an army of ten thousand men, from whence he sent a message to the Cardinal at Edinburgh, intimating that he desired to save him such a journey, and would be ready to meet him any day he chose, in the fields between Edinburgh and Leith.

Thus were the nobles of Scotland divided into rival factions, and bent only on each others, overthrow, when, on the 1st of May 1544, an armament, consisting of two hundred sail, commanded by Dudley Lord l'Isle, then High Admiral of England, which had been prepared by Henry to send against the French coast, made its appearance in the Firth of Forth; and so negligent had the Cardinal proved in providing against the enemy, whom he excited to this attack, that the first notice he had of their intentions, was the disembarkation of the English forces, under the command of the Earl of Hertford, at Newhaven, and the seizure of the town of Leith.[2] The Cardinal immediately deserted the capital and fled in the greatest dismay to Stirling. The Earl of Hertford demanded the unconditional surrender of the infant Queen, and being informed that the Scottish capital

[1] Bishop Leslie's History of Scotland, Ban. Club, p. 179.

[2] Ibid, p. 180.

and nation would suffer every disaster before they would submit to his ignominious terms, he marched immediately with his whole forces upon Edinburgh. The citizens, being taken by surprise, and altogether unprepared for resisting so formidable a force, sent out a deputation, with Sir Adam Otterburn, the Provost, at its head, offering to evacuate the town and deliver up the keys to the commander of the English army, on condition that they should be permitted to carry off their effects, and that the city should be saved from fire. But nothing would satisfy the English general but an unconditional surrender of life and property. He made answer—That his commission extended to the burning and laying waste the country, unless the governor would deliver the young Queen to his master. The Provost replied—"*Then it were better the city should stand on its defence.*"

An immediate attack was thereupon made. The English army entered by the Watergate without opposition, and assaulted the Nether Bow Port, and beat it open on the second day, with a terrible slaughter of the citizens. They immediately attempted to lay siege to the Castle. "Seeing no resistance, they hauled their cannons up the High Street, by force of men, to the Butter-Trone, and above, and hazarded a shot against the fore entrie of the Castle. But the wheel and axle-tree of one of the English cannons was broken, and some of their men slaine by a shot of ordnance out of the Castle; so they left that rash enterprise."[1]

Baffled in their attempts on the fortress, they immediately proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the city. They set it on fire in numerous quarters, and continued the work of devastation and plunder till compelled to abandon it by the smoke and flames, as well as the continual firing from the Castle. They renewed the work of destruction on the following day; and for three successive days they returned with unabated fury to the smoking ruins, till they had completely effected their purpose.

The Earl of Hertford then proceeded to lay waste the surrounding country with fire and sword. Craigmillar Castle, which was surrendered on the promise of being preserved scatheless,[2] was immediately devoted to the flames. Roslyn Castle shared the same fate. Part of the army then proceeded southward by land, burning and destroying every abbey, town, and village, between the capital and Dunbar. The remainder of the army returned to Leith, which they plundered and set fire to in many places; and then embarking their whole force, they set sail for England.

This disastrous event forms an important era in the history of Edinburgh; if we except a portion of the Castle, the churches, and the north-west wing of Holyrood Palace, no building, anterior to this date, now exists in Edinburgh. One other building, Trinity Hospital, the oldest part of which bore the date 1462, has been swept away by the operations of the North British Railway, during the past year (1845), unquestionably, with the exception of the Castle and churches, at once the most ancient and perhaps interesting building that Edinburgh possessed.[3]

Such was the means adopted by Henry VIII. to secure the hand of the Scottish Queen for his son, a method somewhat analogous to the system of wooing he practised with such

[1] Calderwood's History, Wod. Soc. vol. i. p. 177. [2] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 32.

[3] A remarkably interesting view of Edinburgh, previous to its destruction at this period, is still preserved in the British Museum; a careful fac-simile of this is given in a volume of the Bannatyne Club's Miscellany, some account of which will be found in a later part of this work.

success on his own behalf. The Scottish nation, torn at this time by rival factions, and destitute of any leader or guide, could only submit in passive indignation to his ruthless vengeance. Yet, with their usual pertinacity, they shortly after mustered about thirteen hundred men, who "raid into England and brunt and herijt certane townes on the bordouris vnto Tilmouth;" and, on the twelfth of July following, the Earl of Angus was proclaimed lieutenant, and commanded the realm to follow him in an hour's warning, "with foure dayis victuall, to pass on their ald enemies of Ingland."[1]

During the following year 1545–6, Edinburgh Castle was for a brief period the scene of Wishart's imprisonment, after his seizure by the Earl of Bothwell, and delivery into the hands of Cardinal Beaton, at Elphinstone Tower; an ancient keep, situated in East Lothian, about two miles from the village of Tranent. A wretched dungeon, under the great hall of Elphinstone, is still pointed out as the place of Wishart's imprisonment, as well as another room, in which the Cardinal slept at the same period. The burning of Wishart immediately afterwards at St Andrews, as well as the death of the Cardinal, by the hands of Wishart's friends, which so speedily followed, are facts familiar to the student of Scottish history.

The death of Henry VIII. in 1547 tended to accelerate the renewal of his project for enforcing the union of the neighbouring kingdoms, by the marriage of his son with the Scottish Queen. Henry, on his deathbed, urged the prosecution of the war with Scotland; and the councillors of the young King Edward VI. lost no time in completing their arrangements for the purpose.

The Scottish Court was at this time at Stirling, but the council made the most vigorous preparations for the defence of the kingdom. A proclamation was issued on the 19th of March, requiring all the lieges to be ready, on forty days' warning, to muster at their summons, with victuals for one month; and on the 25th of May, this was followed by another order for preparing beacon fires on all the high hills along the coast, to give warning of the approach of the enemy's fleet. The more urgently to summon the people to arms, the Earl of Arran adopted an expedient seldom resorted to, except in cases of imminent peril; he caused the Fiery Cross to be borne by the heralds throughout the realm, summoning all men, as well spiritual as temporal, between sixty and sixteen, to be ready to repair to the city of Edinburgh, *weil bodin in feir of weir*, at the first notice of the English ships.[2]

In the beginning of September, the Earl of Hertford, now Duke of Somerset, and Lord Protector of England, during the minority of his nephew Edward VI., again entered Scotland at the head of a numerous army; while a fleet of about sixty sail co-operated with him, by a descent on the Scottish coast. At his advance, he found the Scottish army assembled in great force to oppose him, whereupon he wrote to the Governor of Scotland, offering for the sake of peace, that while he still insisted on the hand of the Queen for his royal master, he would agree to conditions by which she should remain within Scotland until she were fit for marriage.

The Scottish leaders, however, were resolute in rejecting this alliance with England at whatever cost; and in proof of the strong feeling of opposition that existed, it may be mentioned, that the Scottish army included a large body of priests and monks, who

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 33.

[2] Keith's History, vol. i. p. 128. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 23.

marched under a white banner, on which was painted a female kneeling before a crucifix, her hair dishevelled, and embroidered underneath the motto "Afflictæ Ecclesiæ ne obliviscaris." [1]

Preparatory to determining their differences by force of arms, the Earl of Huntly made offer to the English leader to decide the issue by single combat; but this he rejected, and after skirmishing for several days with various success in the neighbourhood of Prestonpans, where the English army was encamped,—a scene long afterwards made memorable by the brief triumph of Mary's hapless descendant, Charles Stuart—the two armies at length came to a decisive engagement on Saturday the 10th of September 1547, long after known by the name of "Black Saturday." [2]

The field of Pinkie, the scene of this fatal contest, lies about six miles distant from Edinburgh, and so near to the sea, that the English ships did great injury to the Scottish army, as they marched towards the field of battle. The stately mansion of Pinkie House, formerly the residence of the Abbots of Dunfermline, still remains in perfect preservation, in the immediate vicinity of the scene where the fatal battle of Pinkie was fought. The Scots were at first victorious, and succeeded in driving back the enemy, and carrying off the royal standard of England; but being almost destitute of cavalry, they were unable to follow up their advantage, and being at length thrown into disorder by the enemy's men-at-arms, consisting principally of a body of mounted Spanish carabineers in complete mail, they were driven from the field, after a dreadful slaughter, with the loss of many of their nobles and leaders, both slain and taken prisoners.

Immediately after the battle, the English advanced and took the town of Leith, where they tarried a few days, during which the Earl of Huntly, and many other Scottish prisoners of every degree, were confined in St Mary's Church there, while treating for their ransom.[3] They also made an unsuccessful attempt on Edinburgh, whose provost had fallen on the field, and where it is recorded that this fatal battle had alone made three hundred and sixty widows; [4] but finding the Scottish nation as resolute as ever in rejecting all terms of accommodation, they again pillaged and burned the town of Leith, spoiled the Abbey of Holyrood, from which they tore off the leaden roof, and re-embarked on board their fleet. They wreaked their vengeance on some defenceless fishing towns and villages along the coast of the Firth, and then returned to England, where Archbishop Cranmer prepared a general thanksgiving to be used throughout all the churches in the kingdom, for the great victory God had vouchsafed them over their enemies! So differently are the same actions estimated, according as our interests are affected; for the Duke of Somerset had so exasperated the Scottish nation by his cruelty, and disgusted even the barons who had inclined to the English party by his impolitic conduct, that they were more unanimous than ever against the proposed alliance. "The cruelty," says Tytler, "of the slaughter at Pinkie, and the subsequent severities at Leith, excited universal indignation; and the idea that a free country was to be compelled into a pacific matrimonial alliance, amid the groans of its dying citizens, and the flames of its seaports, was revolting and absurd." [5]

The Queen Dowager availed herself of the popular feeling thus so strongly excited with

[1] Tytler, vol. vi. p. 31. [2] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 44. [3] Bishop Leslie's History, p. 198.
[4] Herries' Memoirs, p. 21. [5] Tytler, vol. vi. p. 42.

promptitude and success; she summoned the nobility to Stirling, and urged on them the immediate assembly of another army. It was determined to despatch ambassadors to France with a request for instant aid; and at a council held there shortly after, it was resolved to send the young queen, then a beautiful child, in her sixth year, to the French Court, where she could pursue her education free from the dangers to which she was exposed in a country divided by rival factions, and exposed to almost constant war. By their victory at the battle of Ancrum, the Scots in some degree retrieved their ground, and they were shortly afterwards gratified by the opportune arrival of Monsieur D'Essé in the Firth of Forth, as ambassador from the French Monarch, with a fleet of six score sail, bringing a reinforcement of eight thousand French and one thousand Dutch troops, which were disembarked at Leith on the 16th of June 1548, along with a numerous train of artillery.[1] Monsieur D'Essé was the bearer of the warmest assurance of further aid in troops, money, and arms, from the French King, and a proposal that the ancient amity of the two nations should now be confirmed by a marriage between his son, the Dauphin, and the Scottish Queen, whose education meanwhile he offered to superintend with the utmost care and affection. It need not be wondered at, that an alliance proposed in so very different a manner from the last, was properly acceded to by the Scottish Parliament. The Earl of Huntly, it is said, when desired to use his influence in favour of the marriage with Edward VI., after he had been taken prisoner, replied, that however he might like the match, he liked not the manner of wooing![2] Shortly after, Monsieur Villegagnon, set sail with four galleys from Leith, and passing round the north of Scotland, received the youthful Queen on board at Dumbarton. She was accompanied by her governors, the Lords Erskine and Livingston, and her natural brother, the Lord James, afterwards the famous Regent Murray, then in his seventeenth year. Along with her also embarked the Queen's four Maries, famous in Scottish song, selected as her playmates from the families of Livingston, Fleming, Seaton, and Beaton. "What bruit," says Knox, in referring to them, "the Maries, and the rest of the dancers of the Court had, the ballads of that age doe witness."[3] The English Government, on learning of this design, fitted out a fleet to intercept the Queen, but the squadron fortunately escaped every danger, and cast anchor in the harbour of Brest on the 13th of August 1548.

The slow recovery even of the chief towns of the kingdom from such repeated ravages, is apparent from the fact that Monsieur D'Essé, the French commander, on returning from the south, undertook the fortification of Leith, but such was its ruinous state from its frequent burnings, that no lodging could be found there for his men, and they were forced to seek accommodation in the neighbouring villages.[4]

The fortification of Leith, however, exercised a most important influence upon it; people crowded from all parts to shelter themselves under the protection of its garrison; and it speedily thereafter, as we shall find, became a place of great importance, when the conclusion of peace with England permitted the rival factions, into which the kingdom was already divided, to gain head and assume form and consistency.

Maitland furnishes a detailed account of these fortifications, which had five ports, only

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 46. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 51.
[2] Keith's History, Note, vol. i. p. 133.
[3] Knox's History of the Reformation, p. 373–4.—See Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border for the old ballad—"The Queen's Marie."
[4] Bishop Leslie, p. 216.

one of which, called St Anthony's Gate, he was able to trace with certainty.[1] This port stood at the north-west corner of St Anthony's Wynd, and some remains of the ancient bastion by which it was protected may still be seen in a neighbouring garden.

This gate, as well as the street that now occupies its site, were so named from their vicinity to the preceptory of St Anthony—a detailed account of which, as well as its ancient dependency on Arthur's Seat, will be found in a later part of the work.

We have introduced here the view of a very curious house, the date of erection of which may be referred to this period. It stood on the west side of the Kirkgate, and was only taken down in 1845. It had an inscription over the doorway, boldly cut in old English letters—

Ihesus Maria,

and a niche above it, in which there had doubtless been a statue of the virgin and child. Local tradition pointed it out as a chapel founded by Mary of Guise, but apparently without any sufficient evidence.

The English, before their last departure from Leith, had erected fortifications on the neighbouring island of Inchkeith, and left there a strong garrison, composed in part of a troop of Italian mercenaries in their pay, by whom it was held to the great detriment of vessels navigating the Firth. But now, as soon as Monsieur D'Essé had got the fortifications of Leith in a state of forwardness, a general attack was made upon Inchkeith, on Corpus Christi day, 1549,[2] by a combined force of Scotch and French troops, who embarked at break of day, in presence of the Queen Dowager; when, after a fierce contest, the enemy were expelled from their stronghold, and compelled to surrender at discretion, with the loss of their leader, and above 300 slain.[3] The island continued from that time to be held by a French garrison, on behalf of the Queen Dowager, until her death in 1560, and the remains of their fortifications are still visible there.

But the Scottish nation were not long in experiencing the usual evils consequent on the employment of foreign troops. We have already, in an earlier part of the work,[4] given an illustration of the popular estimation of such allies, and the gratitude of the common people on the present occasion does not seem to have been in any degree more sincere. Heartburnings and animosities had already been manifested during the campaign, and they at last broke out into open and fatal tumult in the capital.

[1] Maitland, p. 486. [2] Bishop Leslie, p. 228. [3] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 48. [4] Chap. ii. p. 12.

In the beginning of October, in this same year, the Scottish forces were mustered on the Borough Muir of Edinburgh, to the number of ten thousand men; the English having been at length fairly starved out of the country, "For the pest and hungar was rycht evill amangis tham, quha mycht remayne na langer thairin;"[1] and so, having no enemy to contend with, they and their allies immediately quarrelled. "There chanced," says Bishop Leslie (who has furnished the most detailed account of the transaction), "to fall out not a little piece of trouble in Edinburgh, betwixt the Scotch and Frenchmen, by reason that a French soldier fell at quarelling with a Scotsman upon the High Street, and after words they came to blows, so that divers Scotsmen coming to the fray, would have had the Frenchman to prison; but divers of the French soldiers being also present, would not suffer them to take him with them; whereupon the captains being advertised, come with all speed to the highway. The Laird of Stenhouse (James Hamilton), being the Captain of the Castle and Provost of the town, comes likewise with a company to put order thereto. The French soldiers being so furious that they shot their harquebusses indiferently at all men, wherewith there were sundry slain, both men, weomen, and children; among the which the foresaid Provost of Edinburgh was slayn, and Master William Stewart, a gentleman of good reputation, with sundry others; whereby the whole people conceived a great grudge and hatred against the Frenchmen, and for revenge thereof there was many Frenchmen slain at Edinburgh at sundry times thereafter."[2] Calderwood further states, that the Frenchmen were driven by the citizens from the Cross to Niddry's Wynd-head, where they rallied and were joined by a number of their fellow-soldiers; they were again compelled to retreat, however, till on their reaching the Nether Bow, the whole body of French troops encountered the Provost and citizens; and there the Provost, and his son, and various other citizens, women as well as men, were slain. The French troops kept possession of the town from five to seven at night, when they retired to the Canongate.[3] To appease the matter, the Frenchman, chief beginner of the business, was hanged the same day at the market place of Edinburgh, where the quarrel first began. A very unpropitious state of things, as the only alternative seemingly left to the Scots from another English harrying.

In the month of April 1550, a final peace was concluded with England, the latter abandoning all those unjustifiable projects of forced alliance, which had been attempted to be enforced with such relentless barbarity during a nine years' war.

In the year 1551, the Queen Dowager returned from a visit she had made to the French Court, and immediately thereafter, on the 29th of May, a Parliament was held at Edinburgh, and another in the month of February following, at both of which enactments were passed, which furnish, at once, evidence of the state of the country at the period, and afford curious insight into the manners of the age. One of these is "anent the annuelles of landes burnt be our auld enemies of England, within the burgh of Edinburgh and other burghs,"[4] and bears a special reference to Edinburgh, having been enacted at the suit of the Provost and Bailies thereof, to settle disputed claims by the clergy.

Others, again, are addressed against many prevailing vices or extravagances of the age,

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 48.
[2] Bishop Leslie, p. 217.
[3] Calderwood's History, vol. i. p. 258.
[4] Scots Acts, vol. i. p. 271.

interfering with a high hand, even to the "ordouring of everie mannis house," and regulating with a most rigid economy the number of dishes at each man's table, according to his degree. But the most interesting is, that against printing without licence, furnishing an insight into the variety and character of the writings then issuing from the press, and already strongly influencing the public mind. "That na prenter presume to prent ony buikes, ballattes, sanges, blasphemationes, rime, or tragedies, outher in Latine or English toung," without due examination and licence granted, under pain of confiscation of goods, and banishment of the realm for ever.[1] Sir David Lindsay had already published his *Tragedie of the Cardinal*, and it seems to have been about this time that he put forth *The Historie and Testament of Squyer Meldrum*, one of his most pleasing poems, though in parts exhibiting a licence, as to incident and language, common to the writers of that age. This poem is the versification of a romantic incident which occurred under his own observation during the unsettled period, in the earlier years of the minority of James V. (August 1517.)[2] The rank of Sir David Lindsay, and the influence he had enjoyed during the previous reign, had continued to preserve him from all interference; nor was it till the accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England, and the steps in favour of the Protestant party that followed thereon, that the Catholic clergy at length denounced his writings as the fruitful source of movement in the popular mind.

The object of the Queen Dowager, in her recent visit to France, had been mainly to secure the interest of that Court in procuring for herself the office of Regent. The Earl of Arran, who still held that office, seems to have been altogether deficient in the requisite talents for his responsible position; swayed alternately by whichever adviser chanced to hold his confidence, his government was at once feeble and uncertain.

No sooner had the Queen Dowager secured the approbation and concurrence of the French King, than her emissaries departed for the Scottish capital, empowered to break the affair to the Regent, with such advantageous offer as should induce him to yield up the office without difficulty. Threats were held out of a rigid reckoning being required as to the dilapidation of the revenue and crown-lands, which had taken place during his government. On the other hand, he was offered the splendid bribe of the Dukedom of Chatelherault, with ample provision for his eldest son at the French Court, while like liberal promises secured to the Queen's party many of the nobility.

The Archbishop of St Andrews, who had latterly influenced all the motions of the Regent, chanced at this time to be dangerously ill, so that Arran was left without counsel or aid, and yielded at length a reluctant consent to the exchange.

On the return of Mary of Guise from France, she accompanied Arran in a progress through the northern parts of the kingdom, in which she exhibited much of that prudence and ability which she undoubtedly possessed, and which, in more fortunate times, might have largely promoted the best interests of the country: while such was the popularity she acquired, that the Regent became highly jealous of her influence, and when reminded of his promise, indignantly refused to yield up the government into her hands.

The Queen Dowager, however, already possessed the real power; and while the Regent, with his few adherents, continued to reside at Edinburgh, and maintain there the forms of government, she was holding a brilliant court at Stirling, and securing to her party the

[1] Scots Acts, vol. i. p. 286.

[2] Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 305.

entire nobility, and most influential leaders among the clergy; the Primate of St Andrews, brother of the Regent, being almost the only man of any weight still adhering to him.[1]

Moved alike by promises and threats, the imbecile Regent at length resigned the government, and a Parliament thereupon assembled at Edinburgh on the 12th of April 1554, in which the transference of the government was ratified, and a commission produced from Queen Mary, then in her twelfth year, appointing her mother, Mary of Guise, Regent of the realm, which the estates of Parliament confirmed by their subscriptions and seals. The Earl of Arran, or as he was now styled, Duke of Chatelherault, then rose, and delivered up the royal crown, sword, and sceptre, into the hands of Monsieur D'Oysel, the French ambassador, who received them in the name of Queen Mary, by the authority of the King of France, and others, her chosen curators; and immediately thereafter he produced a mandate from the Queen, in obedience to which he delivered them to the Queen Dowager.[2] The new Regent acknowledged her acceptance of the office, and received the homage and congratulations of the assembled nobility. She was then conducted in public procession, with great pomp and acclamation, through the city to the Palace of Holyrood, and immediately entered upon the administration of the government.

The uncertainty of the government, previous to this settlement, and the enfeebled power of the nominal Regent, exposed the capital as usual to disorders and tumults. From the Council Register of this year 1554, we learn, that owing to the frequent robberies and assaults committed in the streets of Edinburgh at night, the Council ordered "lanterns or bowets to be hung out in the streets and closes, by such persons and in such places as the magistrates should appoint, to continue burning from five o'clock in the evening till nine, which was judged a proper time for people to repair to their respective habitations."[3] The account is curious and interesting, as furnishing the earliest notice of lighting up the public streets of the Scottish capital.

The narratives of these disorders, furnished by contemporary authors, exhibit a state of lawless violence that demanded of the magistrates no measured zeal to suppress. The occasion was made available by rival factions to renew their ancient feuds, "and to quyt querrellis, thinking this to be tyme most convenient."[4] Various deadly combats took place; the Laird of Buccleuch was slain on the public streets by a party of the Kerrs, and this was followed as usual by sworn strife between the rival clans. "About the same time," says Bishop Leslie, "the Master of Ruthven slew a valiant gentleman, called John Charteris of Kinclevin, in Edinburgh, upon occasion of old feud, and for staying of a decret of ane proces which the said John pursued against him before the Lords of Session," which led to the passing of an Act by the next Parliament, that whosoever should slay a man for pursuing an action against him, should forfeit the right of judgment in his action, in addition to his liability to the laws for the crime. This author further records, that the Lord Semple slew the Lord Crichtoun of Sanquhar, in the governor's own house in Edinburgh; and by the interest of the Archbishop of St Andrews and other friends, escaped free from all consequences of the crime.[5] A state of things that must have made the people at large rejoice in seeing the reins of government transferred to vigorous

[1] Bishop Leslie, p. 245. [2] Keith's Hist., vol. i. p. 142. [3] Maitland, p. 14.
[4] Bishop Leslie's History, p. 247. [5] Ibid, p. 248.

hands, whatever might be the feelings of a few interested partizans of the Regent Arran.

In the midst of these transactions, and while the Queen Dowager was skilfully arranging for the transference of the government into her own hands, the death of Edward VI. had created a total change in the neighbouring kingdom, and rendered the position and future line of policy to be pursued by Scotland in its intercourse with England altogether different.

Probably, no ruler ever assumed the reins of government in Scotland with such general approbation of the people as the Queen Regent now did. She had already manifested both skill and judgment in attaining the Regency. She had secured it, although a decided Catholic, with the full concurrence of the Protestant party; and while, by her prudent concessions to them, she had won their favour, she had managed this with such skill as in no way to alienate from her the powerful Catholic party, among whose leaders were some of the chief men of learning and ability at the Scottish Court.

But it has ever, even with the wisest rulers, proved a more difficult thing to maintain authority than to acquire it. To the people, indeed, any government capable of securing to them the free exercise of their rights, and curbing the licentious turbulence of the nobles, must have proved a change for the better. Yet, in her very first proceedings, she attacked one of the most deeply-rooted national prejudices, at once disgusting the nobility, and exciting the jealousy of the people, by placing many of the most important offices of state in the hands of foreigners, and rousing a spirit of opposition to the government which led to the most fatal results.

Meanwhile, the Regent devoted herself sedulously to the promotion of peace. A cordial union was established with England, and a Parliament assembled at Edinburgh, June 20th, 1555, many of whose enactments were well calculated to promote the interests of the nation. One of them, however, entitled "An Act anent the speaking evil of the Queen's Grace, or French-men," affords evidence not only that the jealousy occasioned by the presence of the foreign troops was unabated, but that the unpopularity of her auxiliaries was already extending to the Queen Regent.

Several of the new statutes are directed to restrain the laxity of the people in their religious observances. One is entitled "Anent eating of flesh in *Lentron* (Lent) and other daies forbidden."[1] Another of these Acts "Anent Robert Hude and abbot of Un-reason," exhibits symptoms of the spirit of jealous reform, that was now influencing both parties on every question in the remotest degree affecting religion. It is the first attack on those ancient games and festivals, which this spirit of reform succeeded at length in banishing entirely from Scotland. The Act prohibits, under severest penalties, the choosing any such personage as Robin Hood, Little John, abbot of Un-reason, or Queen of May; and adds "if onie weomen or others, *about summer trees singing*, make perturbation to the Queen's lieges, the weomen perturbatoures sall be taken, handled, and put upon the cuck-stules of every burgh or toune."[2] It may well be regretted by others, besides the antiquary, that the singing about summer trees, as it is poetically expressed, should have excited the jealousy of any party, as detrimental to the interests of religion.

[1] Scots Acts, vol. i. p. 294.

[2] Ibid, vol. i. p. 307.

This year also is the period of John Knox's return to Scotland. On his escape from France—whither he had been carried a prisoner, after the taking of the Castle of St Andrews—he had remained in England till the death of Edward VI., whence he went for a time to Geneva. Immediately on his return to Scotland, he began preaching against the mass, as an idolatrous worship, with such effect that he was summoned before the ecclesiastical judicatory, held in the Blackfriars' Church in Edinburgh, on the 15th of May 1556. The case, however, was not pursued at the time, probably from apprehension of a popular tumult; but the citation had the usual effect of increasing his popularity; "and it is certain," says Bishop Keith, "that Mr Knox preached to a greater auditory the very day he should have made his appearance, than ever he did before."[1] At this time it was that the letter was written by him to the Queen Regent, entreating for reformation in the Church, which, on its being delivered to her by the Earl of Glencairn, she composedly handed it to the Archbishop of Glasgow, after glancing at it, saying—"Please you, my Lord, to look at a pasquill!"—a striking contrast to the influence he afterwards exercised over her royal daughter.[2] No sooner had John Knox accepted an invitation, which he received that same year, from an English congregation at Geneva, than the clergy cited him anew before them, and in default of his appearance, he was condemned as an heretic, and burned in effigy at the Cross of Edinburgh.

Towards the close of the year 1555, the City of Edinburgh gave a sumptuous entertainment to the Danish Ambassador, at the expense of twenty-five pounds, seventeen shillings, and one penny Scots! doubtless a magnificent civic feast in those days.[3] About this time, the Queen Regent, acting under the advice of her French councillors, excited the general indignation of the Scottish nobility and people in general, by a scheme for raising a standing army, to supersede the usual national force, composed of the nobles and their retainers, and which was to be supported by a tax imposed on every man's estate and substance. Numerous private assemblies of the barons and gentlemen took place to organise a determined opposition to the scheme; and at length three hundred of them assembled in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, and despatched the Lairds of Calder and Wemyss to the Queen Regent and her council, with so resolute a remonstrance, that the Queen was fain to abandon the project, and thought them little worthy of thanks that were the inventors of what proved a fertile source of unpopularity to her government.[4] The contentions arising from differences in religion now daily increased, and the populace of the capital were among the foremost to manifest their zeal against the ancient faith. In the year 1556, they destroyed the statues of the Virgin Mary, Trinity, and St Francis, in St Giles's Church, which led to a very indignant remonstrance from the Queen Regent, addressed to the magistrates; but they do not seem to have been justly chargeable with sympathy in such reforming movements, as we find the council of that same year, in addition to other marks of honour conferred on the Provost, ordering that for his greater state, the servants of all the inhabitants shall attend him, with lighted torches, from the vespers or evening prayers, to his house.[5]

On the breaking out of war between England and France, in 1557, the Queen Regent,

[1] Bishop Keith's History, vol. i. p. 150.
[2] Calderwood's History, Wodrow Soc., vol. i. p. 316.
[3] Council Registers, Maitland, p. 14.
[4] Bishop Leslie's Hist., p. 255.
[5] Maitland, p. 14.

under the influence of Henry II. of France, assembled a considerable force at Kelso, and sought, by all means, to persuade the nobility to unite with her in invading England. But though the Borderers availed themselves, with their usual alacrity, of the first symptoms of hostilities, to make a raid across the marches, the general sense of the nobility was strongly opposed to thus rashly plunging into war, without any just cause; and so resolute were they against it, that the Queen Regent, after various ineffectual attempts to precipitate hostilities, was compelled to dismiss the army, and abandon all further attempts at co-operation with France.[1]

From this occurrence may be dated the true rise of those divisions in this country which alienated from the Queen Regent the Scottish party, on which she had most depended, and ultimately led to the war of the Reformation; and from this time forward the ecclesiastical is intimately blended with the civil history of the country, mainly influencing every important occurrence.

The continuation of war between France and Spain at this period, induced the French Monarch to seek to hasten on the proposed alliance between the Dauphin and the Queen of Scots, to which the Queen Regent lent all her influence. A Parliament accordingly assembled at Edinburgh on the 14th of December 1557, before which a letter was laid from the King of France, proposing that the intended marriage should be carried into effect without delay. James Stewart, prior of St Andrews, afterwards the Regent Murray, and others of the leaders of the Protestant party, were chosen by the Parliament as Commissioners, empowered to give their assent to the marriage, on receiving ample security for the preservation of the ancient laws and liberty of the kingdom. They accordingly proceeded to Paris, and there, on the 24th of April 1558, were witnesses of the marriage, which was solemnised with the utmost pomp and magnificence in the Cathedral of Notre Dame.

Another Parliament was summoned immediately on their return, and accordingly assembled at Edinburgh in the beginning of December. It ratified the transactions of the Commissioners, and agreed, at the same time, to confer on the Dauphin the Crown of Scotland during the continuance of the marriage.

As the reformed opinions spread among the people, they manifested their zeal by destroying images, and breaking down the carved work of the monasteries and churches. It was the custom at this period for the clergy of Edinburgh to walk annually in grand procession, on the first of September, the anniversary of St Giles, the patron saint of the town; but in the year 1558, before the arrival of St Giles's day, the mob contrived to get into the church, and carrying off the image of the saint, which was usually borne in procession on such occasions, they threw it into the North Loch—the favourite place for ducking all offenders against the seventh commandment—and thereafter committed it to the flames.[2] The utmost confusion prevailed on its being discovered to be amissing. The bishops sent orders to the Provost and Magistrates either to get the old St Giles, or to furnish another at their own expense; but this they declined to do, notwithstanding the threats and denunciations of the clergy, alleging the authority of Scripture for the destruction of "idols and images."

[1] Bishop Leslie's Hist., pp. 260, 261.

[2] Calderwood's Hist., vol. i. p. 344.

The priests, resolving not to permit the day to pass without the usual celebration, borrowed a small statue of the saint from the Grey Friars, which they firmly secured with iron clamps to the "fertorie" or shrine,[1] in which it was usually borne aloft. And the more fully to do honour to the occasion, and to overawe the turbulent populace, the Regent was prevailed on to grace the procession with her presence. The statue was borne through the principal streets of Edinburgh in great pomp, attended by the canons of St Giles's Church, and all the chief clergy in full canonicals, "with tabrons and trumpets, banners and bagpipes. The Queen Regent led the ring for honour of the feast. It was convoyed about, and brought down the Hie Street to the common Cross. The Queen Regent dined that day in Alexander Carpenter's house, betwixt the Bowes. When the idol returned back, she left it and went in to her dinner."[2]

The presence of the Regent had produced the desired effect in restraining the populace from violence, but no sooner did she withdraw, than "the Little St Giles," as they contemptuously styled the borrowed statue, was attacked with the most determined violence, and speedily shared the fate of its predecessor. The scene is thus graphically told by the same historian from whom we have already quoted:—"Immediately after the Queen entered her lodging, some of them drew near to the idol, as willing to help to bear him up, and getting the fertorie upon their shoulders, beganne to shudder, thinking thereby the idol should have fallen. But that chance was prevented by yron nailes. Then began one to cry 'Down with the Idol! down with it!' So without delay it was pulled down. The patrons of the priests made some brags at the first; but when the priests and friars saw the feebleness of their god, they fled faster than they did at Pinkey Cleugh.[3] One of the professors [of the reformed doctrines] taking Saint Giles by the heels, and dadding his head to the causeway, left Dagon without head or hands; exclaiming, 'Fy on thee, Young Saint Giles, thy father would not have been so used!' The friars fleeing," and as Knox exultingly declares, "down go the crosses, off go the surplices, round caps and cornets with the crowns. The Grey Friars gaped, the Black Friars blew, the Priests panted and fled, and happy was he that got first to the house, for such a sudden fray came never among the generation of antichrist within this realm before."[4]

This same year, 1558, Knox issued his famous "first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women," in which he attacks the Regent, along with Mary Queen of England, and, indeed, all female rule; by which he afterwards brought on himself the personal enmity of Queen Elizabeth, even more than that of those against whom it was directed. By his instructions the reforming party had organised themselves under the name of the CONGREGATION, and their leaders now assumed the guidance in all the great movements that occurred, entering into negotiations and treaties like a sovereign power. The accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne of England further added to their influence, as she failed not to strengthen, by every available means, the hands of the Protestant party, and it consisted with her wonted course of policy thus to maintain her ascendancy by undermining the power of an opponent, rather than incur the consequences of an open rupture. The unfortunate claim which the chiefs of the house of Guise, uncles to the youthful Queen of Scotland, put forward in her name, as the legitimate successor of Queen Mary of Eng-

[1] *Fertour*, a little coffer or chest; a casket.—Jamieson.
[2] Calderwood's History, vol. i. p. 346.
[3] Ante, p. 51.
[4] Knox's Hist., p. 95.

land, roused in the mind of Elizabeth that vindictive jealousy, which so largely contributed to all the miseries that attended the course of Mary of Scotland, from the first moment of her return to her native land.

From this time forward a fatal change took place in the policy of the Queen Regent. She abandoned the moderate measures which her own natural disposition inclined her to; she lent herself entirely to the ambitious projects of the French Court and the Chiefs of the house of Guise, and the immediate result was a collision between the Catholic and Protestant parties. Some concessions had been granted at the request of the Lords of the Congregation; but now these were entirely withdrawn, a proclamation was issued for conformity of religion, and several of the leaders of the reforming party were summoned to answer for their past deeds.[1]

A provincial synod, worthy of notice, as the last ever held in Scotland during Roman Catholic times, was convened on the 2d of March, this year, in the Blackfriars' Church, Edinburgh, to consult what was required for the safety of the Church thus endangered. Resolutions were passed for the amendment of life in the clergy, and the removal of other crying abuses; but it can hardly be wondered at that their general tone was by no means conciliatory; the decrees of the Council of Trent were again declared obligatory; the use of any other language than Latin, in the services of the Church, was expressly forbid; and, by an act of this same synod, Sir David Lindsay's writings were denounced, and ordered to be burnt.[2] According to Calderwood, this, the last synod of the Church, was dissolved on the 2d of May, the same day that John Knox arrived at Leith,—too striking a coincidence to be overlooked.[3]

The conducting of the public religious services in an unknown language had long excited opposition; and the popularity of such writings as those of Dunbar, Douglas, and Lindsay, in the vernacular tongue, doubtless tended to increase the general desire for its use in the services of the Church, as well as on all public occasions.

In *Kitteis Confessioun*, a satirical poem ascribed to Sir David Lindsay, the dog-latin of an ignorant father-confessor is alluded to with sly humour—

> He speirit monie strange case,
> How that my lufe did me embrace,
> Quhat day, how oft, quhat sort, and quhair?
> Quod he, I wad I had been thair.
> He me absolvit for ane plack,
> Thocht he with me na price wald mak;
> And mekil Latine did he mummill;
> I heard na thing bot *hummill bummill.*

The poet was already in his grave when his writings were thus condemned. The last years of his life had been spent in retirement, and the exact time of his death is unknown, but Henry Charteris, the famous printer, who published Lindsay's works in 1568, says that "shortly after the death of Sir David, they burnt auld Walter Mill." This occurred in 1558, from which it may be inferred, that he died towards the close of the previous year, 1557.[4]

[1] Tytler, vol. vi. pp. 109, 110. [2] Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 526. [3] Calderwood, vol. i. p. 438.
[4] Chalmers' Sir D. Lindsay, vol. i. p. 42. Keith, vol. i. p. 156.

The reforming party now proceeded to those acts of violence, which led to the destruction of nearly all the finest ecclesiastical buildings throughout Scotland. The Queen Regent, on learning of their proceedings at Perth and elsewhere, wrote to the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, requiring them to defend the town, and not suffer the Earl of Argyle and the Congregation to enter—offering the aid of her French troops for their defence. But this the Magistrates declined, declaring that the entire populace were prepared to favour that party, and could not be restrained by them. Upon receiving this reply, the Regent thereupon withdrew with her French guard from Holyrood Abbey, and retreated towards Dunbar.

The Magistrates, though unable to resist this popular movement, exerted themselves to the utmost to restrain its violence. They sent a deputation to the leaders of the reforming party, entreating them to spare both their churches and religious houses,—the former to be continued in use as places of Protestant worship, and the latter as seminaries of learning. They also placed a guard of sixty men for the protection of St Giles's Church, and, as a further security, removed the carved stalls of the choir within the safer shelter of the Tolbooth;[1] and such was the zeal they displayed, that the Regent afterwards wrote them a letter of thanks for their services. Yet their efforts were only attended with very partial success. Upon the first rumour of the approach of the Earl of Argyle, the populace attacked both the monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars, destroying everything they contained, and leaving nothing but the bare walls standing.[2]

When the Earl of Argyle entered the town with his followers, they immediately proceeded to the work of purification, as it was styled. Trinity College Church, and the prebendal buildings attached to it, were assailed, and some parts of them utterly destroyed; and both St Giles's Church, and St Mary's, or the Kirk of Field, were visited, their altars thrown down, and the images destroyed and burnt. They visited Holyrood Abbey, overthrowing the altars, and otherwise defacing the church, and removed also from thence the coining irons of the Mint, compelling the treasurer to deliver up to them a considerable sum of money in his hands.[3]

The Regent finding herself unable to resist this formidable party by force, entered into negotiations with them, for the purpose of gaining time, while they, on the other hand, corresponded with Queen Elizabeth and besought her aid; but the English Queen was too politic to commit herself by openly countenancing a fraction so recently sprung up, and contented herself with evasive answers to their request, and many of their adherents meanwhile falling away, they were compelled to retreat as hastily from the town as they had entered, on the sudden return of the Regent from Dunbar.

Commissioners from both parties met, and a mutual accommodation was agreed on between them, and signed by the Earl of Arran and Monsieur d'Oysel, on the 25th of July, at Leith Links, and immediately thereafter the Queen Regent returned and took up her residence in Holyrood Palace.

One of the chief clauses in this agreement required the dismissal of the French troops; and with a special view to the enforcement of this, an interview took place on the following day between the Earls of Arran and Huntly, and some of the leaders of the Congregation,

[1] Maitland, p. 16. [2] Calderwood, vol. i. p. 475. [3] Bishop Leslie, p. 275.

including the Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, and the Lord James Stewart. The place of meeting was the Quarry Holes, or as it is not inappropriately styled by the writers of the time, the Quarrel Holes; a famous place of meeting for duels and private rencontres, at the east end of the Calton Hill, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Palace of Holyrood—and there the two first-named Earls engaged, that should the Regent fail to fulfil the conditions of agreement, and especially that of the dismissal of the French troops, they would willingly join forces with them to enforce their fulfilment.[1]

Although the main body of the reformers had withdrawn from Edinburgh, some of the leaders continued to reside there, and the people refused to yield up St Giles's Church to be again used for the service of the mass, although the Regent sought, by various means, to recover it. She had already received notice of further assistance coming from France, and did not choose to provoke a quarrel till thus reinforced. As one means of driving them from the church, the French soldiers made it a place of promenade during the time of service, to the great disturbance of the Congregation. But though the preacher, Mr Willocks, denounced them in no measured terms from the pulpit, and publicly prayed God to rid them of such locusts, the people prudently avoided an open rupture, "except that a horned cap was taken off a proud priest's head, and cut in four quarters, because he said he would wear it in spite of the Congregation."[2]

In the month of September 1559, Sir Ralph Sadler arrived at Berwick from Queen Elizabeth, and entered into secret negotiations with the reformers, paying over to them, for their immediate use, the sum of two thousand pounds, with the promise of further pecuniary assistance, for the purpose of expelling the French from Scotland, so that it could be managed with such secrecy as not to interfere with the public treaties between the two nations.

The preparations for war were now diligently pursued by both parties. The Queen had already received a reinforcement of a thousand French troops, who disembarked at Leith in the end of August, and with their aid she immediately proceeded to enlarge and complete the fortifications of that port, while she renewed her entreaties to the French Court for further aid.

Shortly after, the Bishop of Amiens arrived at Edinburgh, as legate from the Pope, and earnestly laboured to reconcile the reformers to the Church; but any little influence he might possibly have had, was destroyed in their eyes by the discovery that he had arrived in company with a second body of French auxiliaries.

The Congregation at length marched to Edinburgh, towards the end of October, with a force amounting to twelve thousand men, resolved to dislodge the French garrison from Leith; and the same day the Regent hastily retreated from Holyrood Palace, and took up her residence within the protection of the fortifications at Leith.

The Congregation proceeded in the most systematic manner,—committees were chosen for the direction of civil and religious affairs, and a letter was immediately addressed to the

[1] Bishop Keith, vol. i. p. 224.

[2] Calderwood, vol. i. p. 502.

VIGNETTE—Corbel from the old south door of St Giles's Church.

Queen Regent, demanding the dismissal of all foreigners and men-at-arms from the town of Leith. To this she replied, with dignity, that their letter appeared rather as coming from a prince to his subjects, than the reverse, and referred them for further answer to the Lord Lion Herald, by whom the letter was sent.[1]

The Queen's messenger found the Lords of the Congregation assembled in the Tolbooth, seriously debating whether she should be deposed from the Regency, as had been proposed to them by Lord Ruthven. The reformed preachers joined in the discussion, freely denouncing her as an obstinate idolatress, and a message was at length returned by the Lord Lion, intimating to her that they suspended her, in the name of their Sovereign, from the office of Regent.

In furtherance of their plans, a herald was sent to summon all French and native soldiers to depart from Leith within twelve hours, and little regard being paid to their orders, immediate preparations were made for the assault. Scaling ladders were hastily prepared in the aisles of St Giles's Church, which so offended the preachers, as an act of sacrilege, that they weakly prognosticated failure to the whole enterprise.

The prophecy wrought its own fulfilment, for the troops were so intimidated thereby, that, upon marching to the attack, they forsook their artillery on the first sally that the enemy made, and retreated so precipitately to Edinburgh, that the foot were trampled down by the horsemen in their eagerness to enter the city gates.

The French pursued them to the middle of the Canongate and up Leith Wynd, slaying indiscriminately women and children as well as men, and plundering the houses exposed to their fury. The Queen Regent watched them from the ramparts, and welcomed them with ill-judged mirth, as they returned victorious, laden with the homely booty they had acquired in the action. "One brought a kirtle, another a petticoate, the third a pott or panne." Such was the panic at this period among the undisciplined rabble, who formed the main force of the Congregation, that their flight was with difficulty restrained on their reaching the West Port, at the opposite extremity of the city.[2]

A second contest, arising from an attempt by the French troops to intercept a convoy carrying provisions into Edinburgh, was equally unfortunate. The forces of the Congregation, headed by the Lord James, got entangled in a morass at Restalrig. Haliburton, Provost of Dundee, one of the best of their leaders, fell in the action; and though they retreated at length with small loss, they were so completely disheartened, that they precipitately deserted the town that same night.

The Regent immediately returned to the Capital; all who were in any way implicated in the reforming movements were compelled to flee, and the best houses in the town were conferred on her French soldiers as a reward for their services.

Each party again turned for security to foreign aid. Towards the close of the year both leaders were anxiously watching for the first appearance of their allies' fleets. The French commander at length hailed with delight the appearance of several large vessels bearing up the Forth, which he at once decided to be the promised French fleet; nor was he disabused of his error, till he beheld his own victualling transports seized by them, and the English flag hoisted in their rigging.

In the beginning of the following year, 1560, the Lords of the Congregation united

[1] Keith, vol. i. p. 230.

[2] Calderwood, vol. i. p. 550. Knox, p. 195-7.

their forces with the English, for the purpose of expelling the French garrison from Leith. The Council of Edinburgh manifested their sympathy by contributing the sum of sixteen hundred pounds Scots to maintain four hundred men engaged in their service for one month, for the reduction of that town.[1]

The English force landed, and took up their station around Restalrig Church, casting up trenches and securing themselves from the danger of surprise.[2] The forces of the Congregation had now acquired both experience and discipline, and with the aid of such auxiliaries, the tables were speedily turned.

The French troops began the attack by a sudden sally on the camp at Restalrig, by which the English auxiliaries were taken at a disadvantage; but they speedily rallied, and chased them to the walls of Leith, killing above three hundred, though with a still greater loss to themselves. In order more closely to press the siege, they removed their camp, a few days after, to Pilrig, a rising ground still known by that name, lying directly between Edinburgh and Leith.[3]

The united forces continued to press the siege at Leith. Early in May, a general assault was made, but the scaling ladders were discovered to be too short when applied to the walls, and the besiegers were driven back with great slaughter.

The ordnance of the French garrison were mounted along the walls, and on every available point within the town of Leith. A battery that was erected on the tower of the preceptory of St Anthony proved particularly annoying and destructive to the besiegers; and as they were unable, from their distance, to produce any effect on it, they advanced their cannon to the Links of Leith, where they threw up mounds of earth, and erected a battery of eight guns. With these they kept up so constant and destructive a firing, that, in a few days, they not only dismounted the ordnance placed by the French in the steeple, but greatly injured it and the adjoining buildings.[4]

On the 14th of April, being Easter Sunday, a constant firing was kept up by the assailants, particularly at St Mary's Church, where the people were assembled for divine service, so that a bullet was shot through the great east window, passing right over the altar, during the celebration of high mass, and just before the elevation of the host.

Two of the mounds thrown up by the besiegers on this occasion still remain on Leith Links, and almost directly opposite the east end of the church. One of them is on the extreme east side of the Links; the other, which lies considerably nearer the High School, is locally designated the *Giant's Brae*. As there existed, till very recently, no houses between the church and these open downs on which the batteries were erected, it must have lain completely exposed to the fire of the besiegers. Some obscurity exists in the narratives of the different historians of this period, as to which church is spoken of. Bishop Leslie mentions their having "shot many great schottis of cannonis and gret ordinances at the parrishe kirk of Leyth and Sanct Anthoneis steple." St Mary's Church was not converted into the parish church, until the destruction, at a later period, of that of Restalrig, to which Leith was parochially joined; yet its position, agreeing so well with the accounts of the siege, leaves no doubt that it is intended by this designation. As all the historians, however, unite in speaking of St Anthony's steeple as that whereon the French garrison had erected their ordnance, there seems no reason to question that it was

[1] Maitland, p. 19. [2] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 57. [3] Ibid, p. 58. [4] Bishop Leslie, p. 285.

the tower of the preceptory, and not that of the present parish church, as the talented editor of Keith's History suggests.[1] No vestige, indeed, of St Anthony's steeple has existed for centuries, and it is probable that it was totally destroyed at this period. The tower of St Mary's, which was taken down in 1836, was evidently an erection of a much later date, and too small to have admitted of a battery being mounted upon it.

On the 22d of April, Monluc, bishop of Valence, arrived as a commissioner from the Court of France, and attempted to mediate between the Regent and the Lords of the Congregation. He entered into communication with the reformers and their allies, and spent two days in the English camp; he thereafter passed to the Queen Regent in Edinburgh Castle, but all attempts at reconciliation proved ineffectual, as the assailants would accept of no other terms than the demolition of the fortifications of Leith, and the dismissal of all the French troops from Scotland.

Meanwhile, the Queen Regent lay in the Castle of Edinburgh, suffering alike from failing health and anxiety of mind. Her life was now drawing to a close, and she repeatedly sought to bring about a reconciliation between the contending parties, that she might, if possible, resign the sceptre to her daughter free from the terrible rivalry and contentions which had embittered the whole period of her Regency; but all attempts at compromise proved in vain, and her French advisers prevented her closing with the sole proposal on which the leaders of the Congregation at length agreed to acknowledge her authority—namely, that all foreign troops should immediately quit the realm.

When the Queen Regent found her end approaching, she requested an interview with the Lords of the Congregation. The Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyle, Marischal, and Glencairn, with the Lord James, immediately repaired to the Castle, where they were received by the dying Queen with such humility and unfeigned kindness as deeply moved them. She extended her hand to each of them, beseeching their forgiveness with tears, whereinsoever she had offended them. She expressed deep grief that matters should ever have come to such extremities, ascribing it to the influence of foreign counsels, which had compelled her to act contrary to her own inclinations.

The scene was so affecting that all present were moved to tears. At the request of the barons, she received a visit from John Willock, with whom she conversed for a considerable time. He besought her to seek mercy alone through the death of Christ, urging her at the same time to acknowledge the mass as a relic of idolatry. She assured him that she looked for salvation in no other way than through the death of her Saviour; and without replying to his further exhortation, she bade him farewell.[2]

The Queen Regent died on the following day, the 10th of June 1560. The preachers refused to permit her to be buried according to the rites of the Catholic Church. Her body was accordingly placed in a lead coffin, and kept in the Castle till the 9th of October, when it was transported to France, and buried in the Benedictine monastery at Rheims, of which her own sister was then Abbess.

Both parties were now equally inclined to a peace; and accordingly, within a very short time after the death of the Regent, Cecil, the able minister of Queen Elizabeth, repaired to Edinburgh, accompanied by Sir Nicholas Wotton. Here they were met by the Bishops of

[1] Keith, 1844, Spottiswood Soc., vol. i. p. 271. Wodrow Miscel. vol. i. p. 84.
[2] Calderwood, vol. i. p. 589. Keith, vol. i. p. 280.

Valence and Amiens, and other French commissioners, and a treaty was formally concluded and signed, by which, through the diplomatic skill of Cecil, the objects aimed at by Queen Elizabeth, as well as the real interests of the Congregation, were completely secured, notwithstanding the feeble remonstrances of the French commissioners. A separate convention, agreed to at the same time, bound the French garrison to remove all the artillery from the ramparts of Leith, completely to demolish its fortifications, and immediately thereafter to embark for France.

On the 19th of July,—the third day after the embarkation of the French troops at Leith, and the departure of the English forces on their march homeward,—a solemn public thanksgiving was held by the reforming nobles, and the great body of the Congregation, in St Giles's Church; and thereafter the preachers were appointed to some of the chief boroughs of the kingdom, Knox being confirmed in the chief charge at Edinburgh.

A Parliament assembled in Edinburgh on the 1st of August, the proceedings of which were opened with great solemnity. The lesser barons, from their interest in the progress of the reformed doctrines, claimed the privilege, which they had long ceased to use, of sitting and voting in the Assembly of the Three Estates. This led to the accession of nearly a hundred votes, nearly all of them adhering to the Protestant party. After the discussion of some preliminary questions,—particularly as to the authority by which the Parliament was summoned,—Maitland was appointed their "harangue maker," or speaker, and they proceeded to choose the Lords of the Articles. Great complaint was made as to the choice falling entirely on those well affected to the new religion, particularly among the Lords Spiritual, some of whose representatives were mere laymen;—but altogether without effect. "This being done," says Randolph, in an interesting letter to Cecil, "the Lords departed, and accompanied the Duke as far as the Bow,—which is the gate going out of the High Street,—and many down unto the Palace where he lieth; the town all in armour, the trumpets sounding, and all other kinds of music such as they have. . . . . The Lords of the Articles sat from henceforth in Holyrood House, except that at such times as upon matter of importance the whole Lords assembled themselves again, as they did this day, in the Parliament House."[1]

The Parliament immediately proceeded with the work of reformation, a Confession of Faith was drawn up, and approved of by acclamation, embodying a summary of Christian doctrine in accordance with the views of the majority, and this was seconded by a series of acts rendering all who refused to subscribe to its tenets liable to confiscation, banishment, and even death. Ambassadors were despatched to England with proposals of marriage between the Earl of Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Chatelherault, and Queen Elizabeth, while Sir James Sandilands, grand prior of the knights of St John of Jerusalem, was sent to France to carry an account of their proceedings to the Queen.

The latter met with a very cool reception; he was, however, entrusted with a reply from the Scottish Queen, which, though it refused to recognise the assembly by which he was sent as a Parliament, was yet couched in conciliatory terms, and intimated her intention to despatch commissioners immediately, to convene a legal Parliament; but ere Sir James arrived at Edinburgh, the news reached him of the death of the young King, her royal consort, anwhich event caused the utmost rejoicing among the party of the Congregation.

[1] MS. Letter St P. Off., 9th August 1560, Tytler.

The Three Estates immediately assembled at Edinburgh on the 16th of January, and despatched the Lord James, the chief leader of the Congregation, as ambassador to the Scottish Queen, to invite her return to her own dominions. Ere his departure on this mission, four commissioners arrived from the Queen, with assurances of her intention of speedily returning home, and meanwhile bearing a commission to certain of the leading men of Scotland, authorising them to summon a Parliament.

About this time a serious riot occurred in Edinburgh. "That the work of reformation might not be retarded, Sanderson, deacon of the fleshers, or butchers, was, by the Council, ordered to be carted for adultery."[1] This the trades resented, as a general insult to their body, and assembling in a tumultuous manner, they broke open the prison and released him from durance. The magistrates, on this, applied to the Privy Council for aid against the rioters—a number of the craftsmen were committed prisoners to the Castle, and the corporations so intimidated, that they made humble supplication to the Council for release of their brethren, promising all obedience and submission to the magistrates in time coming. Upon this the craftsmen were released, and the offending deacon, it may be presumed, duly *carted* according to order.

The magistrates the same year removed the Corn Market, from the corner of Marlin's Wynd, Cowgate (where Blair Street now is), to the east end of the Grassmarket, where it continued to be held till the present century. At the same time, they forbade the continuance of a practice that then prevailed of holding public markets on the Sundays, and keeping open shops and taverns during divine service, under the pain of corporal punishment.[2]

The enforcement of some of the more stringent enactments that had been introduced for the reformation of manners, gave rise to another and more serious tumult. Notwithstanding the acts already referred to, the people still attempted the revival of some of their ancient games. On the 21st of June, a number of the craftsmen and apprentices united together for the purpose of playing Robin Hood—"which *enormity* was of many years left off, and condemned by statute." The magistrates interfered, and took from them some weapons and an ensign. This the populace keenly resented, the city gates were held by the mob, and numerous acts of violence committed. The magistrates, to appease them, restored the banner and other spoils; but, watching a favourable opportunity, they seized on James Gillon, a shoemaker, one of the ringleaders of the mob, tried him on the charge of stealing ten crowns, and condemned him to be hanged. The deacons of the crafts used all their influence with the magistrates to obtain his pardon, but in vain. A deputation from the same body waited on John Knox, and besought his influence on behalf of the offender, but he refused "to be a patron to their impiety." A gallows was erected below the Cross, and all preparations completed for the execution, when the rioters resumed their weapons, broke down the gallows, and put the magistrates to flight; pursuing them till they took refuge in a writer's booth. There they were held captive, while the mob proceeded to assault the Tolbooth within sight of them. They broke in the door with sledge hammers, and set Gillon and all the other prisoners at liberty. On their departure, the magistrates took refuge in the Tolbooth, and thence fired on them on their return from an attempt to pass out by the Nether Bow Port;

[1] Council Register, Nov. 22d, 1560. Maitland, p. 20. [2] Ibid.

meanwhile, the deacons of the corporations were summoned to the rescue of the Provost and Bailies, "but they past to their four-hour's penny, or afternoon's pint," returning for answer, that *since they will be magistrates alone, let them rule alone!*

The Provost was compelled at last to seek the mediation of the Governor of the Castle, but the rioters did not disperse, nor permit the magistrates to escape from durance, until after nine o'clock at night, when a public proclamation was made at the Cross, engaging that they should not pursue any one for that day's work.[1]

On the 19th of August 1561, Queen Mary landed at Leith, where she was received by the Lord James, her natural brother, and many of the chief nobility; and conveyed in state to the Abbey of Holyrood House. On the news of her arrival, the nobility and leaders, without distinction of party, crowded to Edinburgh, to congratulate her on her return to her native land, and tender their homage and service, while the people testified their pleasure by bonfires and music, and other popular demonstrations of rejoicing.

Magnificent entertainments were provided by the town of Edinburgh, as well as by the chief nobility, and everything was done on her arrival to assure her of the perfect loyalty and affection of her subjects; yet, if we may believe Brantome, an eye-witness, the Queen could not help contrasting, with a sigh, the inferiority of the national displays on her arrival, when contrasted with the gorgeous pageants to which she had been accustomed at the Court of France.[2]

Contrary to what had been anticipated, the Queen received the Lord James into special favour, and admitted him to the chief control in all public affairs; but notwithstanding the countenance shown to him, and other leaders of the Congregation, the religious differences speedily led to dissensions between the Queen and the people. All toleration had been denied to those who still adhered to the old faith, and both priests and laymen were strictly enjoined by the magistrates of Edinburgh to attend the services of the Protestant Churches. Some of them, instead of joining in the worship, had availed themselves of this compulsory attendance to unsettle the faith of recent converts, on which account they were ordered by proclamation to depart from the city within forty-eight hours. The Queen remonstrated without effect, and the proclamation was renewed with increased rigour; whereupon she addressed a letter to the Council and community of Edinburgh, commanding them to assemble in the Tolbooth, and choose other magistrates in their stead. The Council obeyed her commands, without waiting to learn whom she would recommend for their successors,—a procedure which excited her indignation little less than the contempt of the magistrates she had deposed.[3]

Shortly after this, Knox visited the Queen at Holyrood, and had a long interview with her, during which he moved her to tears by the vehemence of his exhortations. The Lord James and other two courtiers were present, but they withdrew sufficiently to permit of perfect privacy in this first conference between the Reformer and Queen Mary. The interview was long, and the Queen sufficiently patient under his very plain spoken rebukes and exhortations, but they parted in the same mind as they had met;

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 284, 5. Knox's History of the Reformation, 4to, p. 253, where the culprit is styled Balon.
[2] Brantome, vol. ii. p. 123. Tytler, vol. vi. [3] Council Register, Oct. 8, 1561. Maitland, p. 21.

each of them frankly disclosing opinions, involving the causes of the collision that speedily followed.

The Queen soon after made a progress to the north, and on her return to Edinburgh, preparations were made on a most magnificent scale for welcoming her. On the 3d of September, she dined in the Castle, and thereafter made her public entry. Fifty black slaves, magnificently apparelled, received her at the west gate of the city; twelve of the chief citizens, dressed in black velvet gowns, with coats and doublets of crimson satin, bore a canopy, under which she rode in state, and immediately on her entry, a lovely boy descended from a globe, and addressing her in congratulatory verses, at which she was seen to smile, presented her with the keys of the city, and a Bible and Psalter. The most costly arrangements were made for her reception; all the citizens were required to appear in gowns of fine French satin and coats of velvet, and the young men to devise for themselves some befitting habiliments of taffeta, or other silk, to convey the Court in triumph. A public banquet was given to the Queen and the noble strangers by whom she was accompanied; and most ingenious masks and pageants provided for her entertainment, peculiarly characteristic of the times. A mystery was performed, in which Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were destroyed, while offering strange fire upon the altar, as a warning of the vengeance of God upon idolaters. A still more significant interlude had been provided for her Majesty's benefit, in which a priest was to have been burnt at the altar while elevating the host; but the Earl of Huntly persuaded them, with some difficulty, to content themselves with the first allegory.

All the public way through which the procession had to pass, was adorned with splendid hangings and devices, and the Nether Bow Port, where the Queen bade adieu to her entertainers, was decorated for the occasion in the most costly fashion.[1]

The ancient Tolbooth, or "Pretorium," as it is styled in the early Acts of the Scottish Parliaments, had fallen, at this time, into a very decayed and ruinous condition. The Queen addressed a letter to the Town Council, bearing date the 6th of February 1561, charging the Provost, Bailies, and Council to take it down with all possible diligence, and provide, meanwhile, sufficient accommodation elsewhere for the Lords of the Session and others ministering justice.

The royal letter expresses a most affectionate dread for "the skayth and great slaughter" that may happen to the lieges by the downfall of the building, if not speedily prevented; but no apology seems to have been thought necessary for the very arbitrary demand that the city of Edinburgh should erect, at its own charge, parliament and court-houses for the whole kingdom. The proceedings of the Town Council, for many months after this, are replete with allusions to the many difficulties they had to encounter in raising money and providing materials for the new building. The master of the works is ordered "gyf the tymmer of the Auld Tolbuith will serve for the wark of the New Tolbuith, to tak the same as ma serve." In consequence of the proceedings, in obedience to this order, the renters of the neighbouring booths appear with no very gentle remonstrance against him, complaining "that presentlie the maister of wark was takand away the jeists above their buthis, quhilk jeists had been bocht be thame, and laid thair, and wes thair awin propir guddis." The magistrates seem to have pacified them with a

[1] Council Register, 3d Sept. 1561. Keith, vol. ii. p. 81, 82. Knox's Hist., p. 269. Herries' Mem., p. 56.

promise of replacing, at some indefinite period, "als mony als gud jeistis" as had been taken away.[1]

Materials and money continued equally difficult to be obtained; the master of the work had again to have recourse for stones to the old building, although the magistrates were anxious, if possible, to preserve it. On the 5th of March 1562, an order appears for taking the stones of the chapel in the Nether Kirk-yard. This supplies the date of the utter demolition of Holyrood Chapel, as it was styled, which had most probably been spoiled and broken down during the tumults of 1559. It stood between the present Parliament House and the Cowgate; and there, on the 12th of August 1528, Walter Chepman founded a chaplainry at the altar of Jesus Christ crucified, and endowed it with his tenement in the Cowgate.[2]

In the month of April, the Council are threatened with the entire removal of the Courts to St Andrews, for want of a place of meeting in Edinburgh. This is followed by forced taxation, borrowing money on the town mills, threats from the builder to give up the work, "because he had oft and diverse tymes requyrit money, and could get nane," and the like, for some years following, until the magistrates contrived, at length, by some means or other, to complete the new building to the satisfaction of all parties. During this interval, the Town Council held their own meetings in the *Holy-Blood Aisle* in St Giles's Church, until apartments were provided for them, in the New Tolbooth, which served alike for the meetings of the Parliament, the Court of Session, and the Magistrates and Council of the burgh.

The New Tolbooth, thus erected with so much difficulty, was not the famous Heart of Midlothian, but a more modern building attached to the south-west corner of St Giles's Church, part of the site of which is now occupied by the lobby of the Signet Library.

In February 1561, the Lord James, newly created Earl of Mar, was publicly married to Lady Agnes Keith, daughter of the Earl Marischal, in St Giles's Church. They received an admonition "to behave themselves moderately in all things;" but this did not prevent the event being celebrated with such display as gave great offence to the preachers. A magnificent banquet was given on the occasion, with pageants and masquerades, which the Queen honoured with her presence. Randolph, the ambassador of Queen Elizabeth, was also a guest, and thus writes of it to Cecil:—"At this notable marriage, upon Shrove Tuesday, at night, sitting among the Lords at supper, in sight of the Queen, she drank unto the Queen's Majesty, and sent me the cup of gold, which weigheth eighteen or twenty ounces." The preachers denounced, with vehemence, the revels and costly banquets on this occasion, inveighing with peculiar energy against the masking, a practice, as it would seem, till then unknown in Scotland.[3]

The reformation of religion continued to be pursued with the utmost zeal. The Queen still retained the service of the mass in her own private chapel, to the great offence of the preachers; but they had succeeded in entirely banishing it from the churches. The arms and burgh seal of Edinburgh, previous to this period, contained a representation of the patron saint, St Giles, with his hind; but by an act of the Town Council, dated 24th

[1] Council Register, 10th Feb. 1561, &c. Maitland, p. 21, 22. Chambers's Minor Antiquities, p. 141–9.
[2] Council Register, Maitland, p. 183.
[3] Knox's Hist., p. 276. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 301.

June 1562, *the idol* was ordered to be cut out of the town's standard, and a thistle to be substituted in its place, though the saint's fawn has been since allowed to appear in his stead.

During this year the Council made application to the Queen to grant them the grounds belonging to the Black Friars, lying to the south, between the Cowgate and the town wall, to build an hospital thereon for the poor; and also the Kirk-of-Field, with all the adjoining buildings and ground, to erect there a public school, together with their revenues for endowing the same. They also, at the same time, besought her to grant them the yards and site of the Greyfriars' monastery, "being somewhat distant from the town," for the purpose of a public burial-place. The Queen, in reply, granted the last request, appointing the Greyfriars' Yard to be devoted to the use of the town for the specified purpose; and for the rest, she engaged, so soon as sufficient funds were secured for building the hospital and school, that she would provide a convenient site for them. The whole, however, were at length made over to the magistrates, in the year 1566, for the purposes specified.

Great excitement was occasioned in Edinburgh at this time, by an act of violence perpetrated by the Earl of Bothwell, with the aid of the Marquis D'Elboeuf and Lord John Coldingham. They broke open the doors of Cuthbert Ramsay's house, in St Mary's Wynd, during the night, and made violent entry in search for his daughter-in-law, Alison Craig, with whom the Earl of Arran was believed to be enamoured. A strong remonstrance was presented to the Queen on this occasion, beseeching her to bring the perpetrators to punishment; but the matter was hushed up, with promises of amendment. Emboldened by their impunity, Bothwell and his accomplices proceeded to further violence. They assembled in the public streets during the night, with many of their friends. Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, who had joined the reforming party, resolved to check them in their violent proceedings. He accordingly armed his servants and retainers and sallied out to oppose them, and a serious affray took place between the Cross and the Trone; shot and bolts flew in every direction; the burghers were mustered by the ringing of the town bells, and rival leaders were sallying out to the assistance of their friends, when the Earls of Murray and Huntly, who were then residing in the Abbey, mustered their adherents at the Queen's request, and put a stop to the tumult. Bothwell afterwards successfully employed the mediation of Knox, to procure a reconciliation with Gavin Hamilton, the Earl of Arran, and others of his antagonists.[1]

The Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 26th of May 1563. It was the first time that

[1] Knox's Hist., pp. 279, 280. Keith, vol. ii. p. 130.

VIGNETTE—St Giles—from the Common Seal of the City of Edinburgh, 1565.

Queen Mary had ever been present at the Assembly of the Estates, and its proceedings were conducted with unusual pomp. The Queen rode in procession to the Tolbooth, in robes of state, with the crown, sceptre, and sword borne before her, escorted by a brilliant cavalcade, and was hailed with loyal greetings as she passed along the High Street. The hall was crowded with the nobles and other members, in their most costly habiliments, and glittered with the gay trappings of the royal household, and the splendour and beauty of the Court, that surrounded the throne. The Queen opened the proceedings with an address which won the favour of her audience, no less than her extreme beauty, so that the people were heard to exclaim, "God save that sweet face! Did ever orator speak so sweetly?" On three succeeding days she rode thus to the Tolbooth, greatly to the dissatisfaction of the preachers, who spoke boldly "against the superfluities of their clothes," and at length presented articles for regulating apparel and reforming other similar enormities.[1]

It may be mentioned, as characteristic of the times, that the Town Council, "for the satisfaction of many devout citizens, and to prevent the crime of fornication," enacted, about the same period, that all guilty of this crime should be ducked in a certain part of the North Loch, then an impure pond of stagnant water, and a pillar was erected there for the more efficient execution of such sentences. The punishment, however, was not always reserved for such carnal offenders, but was also enforced against the most zealous adherents of the ancient faith. In the month of August, a serious disturbance occurred, in consequence of the Queen's domestics at Holyrood being found, during her absence at Stirling, attending mass at the chapel there. Patrick Cranston, "a zealous brother," as Knox styles him, entered the chapel, and finding the altar covered, and a priest ready to celebrate mass, he demanded of them how they dared thus openly to break the laws of the land? The magistrates were summoned, and peace restored with difficulty.

A much more serious display of popular intolerance was exhibited in the year 1565. The period appointed by the ministers of the Congregation for the celebration of the communion chanced to fall at the season of Easter, and as it seems to have been at all times regarded as a peculiar aggravation of the crime of "massing," when it was done at the same time as they were administering the sacrament, the indignation of the reformers was greatly excited by the customary services of the Roman Catholics at this period. A party of them, accordingly, headed by one of the bailies, seized on Sir James Tarbat, a Catholic priest, as he was riding home, after officiating at the altar. He was imprisoned in the Tolbooth, along with several of his assistants; but the populace, not content to abide the course of law, brought him forth, clothed in his sacerdotal garments, and with the chalice secured in his hand. He was placed on the pillory at the Market Cross, and exposed for an hour to the pelting of the rude rabble; the boys serving him, according to Knox, with his Easter eggs. He was brought to trial with his assistants on the following day, and convicted of having celebrated mass, contrary to law. He was again exposed for four hours on the pillory, under the charge of the common hangman, and so rudely treated that he was reported to be dead.

The Queen, justly exasperated at this cruel and insulting proceeding, sent to her friends

[1] Knox's Hist., p. 295. Keith, vol. ii. p. 199.

throughout the country, requiring them to march with their adherents to Edinburgh, to reduce its citizens to a sense of duty; but the magistrates having sent a humble representation to her of their loyalty and desire to stay the popular violence, she contented herself with requiring the immediate liberation of the prisoners. The Queen, however, shortly after ordered the Provost to be degraded from his office, and another to be elected in his stead.[1]

On the 28th of July 1565, Darnley was proclaimed King at the Market Cross of Edinburgh. The banns had already been published in the usual form in the Canongate Kirk,[2] and on the following day, being Sunday, at six o'clock in the morning, he was married to the Queen, in the chapel of Holyrood House, by the Dean of Restalrig. During several days, nothing was heard at the Court but rejoicing and costly banquets, while the people were treated with public sports.[3] The marriage, however, excited the strongest displeasure of the reformers. Knox, on learning of its proposal, regarded it with especial indignation, and in one of his boldest and most vehement harangues, in St. Giles's Church, challenged the nobles and other leaders of the Congregation, for betraying the cause of God, by their inaction. "I see," said he, suddenly stretching out his arms, as if he would leap from the pulpit and arrest the passing vision, "I see before me your beleagured camp. I hear the tramp of the horsemen as they charged you in the streets of Edinburgh; and most of all, is that dark and dolorous night now present to my eyes, in which all of you, my Lords, in shame and fear, left this town—God forbid I should ever forget it!" He concluded with solemn warning against the royal marriage, and the judgments it involved. Such was his vehemence, says Melvil, that, "he was like to ding the pulpit in blads, and flee out of it!"[4] This freedom of speech gave general offence, and Knox was summoned before the Queen; he came to Court after dinner, and was brought into her cabinet by Erskine of Dun, one of the superintendents of the kirk; but the presence of royalty was no restraint. She wept as she listened to his bold harangues; and he left her at length, as she yielded anew to a passionate flood of tears. As he passed from the outer chamber, he paused in the midst of a gay circle of the ladies of the royal household, in their gorgeous apparel,—and addressed them in a grave style of banter on the pity that the silly soul could not carry all these fine garnishings with it to heaven! Queen Mary dried her tears, and took no further notice of this interview, but Knox must have been regarded amid the gay haunts of royalty, at Holyrood, like the skull that checked the merriment of an old Egyptian feast.

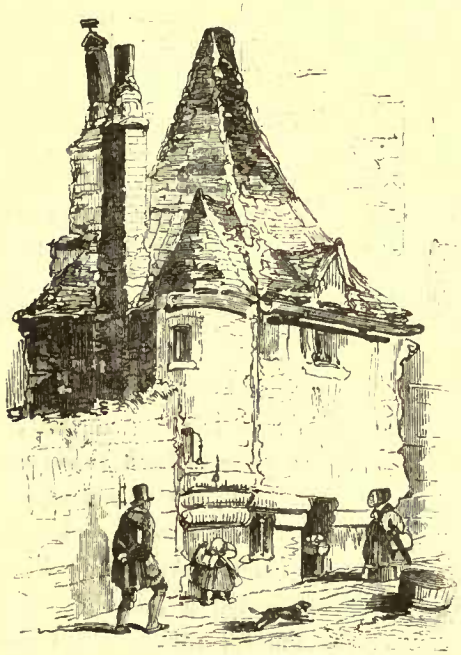
The Queen's marriage to Darnley was indeed fatal to her future happiness. He was fully three years younger than her, of royal blood, and a near heir to the Crown; but in every other respect totally unworthy of her regard. He appears to have been made the complete tool of the designing nobles. On the 9th of March 1566, the Queen was at supper in her cabinet, at Holyrood House, in company with the Countess of Argyle and Lord Robert Stuart, her natural sister and brother, Beaton of Creich, Arthur Erskine, and David Rizzio, her secretary, when her husband Darnley conducted a body of armed assassins into his apartments in the north-west tower of the Palace, immediately below

[1] Knox's Hist., pp. 325, 326.
[2] "The Buick of the Kirk of the Canagait, July 1565." Edin. Mag., Oct. 1817, p. 33, apud Chalmers.
[3] Chalmers's Queen Mary, vol. i. p. 146.
[4] Melvil's Diary, p. 26. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 330.

those of the Queen, and communicating with them by a private staircase. Darnley himself first ascended the stair, and, throwing back the tapestry that concealed the doorway, entered the small closet, still pointed out in the north-west turret, where the Queen and her guests were seated at supper. He threw his arm round her waist, and seated himself beside her at the table; when Lord Ruthven, a man of tall stature, clad in complete armour, and pale and ghastly from the effects of disease, burst like a frightful apparition into the room.

The Queen, now far advanced in pregnancy, sprung up in terror, and commanded him instantly to depart; but the torches of his accomplices already glared in the outer chamber, and Darnley, though he affected ignorance of the whole proceedings, sat scowling with looks of hate on their intended victim. The other conspirators crowded into the little room; and Ruthven, drawing his dagger, attempted to lay hold of Rizzio, who sprang behind the Queen, and wildly besought her to save his life.

Ker of Fawdonside, one of the conspirators, held his pistol to the Queen's breast, threatening her life if she gave any alarm. Darnley at length interfered, and grasped her in his arms; and George Douglas, snatching Darnley's own dagger from him, struck at the wretched Italian over the Queen's shoulder, and plunging it in his side, left it there. He was then dragged through the adjoining chamber to the outer entrance, where the Earl of Morton and his associates rushed in and struck their daggers into his body, leaving a pool of blood, the marks of which, according to popular tradition, still remain on the floor, and are pointed out by the keepers to the credulous visitor.



The Queen was kept a close prisoner in her apartment, while her imbecile husband assumed the regal power, dissolved the Parliament, and commanded the Estates immediately to depart from Edinburgh on pain of treason. The Earl of Morton, who had kept guard, with one hundred and sixty followers, in the outer court of the Palace while the assassins entered to complete their murderous purpose, was now commanded to keep the gates of the Palace, and let none escape; but the chief actors in the deed contrived to elude the guards, and, leaping over a window on the north side of the Palace, they fled across the garden, and escaped by a small outhouse or lodge, still existing, and known by the name of Queen Mary's Bath.

We have been told by the proprietor of this house, that in making some repairs on the roof, which required the removal of the slates, a rusty dagger was discovered sticking in one of the planks, and with a portion of it more deeply corroded than the rest, as though from the

VIGNETTE—Queen Mary's Bath.

blood that had been left on its blade. This the discoverers, not unreasonably, believed to have remained there from the flight of the murderers of Rizzio.

A flat stone, with some nearly obliterated carving upon it, is pointed out in the passage leading from the present quadrangle to the Chapel of Holyrood Palace, as covering the remains of Rizzio.[1] It forms a portion of the flooring of the ancient Abbey Cloisters, included in the modern portion of the Palace, when it was rebuilt by Charles II.

As Sir James Melvil was passing out by the outer gate of the Palace on the following morning, the Queen observed him, and throwing open the window of her apartment, she implored him to warn the citizens, and rescue her from the traitors' hands. On the news being spread, the common bell was rung, and the Provost, with some hundred armed citizens, rushed into the outer court of the Palace and demanded the Queen's release. Darnley appeared at the window in her stead, and desired them to return home, assuring them that he and the Queen were well and merry. The Provost sought to see the Queen herself, but Darnley commanded their immediate departure on his authority as King.[2] She was deterred by the most violent threats from holding any communication with the chief magistrate and citizens; and they finding all efforts vain, speedily retired.[3]

The Queen succeeded, soon after, in detaching her imbecile husband from the conspirators, and escaping from the Palace in his company at midnight. They fled together to Seaton, and thence to Dunbar. They returned again to the capital within five days, but the Queen feared again to trust herself within the bloody precincts of the Palace. She took up her residence in the house of a private citizen in the High Street, and from thence she removed, a few days afterwards, to one still nearer the Castle; in all probability the house in Blyth's Close, Castle Hill, traditionally pointed out as the Palace of her mother, Mary of Guise, the portion of which fronting the street still remains, with the inscription upon it, in antique iron letters, LAVS DEO.[4]

Lord Ruthven had risen from his sick-bed to perpetrate the infamous deed of Rizzio's murder; he fled thereafter to Newcastle, and died there. Only two of the humbler actors in it suffered at this period for the crime, Thomas Scott, the sheriff-depute of Perth, for Ruthven, and Henry Yair, one of his retainers. The head of the former was set on the tower of the Palace, and that of the other on the Nether Bow Port.

The period of the Queen's accouchement now drew near, and she gladly adopted the advice of her Council to take up her residence within the Castle of Edinburgh. There, in a small apartment still pointed out to visitors, James VI. first saw the light on the morning of the 19th of June 1566. The room in which the infant was born, in whom the rival crowns of Elizabeth and Mary were afterwards united, has undergone little alteration since that time; it is of irregular shape, and very limited dimensions, though forming part of the more ancient

[1] Chalmers's Queen Mary, vol. ii. p. 163. [2] Knox, p. 341. [3] The Queen's Letter, Keith, vol. ii. p. 418.
[4] Letters of Randolph to Cecil, Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. i. p. 232.

VIGNETTE—Carved Stone over the entrance to the royal apartments, Edinburgh Castle.

buildings often before used as a royal residence, and in one of the apartments of which the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, expired only six years previous.

The greatest joy and triumph prevailed in Edinburgh on the announcement of the birth of an heir to the throne. A public thanksgiving was offered up on the following day in St Giles's Church; and Sir James Melvil posted with the news to the English Court, with such speed, that he reached London on the fourth day thereafter, and spoiled her Majesty's mirth for one night, at least, with the "happy news."[1]

The birth of a son to Darnley produced little change on his licentious course of life. By his folly he had already alienated from him the intersets and affections of every party; and the conspirators, who had joined with him in the murder of Rizzio, had already resolved on his destruction, when he was seized with the small-pox at Glasgow. From this he was removed to Edinburgh, and lodged in the mansion of the Provost or chief prebendary of the Collegiate Church of St Mary-in-the-Fields, as a place of good air. This house stood nearly on the site of the present north-west corner of Drummond Street, as is ascertained from Gordon's map of the city in 1647, where the ruins are indicated as they existed at that period: it is said to have been selected by Sir James Balfour, brother of the Provost, and "the most corrupt man of his age,"[2] as well fitted, from its lonely situation, for the intended murder.

Here the Queen frequently visited Darnley. She spent the evening of the 9th of February 1567 with him, and only left at eleven o'clock, along with several nobles who had accompanied her there, to be present at an entertainment at Holyrood House.

The Earl of Bothwell, whose lawless ambition mainly instigated the assassination, had obtained a situation for one of his menials in the Queen's service, and by this means he was able to obtain the keys of the Provost of St Mary's house, and cause counterfeit impressions to be taken.[3] He had been in company with the Queen on the 10th, at a banquet given to her by the Bishop of Argyle, and learning that she must return to Holyrood that night, he immediately arranged to complete his murderous scheme.

Bothwell left the lodgings of the Laird of Ormiston in company with several of his own servants, who were his sole accomplices, shortly after nine o'clock at night. They passed down the Blackfriars' Wynd together, entering the gardens of the Dominican monastery by a gate in the enclosing wall opposite the foot of the Wynd; and by a road nearly on the site of what now forms the High School Wynd, they reached the postern in the town wall which gave admission to the lodging of Darnley. Bothwell joined the Queen, who was then visiting her husband, while his accomplices were busy arranging the gunpowder in the room below; and, after escorting her home to the Palace, he returned to complete his purpose. It may be further mentioned, as an evidence of the simple manners of the period, that when Bothwell's servants returned to his residence, near the Palace, after depositing the powder in Darnley's lodging, they saw the Queen,—as one of them afterwards stated in evidence,—on her way back to Holyrood "gangand before them with licht torches as they came up the Black Frier Wynd."[4] So that it would appear she walked quietly home, with her few attendants, through these closes and down the Canongate, at that late hour, without exciting among the citizens any notice of the presence of royalty.

[1] Keith, vol. ii. p. 434.
[2] Robertson's Hist., vol. ii. p. 354.
[3] Laing, vol. ii. p. 296.
[4] Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. part ii. p. 493.

A loud explosion about two o'clock in the morning, while it shook the whole town and startled the inhabitants from their sleep, satisfied the conspirators that their plot had succeeded. An arch still exists in the city wall, behind the Infirmary, described by Arnot as the door-way leading into the Provost's house, which was built against the wall. Its position, however, is further to the east than the house is shown to have stood; and Malcolm Laing supposes it to have been a gun-port, connected with a projecting tower, which formerly existed directly opposite Roxburgh Street; but its appearance and position are much more those of a doorway, and no port-hole resembling it occurs in any other part of the wall. In a drawing of the locality at the time of the murder, preserved in the State Paper Office (a fac-simile of which is engraved in Chalmers's Life of Queen Mary), the ruins of the Provost's house seem to extend nearly to the projecting tower, so that the tradition is not without some appearance of probability.

The murder of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, proved fatal to the hapless Queen of Scotland. She took refuge for a time in the Castle of Edinburgh, and only left it, on the urgent remonstrance of her Council, who dreaded injury to her health from her "close and solitary life."

On Saturday, the 12th of April, the Earl of Bothwell was arraigned in the Tolbooth, on the charge of the murder, but no evidence appeared against him, and he was acquitted. It is not our province in this history to follow out the narrative of his forcible ravishment of the Queen, and the fatal consequences in which she was thereby involved. On the 15th of June 1567, she surrendered to the Earl of Morton, at Carbery Hill, near Musselburgh.

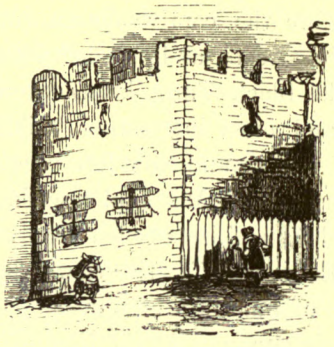
It was late in the evening before the captive Queen entered Edinburgh, but she was recognised as she passed along the streets, and assailed with insulting cries from the rude populace. She was lodged in the Black Turnpike, the town house of the Provost, Sir Simon Preston.[1] This ancient and most interesting building stood to the west of the Tron Church, occupying part of the ground now left vacant, as the entrance to Hunter Square, and the site of the corner house. Maitland describes it as a "magnificent edifice, which, were it not partly defaced by a false wooden front, would appear to be the most sumptuous building perhaps in Edinburgh." The views that exist of it, show it to have been a stately and imposing pile of building, of unusual height and extent, even among the huge "lands" in the old High Street. At the time of its demolition, in 1788, it was believed to be the most ancient house in Edinburgh.

Here Queen Mary passed the night, in a small apartment, whose window looked to the street; and the first thing that met her eye on looking forth in the morning was a large white banner, "stented betwixt two spears," whereon was painted the murdered Darnley, with the words, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord." The poor Queen exclaimed to the assembled multitude,—"Good people, either satisfy your cruelty and hatred by taking away my miserable life, or release me from the hands of such inhuman tyrants." Some of the rude rabble again renewed their insulting cries, but the citizens displayed their ancient standard, the Blue Blanket, and ran to arms for her deliverance; and had not the confederates removed her to Holyrood, on pretence of restoring her to liberty, she might probably have been safe for a time under her burgher guards.

[1] See the VIGNETTE at the head of this Chapter.

The confederate lords, as soon as they had got Queen Mary safely lodged in Holyrood House, formed themselves into a council, and at once drew up and signed an order for her imprisonment in Loch Leven Castle. It was in fact only giving effect to their previous resolutions. The same night she was hastily conveyed from the Palace, disguised in mean attire, and compelled to ride a distance of thirty miles to the scene of her captivity.

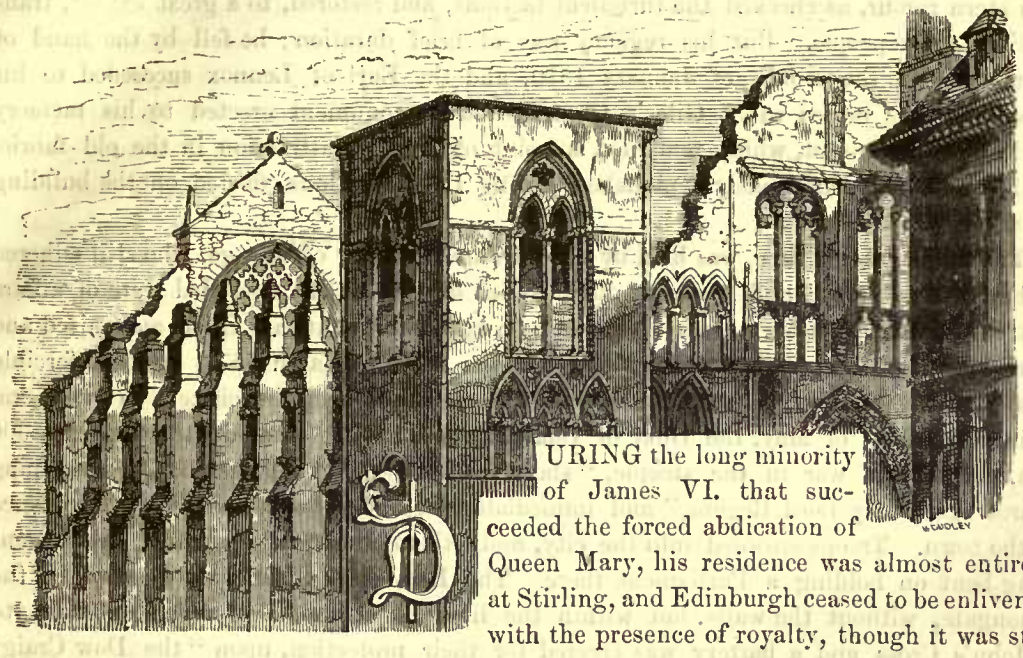
On that night—the 16th of June 1567—she bade a final farewell to the Palace of Holyrood, and to Scotland's Crown. Her further history does not come within the province of our Memorials, though her memory still dwells amid these ancient scenes, and the stranger can never tread the ruined aisles of the Old Abbey Church, without some passing thought of the gifted and lovely, but most unfortunate daughter of James V.—Mary Queen of Scots.



VIGNETTE—Tower of Old City Wall in the Vennel.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES VI. TO THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.



DURING the long minority of James VI. that succeeded the forced abdication of Queen Mary, his residence was almost entirely at Stirling, and Edinburgh ceased to be enlivened with the presence of royalty, though it was still the scene of many of the principal events connected with the national history of the period. Immediately on the departure of the Queen from Holyrood, diligent search was made throughout the city for the murderers of Darnley. Sebastian, a French attendant of the royal household, and Captain William Blackadder, were seized and lodged in the Tolbooth: and, as appears by the Record of the Privy Council,[1] three others were shortly afterwards placed in the same durance on this charge. Sebastian contrived to escape, but the others were ordered "to be put in the irins and tormentis,[2] for furthering of the tryall of the veritie;" and although they persisted in denying all knowledge of the crime, they were drawn backward on a cart to the Cross, and there hanged and quartered on the 24th of June 1567.[3]

The Magistrates of Edinburgh had obtained from Queen Mary a ratification of their long-coveted superiority over the town of Leith; but they had never been able to avail themselves of it to any practical end. They now took advantage of the general confusion to assert their claims; and accordingly, on the 4th of July, the Provost, Bailies, and

[1] Keith, vol. ii. p. 652. [2] *i.e.*, Tortured. [3] Birrel's Diary, pp. 10, 11.

VIGNETTE—Holyrood Chapel.

Deacons mustered the whole burgher force of the city, armed and equipped in warlike array, and marched at their head to the Links of Leith. From thence the magistrates proceeded to the town, and "held ane court upon the Tolbuyth stair of Leith, and created bailies, sergeants, clerks, and demstars,[1] and took possession thereof by virtue of their infeftment made by the Queen's grace to them."[2] The superiority thus established, continued to be maintained, often with despotic rigour, until the independence of Leith was secured by the Burgh Reform Bill of 1833.

On the 22d of August, the Earl of Murray was invested with the dignity of Regent, and proclamation of the same made at the Cross of Edinburgh, with great magnificence and solemnity. In his strong hand, the sceptre was again swayed for a brief period with such stern rigour, as checked the turbulent factions, and restored, to a great extent, tranquillity to the people. But his regency was of brief duration; he fell by the hand of an assassin in the month of January 1570, and the Earl of Lennox succeeded to his office. He was buried in St Giles's Church, and a monument erected to his memory in the south transept, which remained a point of peculiar attraction in the old fabric, until it was most barbarously demolished, during the alterations effected on the building in 1829.

The Castle, at this time, was held by Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, who still adhered to the Queen's party; and he abundantly availed himself of the unsettled state of affairs to strengthen his position. He had seized all provisions brought into Leith, and raised and trained soldiers with little interruption. On the 28th of March 1571, he took forcible possession of St Giles's Church, and manned the steeple to keep the citizens in awe;[3] and again on the 1st of May, the Duke of Chatelherault, having entered the town with 300 men, the men of war in the steeple, "slappit all the pendis of the kirk,[4] for keeping thairof aganis my Lord Regent," and immediate preparations were made for the defence of the town. Troops crowded into the city, and others mustered against it, the Regent being bent on holding a Parliament there. The Estates accordingly assembled in the Canongate, without the walls, but within the liberties of the city, which extended to St John's Cross, and a battery was erected for their protection, upon "the Dow Craig[5] abone the Trinity College, beside Edinburgh, to ding and seige the north-east quarter of the burgh."[6]

The place indicated is obviously that portion of the Calton Hill where the house of the governor of the jail now stands, a most commanding position for the purpose in view; from this an almost constant firing was kept up on the city during the sittings of the Parliament. The opposite party retaliated by erecting a battery in the Blackfriars (the old High School Yard), from which they greatly damaged the houses in the Canongate, while the Nether Bow Port was built up with stone and lime, the more effectually to exclude them from the usual place of meeting.

Diligent preparations were made for the defence of the town after the Parliament had withdrawn. On the 6th of June, commandment was given "by the lords of the nobility in Edinburgh, to tir and tak down all the tymmer work of all houses in Leith Wynd and

[1] *i.e.*, Judges or doomers, latterly hangmen.
[2] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 117.
[3] Ibid, p. 202.
[4] *i.e.*, Broke out loop-holes in the arched roof.
[5] Most probably from the Gaelic *Du, i.e.*, Black Craig.
[6] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 213.

Sanct Mary's Wynd, hurtful to the keiping of this burghe." And, again, on the 8th, they caused the doors and windows of all the tenements on the west side of St Mary's Wynd to be "biggit up and closit," as well as other great preparations for defence.

On the 20th of June, three pieces of brass ordnance were mounted on St Giles's steeple, and the holders of it amply stored with provisions and ammunition for its defence, and all the walls, fosses, and ports, were again "newlie biggit and repairit;" and within a few days after, the whole merchants and craftsmen remaining in the burgh, mustered to a "wappinschawing" in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, and engaged to aid and assist the Captain of the Castle in the service of the Queen.[1]

When all others means failed, an ingenious plot was devised for taking the Nether Bow Port by a stratagem, nearly similar to that by which the Castle was recovered in 1341,[2] but the ambush was discovered by chance, and the scheme, happily for the citizens, defeated. Immediately thereafter, "the Lords and Captain of the Castle causit big ane new port at the Nether boll, within the auld port of the same, of aisler wark, in the maist strenthie maner; and tuik, to big the samyn with, all the aisler stanis that Alexander Clerk haid gadderit *of the kirk of Restalrig* to big his hous with."[3] This interesting notation supplies the date of erection of the second Nether Bow Port, and accounts for its position behind the line of the city wall; as the original gate in continuation of St Mary's Wynd would have to be retained and defended, while the new works were going on within. On the earlier site, but, we may presume to some extent at least, with these same materials, the famous old "Temple Bar of Edinburgh," was again rebuilt in the form represented in the engraving, in the year 1606.

At a still later date, the same parties, in their anxiety to defend this important pass, "causit all the houssis of Leith and Sanct Marie Wyndis heidis to be tane doun!" The Earl of Mar was no less zealous in his preparations for its assault. He caused trenches to be cast up in the Pleasance, for nine pieces of large and small ordnance, and mounted others on Salisbury Crags, "to ding Edinburgh with," so that the poor burghers of that quarter must have found good reason for wishing the siege to draw to a close. Provisions failed, and all fresh supplies were most diligently intercepted; military law prevailed in its utmost rigour, and the sole appearance of their enjoying a moment's ease occurs in the statement, that "nochttheles the remaneris thairin abaid patientlie, and usit all plesouris quhilkis were wont to be usit in the moneth of Maij in ald tymes, viz., Robin Hude and Litill Johne."

This frightful state of affairs was at length brought to a close, with little advantage to either party; and on the 27th of July 1572, the whole artillery about the walls, on the steeple-head of St Giles's, and the Kirk-of-Field, were removed to the Castle, and the Cross being most honourably hung with tapestry, a truce was proclaimed by the heralds, with sound of trumpets, and the hearty congratulations of the people.[4]

In the month of August Knox returned to Edinburgh, after an absence of nearly two years. His life was drawing rapidly to a close, and on the 24th of November 1572 he expired in his sixty-seventh year. His body was interred in the Churchyard of St Giles, and was attended to the grave by a numerous concourse of people, including many of the chief

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 220, 226, 251.
[2] Ante, p. 8.
[3] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 241.
[4] Ibid, p. 308.

nobility. The simple *eloge* pronounced by the Regent over his grave, has been remembered from its pointed force—"There lies he who never feared the face of man." The old churchyard has long since been paved, and converted into the Parliament Square, and all evidence of the spot lost. It cannot but excite surprise that no effort should have been made to preserve the remains of the Reformer from such desecration, or to point out to posterity the site of his resting-place.[1] If the tradition mentioned by Chambers [2] may be relied upon, that his burial place was a few feet from the front of the old pedestal of King Charles's statue, the recent change in the position of the latter must have placed it directly over his grave;—perhaps as strange a monument to the Great Apostle of Presbyterianism as fancy could devise!

On the death of the Earl of Mar, Morton was elected Regent, and the brief truce speedily brought to a close. Within two days thereafter, Kirkaldy sallied out of the Castle towards evening, and set fire to the houses on the south side of the Castle rock; a strong wind was blowing at the time from the west, and the garrison of the Castle kept up a constant cannonade, so as to prevent any succour being attempted, so that the whole mass of houses was burnt down eastward to Magdalen Chapel,—a piece of useless cruelty, that gained him many enemies, without answering any good purpose.

The English Queen now sent Sir William Drury, with a body of troops and a train of artillery, to assist the Regent in reducing the Castle, the last stronghold of the adherents of Queen Mary. The fortress was gallantly defended by Sir William Kirkaldy, and the siege is perhaps one of the most memorable in its history. The narrative of an eye-witness, given in Holinshed's Chronicles, shows, even by its exaggerated descriptions, the difficulties experienced by the besiegers. It is understood to have been written by Thomas Churchyard, the poet, who was present at the siege, and has been reprinted in the Bannatyne Miscellany, accompanied by a remarkably interesting bird's-eye view of the town and Castle during the siege, engraved, as is believed, from a sketch made on the spot.

In anticipation of the siege, the citizens erected several strong defences of turf and faggots, so as to protect the Church and Tolbooth. One is especially mentioned in the Diurnal of Occurrents, as "biggit of diffet and mik,[3] betuix the thevis hoill, and Bess Wynd, tua ell thick, and on the gait betuix the auld tolbuyth, and the vther syid tua speir heicht."[4] About three weeks later, on the 17th of January, "the nobility, with my Lord Regent, passed through St Giles's Church, at an entrance made through the Tolbooth wall to the laigh council-house of the town, on the west side of the Tolbooth, and there choose the Lords of the Articles, and returned the same way. The Earl of Angus bore the Crown, the Earl of Argyle the Sceptre, and the Earl of Morton the Sword of Honour. These were made of brass, and double overgilt with gold, because the principal jewels were in the Castle of Edinburgh, and *might not be had.*"[5] So effectual did these ramparts prove, that the Parliament assembled as safely in the Tolbooth, and the people went as quietly to church, as they at any time did before the war began.[6]

The brave Captain, Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, was already short of provisions

[1] A few paces to the west of King Charles's statue, there has recently been placed a small surface-bronzed stone in the ground, with the initials "J. K.," indicating the Reformer's burial-place.

[2] Traditions, vol. ii. p. 195. [3] *i.e.*, Turf and mud. [4] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 322.

[5] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 324. [6] Journal of the Siege, Bannatyne Misc., vol. ii. p. 74.

when the siege commenced, and all further supplies were then completely cut off; yet he held out gallantly for thirty-three days, until reduced to the last extremities, and threatened with the desertion and mutiny of his men. The garrison did not despair until the besiegers had got possession of the spur, within which was the well on which they mainly depended for water. This battery stood on the Esplanade, nearest the town, as may be seen in the view given at the head of Chapter III., and was demolished in the year 1649, by order of the Committee of Estates.

Holinshed mentions also the spring at the Well-house Tower, under the name of "St Margaret's Well, without the Castle, on the north side," by which some of the garrison suffered, owing to its being poisoned by the enemy.

The only well that remained within the Castle was completely choked up with the ruins, and so great was the general devastation, that when a parley was demanded, the messenger had to be lowered over the walls by a rope.[1] The brave commander was delivered up by the English General to the vindictive power of the Regent, and he and his brother James, along with two burgesses of the city, were ignominiously "harlit in cartis bakwart" to the Cross of Edinburgh, and there hanged and quartered,[2] and their heads exposed upon the Castle wall.[3]

The Regent put the Castle into complete repair, and committed the keeping of it to his brother, George Douglas of Parkhead. He was at the same time Provost of the city, though he was speedily thereafter deprived of the latter office. Morton was now firmly established in the Regency, and he immediately proceeded to such acts of rapacity and injustice as rendered his government odious to the whole nation; until the nobles at last united with the people in deposing him. He succeeded, however, in speedily regaining sufficient influence to secure the custody of the King's person.

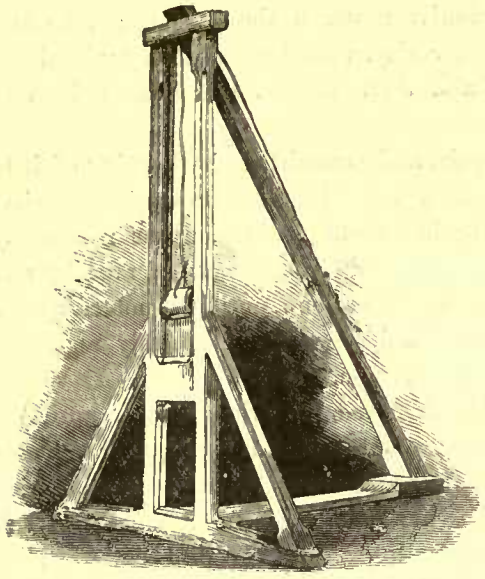
The loyalty which the citizens of Edinburgh displayed at various times, until the King's full assumption of the reins of government, obtained from him special acknowledgments of gratitude. In 1578, one hundred of their choicest young men were well accoutred and sent to Stirling as a royal guard.[4] They sent him also, at a later period, costly gifts of plate, though they remonstrated, with considerable decision, when he attempted to interfere with their right of election of Magistrates; apologising, at the same time, for not sending the bailies to assign their reasons to him personally, because two of them were absent, and "the thrid had his wyfe redy to depart furth of this warld."[5]

The King at length summoned a Parliament to assemble at Edinburgh in October 1579, and made his first public entry into his capital. He was received at the West Port by the Magistrates, under a pall of purple velvet; and an allegory of "King Solomon with the twa wemen," was exhibited as a representation of the wisdom of Solomon; after which the sword and sceptre were presented to him. At the ancient gate in the West Bow, the keys of the city were given him in a silver basin with the usual device of a Cupid descending from a globe, while "Dame Music and hir scollars exercisit hir art with great melodie." At the Tolbooth, he was received by three gallant virtuous ladies, to wit, Peace, Plenty, and Justice, who harangued him in the *Greek*, *Latin*, *and Scotch* languages; and, as he approached St Giles's Church, Dame Religion showed herself, and in the *Hebrew*

[1] Bannatyne Misc. vol., ii. p. 76. [2] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 335. [3] Hist. of James the Sext., p. 145.
[4] Maitland, p. 36. [5] Idid, p. 37.

tongue desired his presence, which he obeyed by entering the Church. After sermon, a more lively representation was prepared for him; Bacchus appeared on the Cross distributing his wine freely to all; the streets through which he passed were strewed with flowers, and hung with tapestry and painted histories; and the whole fanciful pageant wound up with a very characteristic astrological display, exhibiting the conjunction of the planets, in their degrees and places, as at his Majesty's happy nativity, "vividly represented by the assistance of King Ptolomé!"[1]

The King then passed on to his Palace of Holyrood, attended by two hundred horsemen, and the Parliament assembled immediately after in the Tolbooth, and continued its deliberations there for some weeks. The influence of Morton had been rapidly lessening with the King, while the number and power of his enemies increased. Towards the close of 1580, he was arraigned to stand his trial for the murder of Darnley; and he was executed the following year by an instrument called the Maiden, a species of guillotine which he had himself introduced into Scotland. His head was placed on the Tolbooth, and his body ignominiously buried at the Borough Muir—the usual place of sepulture for the vilest criminals.



Considering the high hand with which the civic rulers of the capital contrived to carry nearly every point during the reign of Queen Mary, it is astonishing how speedily James VI. brought them into subjection. He interfered constantly in their elections, though only with partial success, and used their purse with a condescending freedom that must often have proved very irritating. They were required to maintain a body-guard for him at their own expense; and whenever it suited his Majesty's convenience, were commanded to furnish costly entertainments to foreign nobles and ambassadors.[2]

In October 1589, the King suddenly sailed from Leith to bring home his Queen, Anne of Denmark, leaving orders of a sufficiently minute and exacting nature for their honourable reception on his return. One of the first articles requires, that the town of Edinburgh, the Canongate, and Leith, shall be in arms, ranked on both sides of the way between Leith and Holyrood House, to hold off the press; and the Council are directed to deal earnestly with the town of Edinburgh for providing ships and all other necessaries.

Various acts of the Town Council show the straits they were put to in the accomplishment of this. "The Baillies were ordained to pass through their quarters, and borrow fra the honest nychtbouris thairof, ane quantitie of the best sort of thair naiperie, to serve the strayngeris that sall arryve with the Quene." Orders were given for

[1] Hist. of James the Sext., p. 178–180. Maitland, p. 37.

[2] Maitland, p. 44, 5.

VIGNETTE—The Maiden.

the Nether Bow to be repaired—bonfires—"a propyne of ane jowell to the Quenis grace," &c. &c.

The King and Queen at length arrived at Leith on the 1st of May 1590, and remained in "the King's work there" till the 6th of the month, while the Palace of Holyrood was getting ready. On the 17th of May the Queen was crowned in Holyrood Abbey, Mr Robert Bruce pouring upon her breast "a bonye quantitie of oyll," and "Mr Andro Meluene, principall of the Colledge of the Theolloges, making ane oratione in tua hunder Lateine verse!"

The second day they at length entered the capital, the manner of approaching which from the Palace is worthy of notice, as a key to the usual route pursued on similar occasions. "At her comming to the south side of the yardes of the Canogit, along the parke wall, being in sight of the Castle, they gave her thence a great voley of shot, with their banners and ancient displays upon the walls. Thence she came to the West Port," where she was received with a Latin oration, so that the royal procession must have skirted along the whole line of the more modern city wall, where Lauriston now is. At the West Port they were welcomed with even more than the usual costly display. The same variety of allegories and ingenious devices had been prepared. An angel presented the keys to her Majesty; she rode in a chariot drawn by eight horses, decorated with velvet trappings, richly embroidered with gold and silver, and was attended by sixty youths, as Moors, with chains about their necks, and gorgeously apparelled with jewels and ornaments of gold. The nine muses received them at the Butter Trone, with very excellent singing of psalms. At the Cross she had another "verie good psalme," and then entered St Giles's Church, where a sermon was preached before their Majesties. Numerous allegories, goddesses, Christian virtues, and the like, followed. Indeed, from the inventory furnished by a poet of the period, the wide range of classic fancy would seem to have been ransacked for the occasion:—

To recreat hir hie renoun,
Of curious things thair wes all sort,
The stairs and houses of the toun
With Tapestries were spred athort,
Quhair Histories men micht behauld,
With Images and Anticks auld.
* * * *
It written wes with stories mae,
How VENVS, with a thundring thud,
Inclos'd ACHATES and ENAE,
Within a mekill mistie clud:
And how fair ANNA, wondrous wraith,
Deplors hir sister DIDOS daith.
* * * *
IXION that the quheill dois turne
In Hell, that ugly hole, so mirk;
And EROSTRATVS quha did burne
The costly fair EPHESIAN Kirk:
And BLIADES, quho falls in soun
With drawing buckets up and down.

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[1] Marriage of James VI., Bann. Club, p. 39.

* * * *

All curious pastimes and consaits,
Cud be imaginat be man,
Wes to be sene on Edinburgh gaits,
Fra time that brauitie began :
Ye might haif hard on eureie streit,
Trim melodie and musick sweit.[1]

And so the poet goes on through thirty-four stanzas of like quaint description. At the Nether Bow, after a representation of marriage had been enacted before them, there was let down to the Queen, by a silk string, from the top of the Port, a box covered with purple velvet, and with her Majesty's initials wrought on it in diamonds and precious stones,—a parting gift from the good town. More very good psalms followed, and so they rode home to the Palace, well pleased, it is to be hoped, with the day's entertainments.[2]

A few days after, the Magistrates entertained the Danish nobles and ambassadors, with their numerous suites, at a splendid banquet, "maid at the townis charges and expensis, in Thomas Aitchisoun's, master of the Cunzie hous lugeing, at Todrik's Wynd fute,"—a well-known building, the massive, polished, ashlar front of which still presents a prominent object amid the faded grandeur of the Cowgate.

The records of the Town Council contain some curious entries regarding this feast. The wine and ale seem to have formed nearly as important an item in the account as they did in Falstaff's tavern bills! My Lord Provost undertakes to provide "naiprie" on the occasion, and if needs be, to advance "ane hunder pund or mair, as thai sall haif ado;" and the treasurer is directed "to agrie with the fydleris at the bankit, and the samen sall be allowit in his compts."[3]

The Lord High Treasurer's accounts are equally minute, testifying to the truth of an expression used by James on the occasion, that "a King with a new married wife did not come hame every day!" *e.g.*, "Item, be his Grace precept and special command, twentie-thrie elnis and ane half reid crammosie velvet, to be jowppis and *breikis* to his Majesties four laquayis. Item, for furnessing of fyftene fedder beddis to the Densis [Danes] within the Palice of Halierudhous, fra the fourt day of Maij 1590, to the auchtene day of Julij; takand for ilk bed, in the nicht, tua schilling!" &c.; the whole winding up with an item, to James Nisbet, jailor of the Tolbuith, for his expenses in keeping sundry witches there, by his Majesty's orders.

Few incidents, which are very closely connected with Edinburgh, occurred during the remainder of the King's life, until his accession to the English throne. In 1596, owing to a disagreement between him and the clergy, a tumult was excited, which greatly exasperated him, so that he ordered the Parliament and Courts of Justice to be removed from thence, and even listened to the advice of several of his nobles, who recommended him utterly to erase the city from the face of the earth, and erect a column on the site of it, "as an infamous memorial of their detestable rebellion!" The magistrates made the most abject offers of submission, but King James,—who, with all his high notions of prerogative, enjoyed very little of the real power of a king, so long as he remained in Scotland,—was

[1] Description of the Queen's Entry into Edinburgh, by John Bvrel. Watson's Coll. of Scots Poems.
[2] Hist. of James the Sext., p. 38–42. [3] Acts of Town Council, apud Marriage of James VI., p. 35.

very willing to make the most of such an occasion as this, and remained for a time inexorable. The magistrates were required to surrender themselves prisoners at Perth, and one of them having failed to appear, the town was denounced, the inhabitants declared rebels, and the city revenues sequestrated to the King's use.

The magistrates at length went in a body to the Palace of Holyrood House, and, kneeling before him, made offer of such concessions as the indignant monarch was pleased to accept. One of the conditions bound them to deliver up, for the King's sole use, the houses in their kirkyard, occupied by the town ministers, which was accordingly done, and on the site of them the Parliament House, which still stands (though recently entirely remodelled externally), was afterwards built. They also agreed to pay to him the sum of twenty thousand merks, and so at length all difficulties were happily adjusted between them, and the city restored to its ancient privileges.

After the execution of the famous Earl of Gowry and his brother at Perth, their dead bodies were brought to Edinburgh and exposed at the Market Cross, hung in chains. From that time, James enjoyed some years of tranquillity, living at Holyrood and elsewhere in such homely state as his revenues would permit; and when the extravagance of his Queen,—who was a devoted patron of the royal goldsmith, George Heriot,—or his own narrow means, rendered his housekeeping somewhat stinted, he was accustomed to pay a condescending visit to some of the wealthier citizens in the High Street of Edinburgh.

An interesting old building, called Lockhart's Court, Niddry's Wynd, which was demolished in constructing the southern approach to the town, was especially famous as the scene of such civic entertainment of royalty. We learn, from *Moyses's Memoirs*, of James's residence there in 1591, along with his Queen, shortly after their arrival from Denmark, and their hospitable reception by Nicol Edward, a wealthy citizen, who was then Provost of Edinburgh.[1]

His visits, also, to George Heriot were of frequent occurrence, and, as tradition reports, he made no objection to occasionally discussing a bottle of wine in the goldsmith's little booth, at the west end of St Giles's Church, which was only about seven feet square.[2]

The death of Queen Elizabeth, in 1603, produced a lively excitement in the minds both of King and people. The anticipation of this event for years had gradually prepared, and in some degree reconciled, the latter to the idea of their King going to occupy the throne of "their auld enemies of England," but its injurious influence on the capital could not be mistaken. On the 31st of March the news was proclaimed at the City Cross by the secretary Elphinstone, and Sir David Lindsay, younger, the Lyon King.

King James, before his departure, attended public service in St Giles's Church, where he had often before claimed the right of challenging the dicta of the preachers from the royal gallery. An immense crowd assembled on the occasion, and listened with deep interest to a discourse expressly addressed to his Majesty upon the important change. The King took it in good part, and, on the preacher concluding, he delivered a farewell address to the people. Many were greatly affected at the prospect of their King's departure, which was generally regarded as anything rather than a national benefit. The farewell was couched in the warmest language of friendship. He promised them that he would defend their

[1] Moyses's Memoirs, p. 182.

[2] Chambers's Traditions, vol. ii. p. 210.

faith unchanged, and revisit the Scottish capital every three years. He committed his children, whom he left behind, to the care of the Earl of Mar and others of his most trusty nobles, and took his departure for England on the 5th of April 1603.

The accession of James to the English throne produced, at the time, no other change on Edinburgh than the removal of the Court and some of the chief nobility to London. The King continued to manifest a lively interest in his ancient capital; in 1608 he wrote to the magistrates, guarding them in an unwonted manner against countenancing any interference with the right of the citizens to have one of themselves chosen to fill the office of Provost. In the following year, he granted them duties on every tun of wine, for sustaining the dignity of the civic rulers; he also empowered the Provost to have a sword borne before him on all public occasions, and gave orders that the magistrates should be provided with gowns, similar to those worn by the Aldermen of London.

It is very characteristic of King James, that, not content with issuing his royal mandate on this important occasion, he forwarded them two ready-made gowns as patterns, lest the honourable Corporation of the Tailors of Edinburgh should prove unequal to the duty.[1]

At length, after an absence of fourteen years, the King intimated his gracious intention of honouring the capital of his ancient kingdom with a visit. He accordingly arrived there on the 16th of May 1617, and was received at the West Port by the magistrates in their official robes, attended by the chief citizens habited in velvet. The town-clerk delivered a most magnificent address, wherein he blessed God that their eyes were once more permitted "to feed upon the royal countenance of our true phœnix, the bright star of our northern firmament. . . . . Our sun (the powerful adamant of our wealth), by whose removing from our hemisphere we were darkened; deep sorrow and fear possessed our hearts. The very hills and groves, accustomed before to be refreshed with the dew of your Majesty's presence, not putting on their wonted apparel, but with pale looks, representing their misery for the departure of their royal King. . . . A King in heart as upright as David, wise as Solomon, and godlie as Josias!"

In like eloquent strains the orator proceeds through a long address, after which the King and nobility were entertained at a sumptuous banquet, where the City presented his Majesty with the sum of ten thousand merks, in double golden angels, tendered to him in a gilt basin of silver.[2]

The King had been no less anxious than the citizens "to let the nobles of Ingland knaw that his cuntrie was nothing inferior to thers in anie respect." By his orders the Palace was completely repaired and put in order, and the Chapel "decorit with organis, and uthir temporall policie," while a ship laden with wines, was sent before him "to lay in the cavys of his Palicis of Halyruidhous, and uther partis of his resort."[3]

A Parliament was held in Edinburgh on this occasion, wherein the King availed himself of the popular feelings excited by his presence, to secure the first steps of his favourite project for restoring Episcopal government to the Church.

The King at length bade farewell to his Scottish subjects in September 1617, and little occurred to disturb the tranquillity of Edinburgh during the remainder of his reign.

[1] Council Register, Sept. 7th, 1609. [2] Maitland, p. 60. [3] Hist. of James the Sext, p. 395.

In the following year, the Common Council purchased the elevated ground lying to the south of the city, denominated the High Riggs, on part of which Heriot's Hospital was afterwards built, and the latest extension of the city wall then took place for the purpose of enclosing it. A portion of this wall still forms the western boundary of the Hospital grounds, terminating at the head of the Vennel, in the only remaining tower of the ancient city wall. The close of the succeeding year was signalised by the visit of Ben Jonson, on his way to Hawthornden, the seat of the poet Drummond, where the memory of his residence is still preserved.

The accession of Charles I. was marked by demands for heavy contributions, for the purpose of fitting out ships, and erecting forts for securing the coasts of the kingdom. The Common Council of Edinburgh entered so zealously into this measure, that the King addressed to them a special letter of thanks; and as a further proof of his gratitude, he presented the Provost with a gown, to be worn according to King James's appointment, and a sword to be borne before him on all public occasions.

The citizens were kept for several years in anticipation of another royal visit, which was at length accomplished in 1633. The same loyalty was displayed, as on similar occasions, for receiving the King with suitable splendour. The celebrated poet, Drummond of Hawthornden, was appointed to address him on this occasion, which he did in a speech little less extravagant than that with which the town-clerk had hailed his royal father's arrival.

The orator's poetical skill was next called into requisition. The King was received at the West Port by the nymph Edina, and again at the *Overbow* by the lady Caledonia, each of whom welcomed him in copious verse, attributed to Drummond's pen. The members of the College added their quota, and Mercury, Apollo, Endymion, the Moon, and a whole host of celestial visitants made trial of the royal patience in lengthy rhymes!

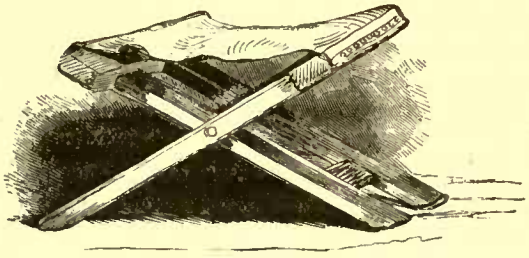
Fergus I. received the King at the Tolbooth, and "in a grave speech gave many paternal and wholesome advices to his royal successor;" and Mount Parnassus was erected at the Trone, "with a great variety of vegetables, rocks, and other decorations peculiar to mountains," and crowded with all its ancient inhabitants. The whole fantastic exhibition cost the city upwards of £41,000 Scottish money![1] The most interesting feature on the occasion was a series of the chief works of Jamesone, the famous Scottish painter, with which the Nether Bow Port was adorned. This eminent artist continued to reside in Edinburgh till his death, in 1644. He was buried in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, but without a monument, and tradition has failed to preserve any record of the spot.

This hearty reception by the citizens of Edinburgh was followed by his coronation, on the 18th of June, in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, with the utmost splendour and pomp; but the King was not long gone ere the discontents of the people were manifested by murmuring and complaints. Under the guidance of Laud, Charles had resolved to carry out the favourite project of his father, for the complete establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland; but he lacked the cautious prudence of James, no less than the wise councillors of Elizabeth. He erected Edinburgh into a separate diocese, taking for that purpose a portion of the ancient Metropolitan See of St Andrews, and appointed the Collegiate Church

[1] Maitland, p. 63-69.

of St Giles as its Cathedral. The consequences of his efforts are well known. The new service-book, which had been expressly prepared for the use of the Scottish Church, was, after considerable delay, produced in the public services of the day, on Sunday, 23d July 1637.

In St Giles's Church, the Dean ascended the reading-desk, arrayed in his surplice, and opened the service-book. The church was crowded on this memorable occasion, with the Lord Chancellor, the Lords of the Privy Council, the Judges and Bishops, as well as a vast multitude of the people.[1] No sooner did the Dean commence the unwonted service, than the utmost confusion and uproar prevailed. The service being at a pause, the Bishop, from his seat in the gallery, called to him to proceed to the Collect of the day. "De'il colic the wame o' thee!" exclaimed Jenny Geddes, as the Dean was preparing to proceed with the novel formulas; and, hurling the cutty stool, on which she sat, at his head, "Out," cried she, "thou false thief! dost thou say mass at my lug?"[2]



Dr Lindsay, the Bishop of Edinburgh, now attempted to quell the tumult; he ascended the pulpit, and reminded the people of the sanctity of the place; but this only increased their violence. The Archbishop of St Andrews and the Lord Chancellor interfered with as little effect; and when the Magistrates at length succeeded, by flattery and threats, in clearing the church of the most violent of the audience, they renewed their attack from the outside, and assaulted the church with sticks and stones, shouting meanwhile, *Pape, Pape, Antichrist, pull him down!* The Bishop was assaulted by them on his leaving the church; and, with great difficulty, succeeded in reaching his house in the High Street. The access to the first floor was, according to the old fashion, still common in that locality, by an outside stair. As he was endeavouring to ascend this, one of the rabble seized his gown, and nearly pulled him backward to the street. An old song is believed to have been written in allusion to this affray, of which only one verse, referring to this scene, has been preserved:—

Put the gown upon the bishop,
That's his miller's-due o' knaveship;
Jenny Geddes was the gossip,
Put the gown upon the bishop.

The poor Bishop at length reached the top of the stair; but there, when he flattered himself he was secure of immediate shelter, he found, to his inconceivable vexation, that the outer door was locked; and he had again to turn round and try, by his eloquence, to mollify the wrath of his unrelenting assailants. Often did he exclaim, in answer to their reproaches, that "he had not the wyte of it," but all in vain;—he was hustled down again to the street, and was only finally rescued, when in danger of his life, by the Earl of

[1] Maitland, p. 71.

[2] D. Laing, apud Carlyle's Cromwell, vol. i. p. 137.

VIGNETTE—Jenny Geddes's Stool.

Wemyss, his next door neighbour, who sent a party of servants to his aid, and had the unfortunate prelate brought to the shelter of the Earl's own mansion.[1]

In the Greyfriars' Church the service-book met with a similar reception, while most of the other clergy prudently delayed its use, till they should see how it was relished by the people. This memorable day was afterwards distinguished by the name of *Stoney Sunday*.[2]

"The immortal Jenet Geddis," as she is styled in a pamphlet of the period, survived long after her heroic onslaught on the Dean of Edinburgh. She kept a cabbage-stall at the Tron Kirk, as late as 1661, and, notwithstanding the scepticism of some zealous investigators, the Society of Antiquaries for Scotland still show, in their museum, her formidable weapon—the cutty stool,—with which this heroine struck the initial stroke in the great civil war.[3]

The multitudes of all ranks, who speedily assembled in Edinburgh, determined to unite for mutual protection. They formed a league for the defence of religion, each section being classified according to their ranks, and thus arose the famous committees called the Four Tables. On the royal edict for the maintenance of the service-book being proclaimed at the Market Cross, on the 22d February 1638, a solemn protest was read aloud by some of the chief noblemen of that party deputed for that purpose, and five days afterwards, between two and three hundred clergymen and others assembled at the Tailors' Hall (a fine old building still existing in the Cowgate), and took into consideration the Covenant that had been drawn up.

This important document was presented to a vast multitude, who assembled on the following day in the Greyfriars' Church and Churchyard. It was solemnly read aloud, and after being signed by the nobles and others in the church, it was laid on a flat tombstone in the churchyard, and eagerly signed by all ranks of the people. The parchment on which it was engrossed was four feet long, and when there was no longer room on either side to write their names, the people subscribed their initials round the margin.

The same National Covenant, when renewed at a later date, was placed for signature in an old mansion, long afterwards used as a tavern, and which still remains in good preservation, at the foot of the Covenant Close, as it has ever since been called.

In the year 1641 Charles again visited Edinburgh, for the purpose of "quieting distraction for the people's satisfaction." The visit, however, led to little good; he offended his friends without conciliating his enemies, and after another civic entertainment from the magistrates of the city, he bade a final adieu to his Scottish capital. He is said to have been fond of the game of golf, and the following anecdote is told of him in connection with it:—While he was engaged in a party at this game, on the Links of Leith, a letter was delivered into his hands, which gave him the first account of the insurrection and rebellion in Ireland. On reading which, he suddenly called for his coach, and, leaning on one of his attendants, and in great agitation, drove to the Palace of Holyrood House, from whence next day he set out for London.[4]

The Covenanters followed up their initiatory movement in the most resolute and effective

[1] Chambers's Rebellions in Scotland, vol. i. p. 66.

[2] Arnot, p. 109.

[3] Edinburgh's Joy, &c., 1661. Chambers's Minor Antiq., p. 180.

[4] W. Tytler of Woodhouselee, Esq., Archæologia Scotica, vol. i. p. 503. The anecdote is so far incorrect as to Charles's immediate departure for London, as he stayed till the dissolution of the Scottish Parliament.

manner. They deprived and excommunicated the whole body of Archbishops and Bishops, abolished Episcopacy, and all that pertained to it, and required every one to subscribe the Covenant, under pain of excommunication.

They now had recourse to arms. Leslie was appointed General of their forces; and on the 21st of March 1639, they proceeded to assault Edinburgh Castle. No provision had been made against such an attack, and its Governor surrendered at the first summons.

Early in 1648, Oliver Cromwell paid his first visit to Edinburgh, after having defeated the army of the Duke of Hamilton. He took up his residence at Moray House, in the Canongate, and entered into communication with "the Lord Marquis of Argyle, and the rest of the well affected Lords." There he was visited by the Earl of Loudon, the Chancellor, the Earl of Lothian, and numerous others of the nobility and leading men.[1] The visit was a peaceable one, and his stay brief.

On the death of his father, Charles II. was proclaimed King at the Cross of Edinburgh; but the terms on which he was offered the Scottish Crown proved little to his satisfaction, and the Marquis of Montrose sought to win it for him without such unpalatable conditions. He completely failed, however, in the attempt, and was seized, while escaping in the disguise of a peasant, and brought to Edinburgh on the 18th of May 1650. He was received at the Water Gate by the magistrates and an armed body of the citizens, and was from thence conducted in a common cart, through the Canongate and High Street, to the Tolbooth; the hangman riding on the horse before him. He was condemned to be hanged and quartered, and the sentence was executed, three days after, with the most savage barbarity, at the Cross of Edinburgh. His head was affixed to the Tolbooth, and his severed members sent to be exposed in the chief towns of the kingdom.[2] The annals of this period abound with beheadings, hangings, and cruelties of every kind. Nicol, at the very commencement of his minute and interesting Diary, records that "thair wes daylie hanging, skurging, nailling of luggis, and binding of pepill to the Trone, and booring of tongues!"

The King at length agreed to subscribe the Covenant, finding no other terms could be had. On the 2nd of August, he landed at Leith, and rode in state to the capital. He was surrounded with a numerous body of nobles, and attended by a life-guard provided by the city of Edinburgh. The procession entered at the Water Gate, and rode up the Canongate and High Street to the Castle, where he was received with a royal salute. On his return from thence, he walked on foot to the Parliament House, where a magnificent banquet had been prepared for him by the Magistrates. "Thereafter he went down to Leith, to ane ludging belonging to the Lord Balmarinoch, appointed for his resait during his abyding at Leith."[3] The fine old mansion of this family still stands at the corner of Coatfield Lane, in the Kirkgate. It has a handsome front to the east, ornamented with some curious specimens of the debased style of Gothic, prevalent in the reign of James VI.

The arrival of the parliamentary forces in Scotland, and the march of Cromwell to Edinburgh, produced a rapid change in affairs. "The enemy," says Nicol, "placed their whole horse in and about the town of Restalrig, the foot at that place called Jokis Lodge, and the cannon at the foot of Salisbury Hill, within the park dyke, and played with their cannon against the Scottish leaguer, lying in Saint Leonard's Craigs." The English army,

[1] Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 298. [2] Nicol's Diary, p. 12. [3] Ibid, p. 21.

as is well known, followed the Scottish forces under Leslie, in all their movements, so that they were encamped at various times all round the city. One spot is particularly pointed out, immediately to the westward of Coltbridge, where Cromwell's forces lay on the rising ground all around, and only separated from the Presbyterian army by the Water of Leith and the marshy fields along its banks. Roseburn House, a very interesting old mansion, where Cromwell is said to have passed the night while the army lay encamped in its neighbourhood, still remains, bearing the date 1562 over its principal entrance. In levelling one of the neighbouring mounds some years since, some stone coffins were found, and a large quantity of human bones, evidently of a very ancient date, as they crumbled to pieces on being exposed to the air; but the tradition of the neighbouring hamlet is, that they were the remains of some of Cromwell's troopers. Our informant, the present intelligent occupant of Roseburn House, mentioned the curious fact, that among the remains dug up, there were the bones of a human leg, with fragments of a wooden coffin or case, of the requisite dimensions, in which it had evidently been buried apart.

The battle of Dunbar at length placed the southern portion of Scotland completely in the power of Cromwell, at the very moment when he was preparing to abandon the enterprise, and embark his troops for England. The magistrates, as well as the ministers and the principal inhabitants, having been involved in the movements of the defeated party, either deserted the town, or took refuge in the Castle on the approach of the victorious General.

On the 7th of September 1650, Cromwell entered Edinburgh at the head of his army, and took possession of it and of the town of Leith. The capital was now subjected to martial law; the most rigid regulations were enforced, such as, "that upone ony allarum no inhabitant luik out of his hous upone payne of death, or walk on the streets after top-tow, upone payne of imprissonement."[1] Yet the peaceable inhabitants found no great reason to complain of his civic rule; justice seems to have been impartially administered, though often with much severity, and the most rigid discipline enforced on the English troops. "Upon the 27th of September," says Nicol, "by orders of the General Cromwell, thair wes thrie of his awin sodgeris scurged by the Provest Marschellis men, from the Stone Chop to the Neddir Bow, and bak agane, for plundering of houssis within the toun; and ane uther sodger maid to ryde the Meir at the Croce of Edinburgh, with ane pynt stop about his neck, his handis bund behind his back, and musketis hung at his feet, the full space of twa hours, for being drunk."[2] The same punishment of riding the Mare remained in force, as a terror to evil doers, till the destruction of the old citadel of the town-guard, and all its accompaniments, in the year 1785.

The General again took up his residence in "the Earl of Murrie's house in the Cannigate, where a strong guard is appointed to keep constant watch at the gate;"[3] and his soldiers were quartered in the Palace, and billeted about the town, while actively engaged in the siege of the Castle. The guard-house was in Dunbar's Close, a name which it retains from the quarters it then furnished to the victors of Dunbar; and a tradition is preserved, with considerable appearance of probability, that a handsome old house, still remaining at the foot of Sellars' Close, was occasionally occupied by Cromwell. It is a fine

[1] Nicol's Diary, p. 30.

[2] Ibid, p. 33. See the Wooden Mare in the view, ante, p. 74.

[3] King's Pamphlets, apud Carlyle, vol i. p. 375.

antique mansion, which forms a prominent feature in the view of the Old Town from the north, having two terraced roofs at different elevations, guarded by a neatly coped parapet wall, and commanding an extensive view of the Forth, where the English fleet then lay.

The preachers were invited by Cromwell to leave the Castle, and return to their pulpits, but they declined to risk themselves in the hands of the "sectaries," and their places were accordingly filled, sometimes by the independent preachers, but oftener by the soldiers, who unbuckled their swords in the pulpit, and wielded their spiritual weapons, greatly to the satisfaction of crowded audiences, "many Scots expressing much affection at the doctrine, in their usual way of groans!"[1] Cromwell himself is said, by Pinkerton, to have preached in St Giles's Churchyard, while David, the second Lord Cardross, was holding forth at the Trone.[2]

On the 13th of November the Palace of Holyrood was accidentally set on fire by some of the English troops who were quartered there, and the whole of the ancient Palace destroyed, with the exception of the north-west towers, finished by James V. It seems probable that the troops, thus deprived of a lodging, were afterwards quartered in some of the deserted churches. Nicol mentions, immediately after the notice of this occurrence, in his Diary, that "the College Kirk, the Gray Freir Kirk, and that Kirk callit the Lady Yesteris Kirk, the Hie Scule, and a great pairt of the College of Edinburgh, wer wasted; their pulpites, daskis, loftis, saittes, and all their decormentis, wer all dung doun to the ground by these Inglische sodgeris, and brint to asses." Accommodation was at length found for them in Heriot's Hospital, then standing unfinished, owing to the interruption occasioned by the war; and it was not without considerable difficulty that General Monk was persuaded, at a later period, to yield it up to its original purpose, on suitable barracks being provided elsewhere.

The siege of the Castle was vigorously prosecuted: Cromwell mustered the colliers from the neighbouring pits, and set them to work a mine below the fortifications, the opening of which may still be seen in the freestone rock, on the south side, near the new Castle road. The commander of the fortress had not been, at the first, very hearty in his opposition to Cromwell, and finding matters growing thus desperate, he came to terms with him, and saved the Castle being blown about his ears, by resigning it into the General's hands.

One of the earliest proceedings of the new garrison was to clear away the neighbouring obstructions that had afforded shelter to themselves in their approaches during the siege. "Considering that the Wey-hous of Edinburgh was ane great impediment to the schottis of the Castell, the samyn being biggit on the hie calsey; thairfoir, to remove that impediment, General Cromwell gaif ordouris for demolisching of the Wey-house; and upone the last day of December 1650, the Englisches began the work, and tuik doun the stepill of it that day, and so continued till it wes raised."[3] We learn, from the same authority, of the re-edification of this building after the Restoration. "The Wey-hous, quhilk wes demoleist by that traitour Cromwell, at his incuming to Edinburgh, eftir the feght of Dumbar, began now to be re-edified in the end of August 1660, but far inferior to the former condition."[4] The cumbrous and ungainly building thus erected, remained an encumbrance

[1] Cromwelliana, apud Carlyle's Letters, &c., vol. i. p. 361.
[2] Pinkerton's Scottish Gallery, Lord Cardross.
[3] Nicol's Diary, p. 48.
[4] Ibid, p. 300.

to the street, at the head of the West Bow, till 1822, when it was hastily pulled down, to widen the approach to the Castle, preparatory to the public entry of George IV.

When the authority of the English Parliament was completely established in Edinburgh, the leaders of the army proceeded to arrange matters according to their own views. General Lambert applied to the Town Council of Edinburgh "to appropriate to him the East Kirk of Edinburgh, being the special kirk, and best in the town, for his exercise at sermon." The request was granted, and the pulpit was thereafter occupied by "weill giftit" captains, lieutenants, and troopers, as well as occasional English ministers, while others of the troopers taught in the Parliament House,[1] and like convenient places of assembly.

The citizens of Edinburgh were alarmed at this time by the settlement of a number of English families in Leith, and proposals for the fortification of the town, that threatened them with the loss of their highly-prized claim of superiority. The question afforded matter for appeal and tedious litigation, and the rights of Edinburgh were only secured to them at last on condition of their contributing £5000 sterling towards the erection of a citadel in Leith.

The fortification which was erected, in consequence of this arrangement, was almost entirely demolished shortly after the Restoration, to the great satisfaction of the jealous citizens of Edinburgh, who seemed to dread no enemy so much as the rival traders of the neighbouring port. The cemetery belonging to the ancient Chapel and Hospital of St Nicolas was included within its site, and some of the old tombstones removed to the burying-ground at the river side. One small fragment of the citadel still remains on the north side of Couper Street, of which we furnish a view. Many still living can remember it

to have stood on the beach, though now a wide space intervenes between it and the new docks; and the Mariners' Church, as well as a long range of substantial warehouses, have been erected on the recovered land.

So acceptable had the sway of the Lord Protector become with the civic rulers of Edinburgh, notwithstanding the heavy taxes with which they were burdened for the maintenance of his army, and the general expenses of the government, that they commissioned a large

[1] Nicol's Diary, p. 94.

VIGNETTE—Citadel, Leith.

block of stone, for the purpose of erecting a colossal statue of his Highness in the Parliament Square.

The block had just been landed on the shore of Leith, when the news arrived of Cromwell's death. Monk altered his policy, and the magistrates not only found it convenient to forget their first intention, but with politic pliability, some years after, they erected the fine equestrian statue of Charles II., which still adorns that locality. The rejected block lay neglected on the sands at Leith, though all along known by the title of Oliver Cromwell, till, in November 1788, Mr Walter Ross, the well-known antiquary, had it removed, with no little difficulty, to the rising ground where Ann Street now stands, nearly opposite St Bernard's Well. The block was about eight feet high, intended apparently for the upper half of the figure. The workmen of the quarry had prepared it for the chisel of the statuary, by giving it, with the hammer, the shape of a monstrous mummy, and there stood the Protector, like a giant in his shroud, frowning upon the city; until after the death of Mr Ross, his curious collection of antiquities was scattered, and the ground feued for building.[1]

General Monk, commander-in-chief of the army in Scotland, having resolved, after the death of Cromwell, to accomplish the restoration of Charles II., proceeded to arrange matters previous to his march for London. He summoned a meeting of commissioners of the counties and boroughs to assemble at Edinburgh on the 15th of November 1659; and after having communicated his instructions to them, and received a special address of thanks from the magistrates of Edinburgh for his many services rendered to the city during his residence in Scotland, he returned to England to put his purpose in force.

On the 11th of May, in the following year, the magistrates sent the town-clerk to the King, at Breda, to express their joy at the prospect of his restoration. The messenger paved the way to the royal favour by the humble presentation of "a poor myte of £1000, which the King did graciously accept, as though it had been a greater business!"

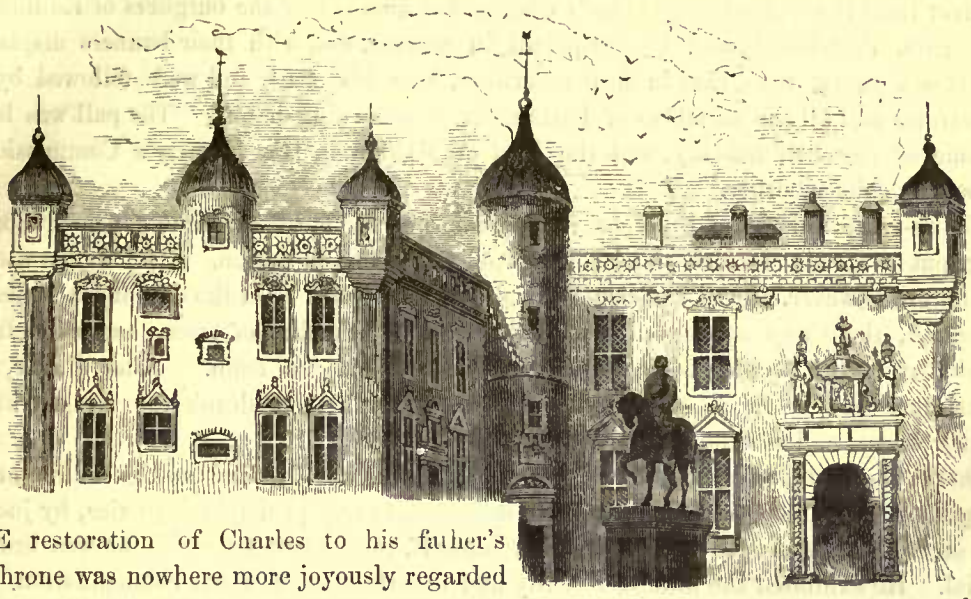
The "happy restoration" was celebrated in Edinburgh with the customary civic rejoicings, bonfires, banquets, ringing of bells, and firing of cannon; though some difficulty was experienced in reconciling the soldiers to the unwonted task of firing the Castle guns on such an occasion of national rejoicing.[2] There was much wine spent on the occasion, "the spoutes of the Croce ryning and venting out abundance of wyne, and the Magistrates and Council of the town drinking the King's health, and breaking numbers of glasses!"

[1] *Caledonian Mercury*, Nov. 10, 1788. The block was afterwards replaced at the end of Ann Street, overhanging the bed of the Water of Leith, and, either by accident or designedly, was shortly afterwards precipitated down the steep bank, and broken in pieces.

[2] Nicol's Diary, p. 283.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORICAL INCIDENTS AFTER THE RESTORATION.



THE restoration of Charles to his father's throne was nowhere more joyously regarded than in the ancient capital of the Stuarts. A Parliament was shortly afterwards assembled, at which the Earl of Middleton presided as Commissioner from the King, and the ancient riding of Parliament from the Palace of Holyrood to the Tolbooth, was revived with more than usual pomp and display. Some of the acts of this Parliament were of a sufficiently arbitrary and intolerant character; but it more concerns our present subject that the Charter of Confirmation granted to Edinburgh was ratified, and the city's power of regality over the Canongate confirmed.

One of the first proceedings of this Parliament was to revoke the attainder of the Marquis of Montrose, and order his dismembered body to be honourably buried. On Monday, 7th January 1661, according to Nicol, the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh caused the timber and slates nearest to that part of the Tolbooth, where the Marquis's head was pricked and fixed, to be taken down, and made a large scaffold there, whereon were trumpeters and others standing uncovered, and waiting till his corpse was brought in from the Borough Muir. Meanwhile, a procession, composed of the chief nobility and Magis-

VIGNETTE—The Parliament House, about 1646, from J. Gordon.

trates, attended by the burgesses in arms, proceeded to the Borough Muir, where the Marquis's body was taken up from its ignominious grave, put into a coffin, and born back to Edinburgh, under a rich canopy of velvet, amid music and firing of guns, and every demonstration of triumph. The procession stopped at the Tolbooth until the head was taken down and placed beside the body, after which the coffin was deposited in the Abbey Church of Holyrood.[1]

The other portions of the body[2] were afterwards collected and restored to the coffin, and on the 11th of May following, the mutilated remains of the great Marquis were brought back from the Abbey in solemn funeral procession, and buried in the south-east aisle of St Giles's Church, "at the back of the tomb where his grandsire was buried," and which retained, until recently, the name of Montrose's aisle.

Nicol furnishes a minute account of the proceedings on this occasion. The whole line of street from the Palace to St Giles's Church was guarded by the burghers of Edinburgh, Canongate, Portsburgh, and Potterrow, all in armour, and with their banners displayed. Twenty-six young boys, clad in deep mourning, bore his arms, and were followed by the Magistrates and all the members of Parliament, in mourning habits. The pall was borne by some of the chief nobility, and the Earl of Middleton, His Majesty's Commissioner, followed as chief mourner.[3]

The re-establishment of Episcopacy, in defiance of the most solemn engagements of the King, put a speedy close to the rejoicings of the Scottish nation. The Magistrates of Edinburgh, however, proved sufficiently loyal and complying. On the day of his Majesty's coronation, the Cross was adorned with flowers and branches of trees, and wine freely distributed to the people from thence, by Bacchus and his train. After dinner, the Magistrates walked in procession to the Cross, "and there drank the King's health on their knees, and at sundry other prime parts of the city."[4]

One of the first proceedings of the dominant party, was the trial and execution of the Marquis of Argyle, who was condemned in defiance of every principle of justice, by judges, each of them more deeply implicated than himself, in the acts for which he was brought to trial. He exhibited the utmost serenity and cheerfulness after his condemnation. He was beheaded by the instrument called the Maiden, the same that is said to have been invented by the Earl of Morton, and was employed for his own execution. The head of Argyle was exposed on the west end of the Tolbooth, on the same spike from which that of Montrose had so recently been removed with every demonstration of honour and respect; a circumstance that illustrates, in a striking manner, the strange vicissitudes attendant on civil commotions.

The most arbitrary and tyrannical enactments were now enforced, imposing exorbitant penalties on any one found with what were styled seditious books in his dwelling; no one

[1] Nicol's Diary, p. 317.

[2] Thoresby, the friend of Evelyne, in the account of his Museum, says:—"But the most noted of all the humane curiosities, is the hand and arm cut off at the elbow, positively asserted to be that of the celebrated Marquis of Montrose. It hath never been interred, has a severe wound in the wrist, and seems really to have been the very hand that wrote the famous epitaph [Great, Good, and Just] for King Charles I., in whose cause he suffered. Dr Pickering would not part with it, till the descent into Spain, when, dreading it should be lost in his absence, he presented it to this Repository, where it has more than once had the same honour that is paid to the greatest ecclesiastical prince in the world."—Ducatus Leodiensis, by Whitaker, p. 3.

[3] Nicol's Diary, p. 330–2.

[4] Ibid, p. 328.

was permitted to retain arms in his possession without a warrant from the Privy Council; and religious persecution was carried to such a length, that the people were driven to open rebellion. The consequence of all this is well known. "The King's Majesty resolved to settle the Church government in Scotland," but the settlement thereof proved a much more impracticable affair than he anticipated. One of the first steps towards the accomplishment of this, was the consecration of Bishops, which took place on the 7th of May 1662, in the Abbey Church of Holyrood. On the following day, the Parliament assembled, and the Bishops were restored to their ancient privileges as members of that body. They all assembled in the house of the Archbishop of St Andrews, at the Nether Bow, from whence they walked in procession, in their Episcopal robes, attended by the magistrates and nobles, and were received at the Parliament House with every show of honour.[1]

The annals of Edinburgh, for some years after this, are chiefly occupied with the barbarous executions of the Presbyterian Nonconformists; in 1663, Lord Warriston, an eminent lawyer and statesman, who had taken refuge in France, was delivered up by Louis XIV. to Charles II. He was sent to Edinburgh for trial, and, though tottering on the brink of the grave, was condemned and executed for his adherence to the Covenant; the only mitigation of the usual sentence was, permission to inter his mutilated corpse in the Greyfriars' Churchyard. Others of humbler rank were speedily subjected to the same mockery of justice, torture being freely applied when other evidence failed, so that the Grassmarket, which was then the scene of public executions, has acquired an interest of a peculiar character, from the many heroic victims of intolerance who there laid down their lives in defence of liberty of conscience.

The Bishops, as the recognised heads of the ecclesiastical system, in whose name these tyrannical acts were perpetrated, became thereby the objects of the most violent popular hate. In 1668, Archbishop Sharp was shot at, as he sat in his coach at the head of Blackfriars' Wynd. The Bishop of Orkney was stepping in at the moment, and received five balls in different parts of his body, while the Archbishop, for whom they were intended, escaped unhurt. The most rigid search was immediately instituted for the assassin. The gates of the city were closed, and none allowed to pass without leave from a magistrate; yet he contrived, by a clever disguise, to elude their vigilance, and effect his escape. Six years afterwards, the Primate recognised in one Mitchell, a fanatic preacher who eyed him narrowly, the features of the person who fled from his coach after discharging the shot which wounded the Bishop of Orkney. He was immediately seized, and a loaded pistol found on him, but, notwithstanding these presumptive proofs of guilt, no other evidence could be brought against him, and his trial exhibits little regard to any principle of morality or justice. He was put to the torture, without eliciting any confession from him; and at length, in 1676, two years after his apprehension, he was brought from the Bass, and executed at the Grassmarket, in order to strike terror into the minds of the Covenanters.[2]

The year 1678 is memorable in the annals of the good town, as having closed the career of one of its most noted characters, the celebrated wizard, Major Weir. The spot on

[1] Nicol's Diary, p. 366.

[2] Arnot, p. 148. Wodrow's Hist., vol. i. pp. 375, 513.

which he was burned, on the sloping bank at Greenside,[1] has been rescued, only within the last year, from all profane associations, by the erection of the new Lady Glenorchy's Chapel thereon. The fall of this great master of the black art would seem to have been peculiarly fatal to its votaries; as many as ten witches were burnt in the city during the same year.

In the following year, while the Palace of Holyrood was undergoing repair for the residence of the Duke of York, afterwards James VII., the unhappy prisoners taken at the battle of Bothwell Bridge were brought to Edinburgh, and the greater number of them confined for five months, during the most inclement season of the year, in the inner Greyfriars' Churchyard, that long narrow slip of ground, enclosed with an iron gate, which extends between the grounds of Heriot's Hospital and the old Poor's House. They were exposed there during the whole of that period, without any shelter from the weather; yet the whole of them remained faithful to their principles, although they could at once have procured their liberty by acknowledging the rising at Bothwell to have been rebellion.

In 1680, the Duke of York arrived in Edinburgh, as Commissioner from the King to the Scottish Parliament, along with his Duchess, Mary D'Este, daughter of the Duke of Modena, celebrated by Dryden and other wits of the time for her beauty. The Lady Anne, his daughter, afterwards Queen Anne, also accompanied him on this occasion, and greatly contributed, by her easy and affable manners, towards the popularity which he was so desirous to acquire. The previous vicegerents had rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious to all classes, and thereby prepared the people the more readily to appreciate the urbanity of the Duke. "He behaved himself," says Bishop Burnet, "upon his first going to Scotland, in so obliging a manner, that the nobility and gentry, who had been so long trodden on by the Duke of Lauderdale, found a very sensible change; so that he gained much on them all. It was visibly his interest to make that kingdom sure to him, and to give them such an essay of his government as might dissipate all hard thoughts of him, with which the world was possessed."[2] To the success with which he pursued this course of policy may be, to some extent, attributed the strong attachment which the Scottish nobility afterwards displayed to the House of Stuart, which led to the rebellions in 1715 and 1745.

The city spared no expense to welcome the Duke of York. A grand entertainment was provided for him in the Parliament House, which was fitted up at great expense for the occasion. The Duchess, the Lady Anne, and the principal nobles at the Scottish Court, were present on the occasion, and the expense of the banquet was upwards of £14,000 Scottish money.

During the Duke's residence at Edinburgh, a splendid court was kept at Holyrood Palace. The rigid decorum of Scottish manners gradually gave way before the affability of such noble entertainers; and the novel luxuries of the English Court formed an additional attraction to the Scottish grandees. Tea was introduced for the first time into Scotland on this occasion, and given by the Duchess, as a great treat to the Scottish ladies who

[1] Chambers's Minor Antiquities, p. 85. On the authority of "a gentleman who had the spot pointed out to him by his father sixty years ago" (1833).

[2] Burnet's Hist., Edin. Ed., vol. ii. p. 322.

visited at the Abbey. Balls, plays, and masquerades were likewise attempted, but the last proved too great an innovation on the rigid manners of that period to be tolerated. The most profane and vicious purposes were believed, by the vulgar, to be couched under such a system of disguise; and this unpopular mode of entertainment had to be speedily abandoned. Plays, however, which were no less abhorrent to the people at that period, afforded a constant gratification to the courtiers, and were persisted in, notwithstanding the violent prejudices which they excited. The actors were regarded as part of the Duke of York's household; and, if we may give any credit to the satirical account which Dryden has furnished of them, they were not among the most eminent of their profession. Some members of the company, it would seem, had gone to Oxford, according to annual custom, to assist in performing the public acts there. Dryden, with great humour, makes them apologise to the University for the thinness of the Company, by intimating that many of its members have crossed the Tweed, and are now nightly appearing before Edinburgh audiences, for the ambiguous fee of "two and sixpence Scots." He slyly insinuates, however, that only the underlings of the company have gone north, leaving all its talent and character at the service of the University:—

> Our brethren have from Thames to Tweed departed,
> To Edinborough gone, or coached or carted:
> With bonny blue cap there they act all night,
> For Scotch half-crowns, in English threepence hight.
> One nymph, to whom fat Sir John Falstaff's lean,
> There with her single person fills the scene.
> Another, with long use and age decayed,
> Died here old woman, and rose there a maid.
> Our trusty door-keeper, of former time,
> There struts and swaggers in heroic rhime.
> Tack but a copper lace to drugget suit,
> And there's a hero made without dispute;
> And that which was a capon's tale before,
> Becomes a plume for Indian Emperor.
> But all his subjects to express the care
> Of imitation, go, like Indian, bare![1]

The reader need hardly be reminded of the usual licence which the satiric poet claims as his privilege, and which his Grace's servants at Edinburgh may have retorted in equal measure on his Majesty's servants at Oxford, though no copy of their prologue has been preserved. It is not improbable, however, that the early Scottish theatre might merit some of the poet's sarcasms. The courtly guests of the royal Duke were probably too much taken up with the novelty of such amusements, and the condescending urbanity of their entertainers, to be very critical on the equipments of the stage.

These amusements were occasionally varied with the exhibition of masques at Court, in which the Lady Anne, and other noble young ladies, assumed the characters of gods and goddesses, and the like fanciful personages that usually figure in such entertainments. The gentlemen varied these pastimes with the games of tennis and golf. The Tennis Court, which also served as the first theatre for the Court, stood immediately without the Water Gate. It may be seen in Gordon's map, a large oblong building, occupying a considerable

[1] Dryden's Misc., vol. ii.

portion of the ground between the old port and the building still known as Queen Mary's Bath, the intervening ground being then entirely unoccupied. After being devoted to the humble purpose of a weaver's workhouse, it was at length burnt to the ground, in the year 1777.[1]

Leith Links was the usual scene of the Duke's trials of skill at golf. Many traditions still preserved prove his keen relish for this game, in which he is said to have become a proficient. "The Duke of York," says Tytler, "was frequently seen in a party at golf on the Links at Leith, with some of the nobility and gentry. I remember, in my youth, to have often conversed with an old man, named Andrew Dixon, a golf club-maker, who said that, when a boy, he used to carry the Duke's golf clubs, and to run before him and announce where the ball fell."[2]

The general harmony of the Court of Holyrood, during the visit of the Duke of York, was, however, occasionally interrupted by other annoyances besides those occasioned by the struggles of the Covenanters.

A custom had long prevailed in Edinburgh, of annually burning the Pope in effigy on Christmas-day; but the magistrates, justly conceiving that such a procedure was calculated to afford little satisfaction to the Duke, determined to prevent its recurrence during his stay in Edinburgh. The populace, however, were not then impressed with such awe for civic enactments as the modern system of police has since produced. The students of the College took up the matter, and bound themselves by a solemn oath to effect the incremation of his Holiness in defiance of both Duke and magistrates. The military were called out to put a stop to their proceedings, and some of the most active ringleaders taken captive; but the populace rose in defence of the students, and finished the day's work by burning the Provost's house at Priestfield to the ground. The students, as the most zealous movers in this tumult, were first visited with the wrath of offended authority. The college gates were ordered to be closed, and the collegians to remove to the distance of fifteen miles from the city; but the excitement after a time abated, and they were again restored to their wonted privileges.

In 1682, the famous old cannon, Mons Meg, was burst in firing a salute in honour of the Duke of York, shortly before his return to England. The Duke took his departure in great state in the month of May, leaving the citizens of Edinburgh to resume their quiet decorum, unseduced by the example of the Court. The older gentry of the last age continued to cherish a pleasing remembrance of his visit, and to tell, with great delight, of the gaiety and brilliancy of the court at Holyrood House.

The intelligence of the death of Charles II. reached Edinburgh on the 6th of February 1685. The Chancellor and other officers of state, with the Privy Council, the lords of session, the magistrates, and many of the chief nobility, proceeded to the Cross, accompanied by the Lyon King-at-Arms, and his heralds, and proclaimed James Duke of York, King of Great Britain. In April, on the assembling of Parliament, an act was passed for the confirmation of the Protestant religion, and fresh tests enacted for its protection; but the actions of the King showed little respect for such laws, and much excitement was occasioned by proceedings that were generally believed to be preparatory to the subversion of the Protestant Church.

[1] Arnot, p. 195.

[2] Archæologia Scotica, vol. i. p. 504.

In consequence of this, a popular tumult was excited; a rabble of apprentices and others watched the return of some of the chief officers of state from public attendance at mass. The Chancellor's lady, and other persons of distinction, were insulted, and the utmost indignation excited in the minds of these dignitaries against the populace. A baker, who had been active in the riot, was apprehended and tried before the Privy Council. He was condemned to be publicly whipped through the Canongate; but the populace rescued him from punishment, chastised the executioner, and kept the town in a state of uproar and commotion throughout the night. The military were at length called out, and fired on the rioters, by which three of them lost their lives. Two others were apprehended and afterwards convicted, seemingly on very insufficient evidence, one of whom was hanged and the other shot.

In July 1687, the King wrote to the Privy Council "that the Abbey Church was the chapel belonging to his Palace of Holyrood House, and that the Knights of the noble Order of the Thistle, which he had now erected, could not meet in St Andrew's Church,[1] being demolished in the rebellion, as they called our Reformation, and so it was necessary for them to have this church; and the Provost of Edinburgh was ordained to see the keys of it given to them."[2] Some opposition was made to this by the Bishop of Edinburgh, but it was agreed to with little difficulty, and the inhabitants of the Canongate, whose parish church it had been, were ordered to seek accommodation in Lady Yester's Church, till better could be provided. The Canongate Church was shortly afterwards built from funds that had been left by Thomas Moodie, a citizen of Edinburgh, for the purpose of providing an additional place of worship.

Holyrood Chapel was now magnificently fitted up with richly carved stalls for the Knights of the Thistle. "An altar, vestments, images, priests, and their apurtents," arrived at Leith, by the King's yacht, from London, for the purpose of completing the restoration of the Abbey to its ancient uses. A college of priests was established in Holyrood, and daily service performed in the Chapel. Fresh riots were the consequence of this last procedure, and two of those who had been most zealous in testifying their abhorrence of such religious innovations, were executed, while others were publicly whipped through the streets.

The fall of the ancient house of the Stuarts was now rapidly approaching. The feeble representative of that long line of Kings was already anticipating an invasion from Holland; in the month of September 1688, orders were issued for raising the militia, and these were speedily followed by others for erecting beacons along the coast. But James, who, by his rashness, had forced on the crisis, was the first to desert his own cause; and the Scottish Parliament, with more consistency than that of England, availed themselves of this to declare that he had forfeited the throne.

The news of the arrival of the Prince of Orange filled the Presbyterian party in Scotland with the utmost joy. The Earl of Perth, who was Chancellor, hastily quitted Edinburgh, and the mob made it the signal for an attack on Holyrood Chapel. A body of an hundred men defended it with firearms, which they freely used against their assailants, killing twelve of them, and wounding many more. But this only increased the fury of the mob; the armed defenders were at length overpowered, and the Chapel delivered up to

[1] *i.e.*, The Cathedral of St Andrews.

[2] Fountainhall, vol. i. p. 466.

their will. The magnificent carved stalls, which had just been completed, and all the costly fittings of the Chapel were devoted to destruction, and the fine old fabric only abandoned when its newly-completed decorations had been reduced to an unsightly heap of ruins.

Other acts of violence were perpetrated by the rioters; and the students again testified their zeal, by marching in triumphal procession to the Cross, with bands of music, and the College mace borne before them, and there again burning the effigy of the Pope.

On the assembly of the Parliament, the Bishop of Edinburgh prayed for the welfare and restoration of King James, and the Episcopal body generally maintained their fidelity to the exiled Prince, the well-known consequence of which was the restoration of Presbytery as the national religion, and the expulsion of the recently-created Bishops from their sees.

On the 11th of April 1688, William and Mary were proclaimed at the Cross, King and Queen of Scotland. The Castle was still held by the Duke of Gordon for King James, while Viscount Dundee, after a brief conference with its commander, in which he endeavoured to induce the Duke to accompany him to the Highlands, engaged him to hold out that fortification, while he went north to raise the friends of the King. The citizens were filled with the utmost alarm at the news of this interview. The drums beat to arms, and a body of troops, which the Duke of Hamilton had quartered in the city, was called out to pursue Dundee, but no serious consequences resulted; and the Duke of Gordon, being almost destitute of provisions, at length yielded up the Castle on the 13th of June 1689, the last considerable place of strength that had remained in the interest of the exiled Monarch.

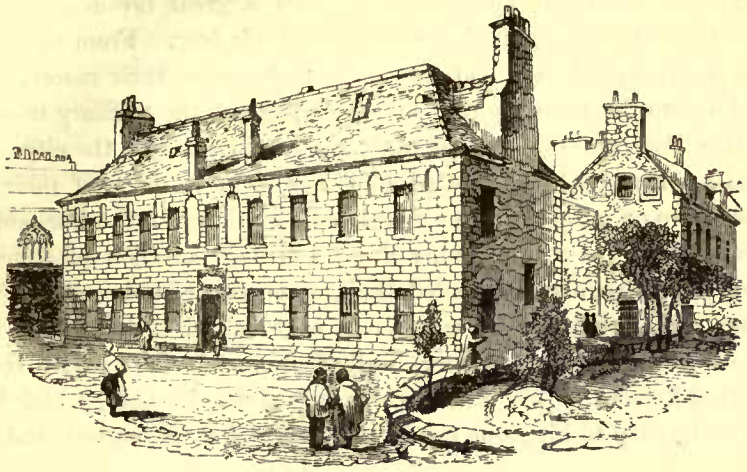
In 1695, the grand national project of the Darien expedition was set on foot, and a company formed for establishing a settlement on the Isthmus of Darien, and fitting out ships to trade with Africa and the Indies. The highest anticipations were excited by this project. The sum of £400,000 sterling was speedily subscribed, and a numerous body embarked for the new settlement. When intelligence reached Edinburgh of the company having effected a landing at Darien, and successfully repelled the attacks of the Spaniards, thanksgivings were offered up in all the churches, and a general illumination made throughout the city. The mob further testified their joy, by securing the city ports; and then setting fire to the Old Tolbooth door, they liberated the prisoners incarcerated for printing seditious publications.

The indignation of the populace was no less vehement on the failure of this national project than their joy at its first success. The prison was again forcibly opened, the windows of all obnoxious citizens were broken; and such violence was shown, that the Commissioner and officers of state were compelled to leave the city for some days, to escape the vengeance of the infuriated multitude.

The Old Darien House still stands[1] within the extended line of the city wall, near the Bristo Port, a melancholy and desolate looking memorial of that unfortunate enterprise. It is a substantial and somewhat handsome structure, in the French style, and with the curious high-pitched roof which prevailed in the reign of William III. It has more recently been abandoned to the purposes of a pauper lunatic asylum, and is popularly known by the name of Bedlam. A melancholy association attaches to a more modern portion of it towards the

[1] The Darien House was entirely demolished in 1871; and its site is now occupied by several blocks of buildings, on the walls of one of which is a tablet indicating where it stood.

south, as having been the scene where poor Ferguson, that unhappy child of genius, so wretchedly terminated his brief career. The building bears, on an ornamented tablet above the main entrance, the date 1698, surmounted by a sun-dial. The only relic of its original grandeur that has survived its adaptation to later purposes, is a handsome and very substantial stone balustrade, which guards the broad flight of steps leading to the first floor.



A remarkable course of events followed on the failure of the Darien scheme, attended with riots of the same desperate character as those commonly perpetrated by the populace of Edinburgh when under the influence of unusual excitement. In 1702, a vessel belonging to the East India Company, which entered the Frith of Forth, was seized by the Scottish Government, by way of reprisal, for the unjust detention in the Thames of one belonging to the Scottish African Company. In the course of a full and legal trial, the captain and crew were convicted, in a very singular manner, of piracy and murder committed on the mate and crew of a Scottish vessel in the East Indies. The evidence, however, appeared to some influential parties insufficient to justify their condemnation, and the utmost excitement was created by attempts to procure a pardon for them.

The report having been circulated that a reprieve had been granted, the mob assaulted the Lord Chancellor while passing the Tron Church in his carriage, on his return from the Privy Council. The windows were immediately smashed, the Chancellor dragged out, and thrown upon the street; and he was rescued with great difficulty from the infuriated multitude by an armed body of his friends. The tumult was only appeased at last by the public execution of the seamen.

In the Parliament which assembled in June 1705, the first steps were taken in Scotland with a view to the Union between the two kingdoms. The period was peculiarly unfavourable for the accomplishment of a project against which so many prejudices were arrayed. The popular mind was already embittered by antipathies and jealousies excited by the recent failure of the favourite scheme of colonisation, and the plan for a Union was almost universally regarded as an attempt to sacrifice their independence, and establish

VIGNETTE—The Darien House.

English supremacy. No sooner, therefore, were the articles made public, in the month of October 1706, than a universal clamour and uproar ensued. The outer Parliament House and the adjoining square were crowded with an excited multitude, who testified their displeasure at the Duke of Queensberry, the Commissioner, and all who favoured the Union. On the 23d of the month, the populace proceeded to more violent acts of hostility against the promoters of the scheme. They attacked the house of Sir Patrick Johnston, their representative in Parliament, formerly a great favourite when Provost of the city, and he narrowly escaped falling a victim to their fury. From this they proceeded to other acts of violence, till they had the city completely at their mercy, and were only prevented blocking up the ports by the Duke ordering out the military to take possession of the Nether Bow Port, and other of the most important points in the city.

The Commissioner, and all who abetted him, were kept in terror of their lives. Three regiments of foot were on constant duty; guards were stationed in the Parliament Close and the Weigh-house, as well as at the Nether Bow; a strong battalion protected the Abbey; a troop of horse-guards regularly attended the Commissioner, and none but members were allowed to enter the Parliament Close towards evening, on such days as the house was sitting. His Grace, the Commissioner, walked from the Parliament House, between a double file of musketeers to his coach, which waited at the Cross; and he was driven from thence at full gallop to his residence at the Palace, hooted, cursed, and pelted by the rabble.

The mob were fully as zealous in the demonstration of their good will as of their displeasure. The Duke of Hamilton, whose apartments were also in the Palace, was an especial object of favour, and was nightly escorted down the Canongate by several hundreds of them cheering him, and commending his fidelity. It was on one of these occasions, after seeing the Duke home, that the excited rabble proceeded to the house of the city member, when he so narrowly escaped their fury.[1] Fortunately, however, for Scotland the popular clamour was unavailing for the purpose of preventing the Union of the two kingdoms, though the corrupt means by which many of the votes in Parliament were secured, was sufficient to have justified any amount of distrust and opposition. A curious ornamental summer-house is pointed out in the pleasure grounds attached to Moray House, in the Canongate, where the commissioners at length assembled to affix their signatures to the Treaty of Union. But the mob, faithful to the last in their resolution to avert what was then regarded as the surrender of national independence, pursued them to this retired rendezvous, and that important national act is believed to have been finally signed and sealed in a "laigh shop," or cellar, No. 177 High Street, nearly opposite to the Tron Church.[2] This interesting locality, which still remains, had formed one of the chief haunts of the unionists during the progress of that measure, and continued to be known, almost to our own day, by the name of the Union Cellar. On the 16th of January 1707, the Scottish Parliament assembled for the last time in its old hall in the Parliament Close, and having finally adjusted the Articles of Union, it was dissolved by the Duke of Queensberry, the King's Commissioner, never again to meet as a National Assembly.

The general discontent which resulted from this measure, and the irritation produced by

[1] Lockhart's Mem., 1799, p. 222–229. Smollett's Hist., p. 469. Arnot, p. 189.
[2] Tales of a Grandfather, vol. vi. p. 327.

the presence of a host of English tax-gatherers who speedily thereafter overran the whole of Scotland, were mainly influential in directing anew the thoughts of the people to the exiled family of the Stuarts. Edinburgh, however, took no share in the rising of 1715. The magistrates exerted themselves to put the city in an effective state of defence. The walls and gates were immediately repaired and fortified. The sluice at the east end of the North Loch was dammed up, and trenches made at various accessible points. The city-guard was augmented, the trained bands armed, and four hundred men ordered to be raised and maintained at the city's expense.

These measures saved the capital from any concern in this rash enterprise, beyond an ineffectual attempt upon the Castle. A party of the insurgents marched towards Edinburgh, but finding it in vain to attempt an assault, they repaired to Leith, and fortified the citadel. This they were speedily compelled to evacuate, on the approach of the Duke of Argyle's forces; and after a feeble struggle, this ill-concerted rising was suppressed, and tranquillity restored to the country.

The year 1736 is rendered memorable in the annals of the city by the famous Porteous mob. The accounts already furnished of some of the more serious tumults that have from time to time occurred in the Scottish capital, must have sufficed to show the daring character of the populace, and their hearty co-operation in any such deed of violence. Yet the cool and determined manner in which this act of popular vengeance was effected has probably never been equalled.

The incidents of this remarkable transaction have been rendered so familiar by the striking narrative of Scott (in all its most important features strictly true), that a very hasty sketch will suffice. Captain John Porteous, the commander of the city-guard, having occasion to quell some disturbances at the execution of one Wilson, a smuggler, rashly ordered his soldiers to fire among the crowd, by which six were killed, and eleven wounded, including females, and some of the spectators from the neighbouring windows. Porteous was tried and condemned for murder, but reprieved by Queen Caroline, who was then acting as Regent, in the absence of her husband, George II., at Hanover.

The people, who had regarded Wilson in the light of a victim to the oppressive excise laws and other fruits of the hated Union, were exasperated at the pardon of one who had murdered so many of their fellow-citizens, and determined that he should not escape. Many people, it is said, assembled from the country to join in the enterprise. The leaders of the mob were disguised in various ways, some of them in female attire. They surprised the town-guard, armed themselves with their weapons, and then forcing the door of the Tolbooth, by setting it on fire, they dragged from thence the unhappy object of their vengeance, and led him to the scene of his crime, the ordinary place of execution, in the Grassmarket. It was intended at first to have erected the gallows and executed him there with greater formality, but the ringleaders found this project attended with too serious a loss of time, and he was hastily suspended from a dyer's pole, over the entrance to Hunter's Close, in the south-east corner of the Grassmarket. As soon as their purpose was effected, the rioters threw away their weapons and quietly dispersed.

Notwithstanding the most searching investigations instituted, and the imprisonment of various parties on suspicion of being concerned in this violent deed, no person was convicted for it, and no discovery ever made concerning any of its perpetrators. The order,

regularity, and determined resolution with which it was effected, as well as the secrecy so successfully maintained, led to the supposition that its leaders must have been of a higher rank than those usually concerned in popular tumults; but recent disclosures, resting on the authority of an intelligent old man, have revealed the chief agent in this daring act of popular vengeance. Alexander Richmond, according to the narrator, was the son of a respectable nurseryman at Foulbriggs, near the West Port. He was bred a baker, and, about the time of the Porteous mob, was a wild and daring lad, who took a prominent share in all the riotings of the period. On the night of Porteous's execution, he was sent early to bed, and deprived of his clothes by his father, who dreaded that his son, as usual, would involve himself in the turbulent movements that were threatened. But the lad got hold of his sister's clothes, and making his escape by a window, joined the mob and took a prominent part in breaking into the Tolbooth, and in all their other proceedings. On the passage of the rioters down the West Bow, he entered a shop, from the counter of which he lifted a coil of rope, and threw down a half guinea he had brought out with him. With this the wretched Porteous was suspended from the dyer's pole; and immediately thereafter Richmond returned by the West Port to his father's house. Proclamations were issued against him at the time as a suspected party, on which he went to sea, and after an absence of many years, he returned to Leith, and became master of a merchant vessel.

Richmond disclosed his share in the Porteous mob to a few trustworthy friends, among whom was the narrator of this account. He made money in his new mode of life, and his heirs, in the female line, are still alive.[1]

Queen Caroline was highly exasperated on learning of this act of contempt for her exercise of the royal prerogative. The Lord Provost was imprisoned, and not admitted to bail for three weeks. A bill was brought into Parliament, and carried through the House of Lords, for incapacitating him from ever holding any magisterial office in Great Britain, and for confining him in prison a full year. This bill also enacted the demolition of the Nether Bow Port, and the disbanding of the city-guard. The Scottish members, however, exerted themselves effectually in opposing this unjust measure when it was sent down to the House of Commons, and by their means it was shorn of its most objectionable clauses, and the whole commuted to a fine of £2000, imposed on the city for behalf of the Captain's widow. Even when thus modified, the bill was only carried by the casting vote of the chairman, and Porteous's widow, on account of previous favours shown her by the magistrates, accepted of £1500 in full.

From this period, till the eventful year 1745, nothing remarkable occurs in the history of Edinburgh. On the report of the landing of Prince Charles, the city-guard was increased, and a portion of the royal forces brought into the neighbourhood of the city. The town walls were hastily repaired, and ditches thrown up for additional defence. Upon the approach of the Prince's forces, which had crossed the Forth above Stirling, the King's troops, along with the city-guard, were posted at Corstorphine and Coltbridge, and a volunteer force was raised to aid in repelling the rebels. But citizens and soldiers were alike lukewarm in the Hanoverian cause, or terror-stricken at the sight of the Highland host. The whole force fled precipitately on their appearance, and communicated such a panic to the citizens,

[1] Illustrations of Geikie's Etchings, p. 8.

that, when they were assembled in St Giles's Church, and it was debated whether they should stand on their defence or not, only three or four voices answered in the affirmative. But while the citizens were still undetermined as to the terms of capitulation, the Nether Bow Port was unwarily opened to let a coach pass out, on which a party of Highlanders, who had reached the gate undiscovered, immediately rushed in and secured the city, took possession of the guard-house, and seized on the arms and ammunition belonging to the guard.

The young Chevalier speedily followed this advance guard. The Highland army encamped in the royal park, in the neighbourhood of Duddingston, and the Chevalier himself took possession of Holyrood Palace. The heralds were required to publish at the Market Cross the commission of Regency which the Prince had received from his father, and which was accordingly done with all the usual ceremonies attending royal proclamations. Multitudes of the inhabitants now flocked to the neighbouring camp, attracted by the novelty of the sight, or their favour to the cause of the Stuarts, while the Palace was crowded by numbers of the better class of citizens, who hastened to testify their fidelity to the exiled family.

They were received by the Prince with the utmost affability and condescension; but this did not prevent him issuing an order, requiring the inhabitants of the town and county of Edinburgh to deliver up their arms at the Palace, and the city to furnish a great variety of stores for the use of the army, under pain of military execution in case of failure. The supplies were furnished accordingly, and the city gratified with the Prince's gracious promise of payment, so soon as the troubles should be over. The Castle, however, was held by General Guest, a stanch adherent of the Government, and on the Highlanders appearing in the city, he displayed the flag, and fired some cannon to warn them not to approach the fortress.

The Highlanders, thus amply supplied, marched to Preston, about nine miles to the eastward of the capital, where they defeated and put to rout the royal forces, under the command of Sir John Cope. The dragoons fled from the field without halting till they reached Linlithgow. Their baggage, artillery, and military chests all fell into the Prince's hands, who returned to the Palace of Holyrood in triumph. Notwithstanding the irregular character of the Highland army, they behaved, in general, with great order and moderation; and such was the simplicity of the poor Highlanders, even in rapine, that it is said some of them presented their pieces at passengers, and on being asked what they wanted, replied, "*a penny*," with which they went away perfectly satisfied.[1]

The Prince intimated, on his return to Edinburgh, that the ministers should have full liberty to continue their usual duties on the following day, which was Sunday, the only requirement being, that, in the prayers for the royal family, no names should be specified.

Only one of the city ministers, named Hogg, availed himself of this permission, and lectured in the forenoon in the Tron Church. But the Rev. Neil M'Vicar of St Cuthbert's was of the true old covenanting metal, and not to be intimidated by the near neighbourhood of the Jacobite forces. He sent word to the commander of the Castle of his intention to continue the usual services of the day, and proceeded to his pulpit at the appointed hour.

[1] Scots Mag., vol. vii. p 442.

The church was crowded with an unusually numerous auditory, among whom he recognised many Jacobites, as well as a number of the Highland soldiers, attracted by the report of his intentions, and the knowledge of his intrepid character. He prayed, as usual, for King George, by name, and then added,—"And as for this young man who has come among us seeking an earthly crown, we beseech thee that he may obtain what is far better, a heavenly one!" When this was reported to Prince Charles he is said to have laughed, and expressed himself highly pleased at the courage and charity of the worthy minister.[1]

For some days after the Battle of Prestonpans, the communication between the town and the Castle remained uninterrupted. But the Highlanders, who kept guard at the Weigh-house, having received orders to prevent all further intercourse with the fortress, the governor, retaliated by threatening to cannonade the town. Messengers were immediately despatched by the Lord Provost to the Palace, informing the Prince of the danger the city was exposed to; but the governor having waited in vain for a favourable answer, a severe cannonading at last took place, killing and wounding several of the inhabitants, besides damaging many of the houses nearest the Castle, and spreading such consternation through the town, that a great portion of the citizens were prepared for immediate flight. The consequences that were apprehended from such proceedings were, however, happily averted by a proclamation of the Prince, declaring the infinite regret he felt at the many murders committed on the inhabitants by the commander of the garrison, and that he had ordered the blockade of the Castle to be taken off, and the threatened punishment of his enemies to be suspended, when he found that thereby innocent lives could be saved. Shortly after this the Prince left Edinburgh, on his route to England, at the head of an army of about five thousand men; from thence he was followed, on his return northward, by the Duke of Cumberland, who, on his arrival in Edinburgh, occupied the same apartments in the Palace which had so recently been appropriated to the use of the Prince; and during his stay there, the paintings of the Scottish monarchs, in the great gallery, were slashed and otherwise greatly defaced by the English soldiers.

After the final overthrow of the Highland army at Culloden, a species of triumph was exhibited in Edinburgh, in full accordance with the magnanimity of the Duke, who claimed the entire credit of a victory, achieved rather by the policy of Duncan Forbes of Culloden. Fourteen of the standards that had been taken from the insurgents were burnt at the Market Cross with every mark of contempt. They were ignominiously carried thither by chimney sweepers,—the Prince's own standard being particularly distinguished by being borne by the common hangman; and as each was thrown into the fire, the heralds proclaimed the names of the commanders to whom they had belonged!

The usual election of magistrates having been prevented by the presence of the Highland army in Edinburgh, they were chosen in the following year by virtue of a royal mandate, and the newly-elected Council testified their loyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty by voting the freedom of the city to the Duke of Cumberland, and presenting to him the charter of citizenship in a massive gold box, embossed with the city arms outside, and having the Duke's own arms, with a suitable inscription, engraved within.

The overthrow of the adherents of Prince Charles was followed up by fines, imprison-

[1] Hist. of the West Kirk, p. 119.

ment, and confiscation to many of the most active leaders in the movement, and a general persecution of "Papists, Jacobites, Episcopals, and disaffected persons." Archibald Stewart, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, was regarded with peculiar jealousy, on account of the city having fallen into the hands of the Highland army, without resistance, or any attempt at defence. He endured a long and severe trial, in which it was shown that the great extent, and very dilapidated condition of the walls, as well as the manifest lukewarmness of a large portion of the inhabitants towards the reigning family, rendered the defence of the town, for any length of time, against a victorious army, quite impossible. The trial lasted from the 27th of October till the 2d of November, when the Provost was acquitted by a unanimous verdict of the jury. This was regarded as a triumph by the Jacobite party, and a public meeting was summoned to assemble on the following evening in the Baxter's Hall; but the magistrates took alarm at the proposal, and the meeting was summarily interdicted, as calculated to destroy the prestige of the triumphant bonfire so recently kindled at the Cross.

The house of Provost Stewart was a very curious old building in the West Bow, with its main entrance at the foot of Donaldson's Close. It was only one story high, in addition to the attics, on the north side, while on the south it presented a lofty front to the Bow. This building stood immediately to the west of Free St John's Church; it is described by Chambers[1] as being of singular construction, and as full of curious little rooms, concealed closets, and secret stairs, as any house that ever had the honour of being haunted. The north wall, which still remains built into the range of shops forming the new terrace, stood long exposed to view, affording abundant evidence of this. Little closets and recesses are excavated, almost like a honey-comb, out of the solid rock behind, many of which, however, have been built up in adapting it to its new purpose. "In one of the rooms," says Chambers, "there was a little cabinet about three feet high, which any one, not acquainted with the mysterious arcana of ancient houses, would suppose to be a cupboard. Nevertheless, under this modest, simple, and unassuming disguise, was concealed a thing of no less importance and interest than a trap stair."[2] This ingeniously-contrived passage communicated behind with the West Bow, and, according to the same authority, it was said to have afforded, on one occasion, a safe and unsuspected exit to Prince Charles and some of his principal officers, who were enjoying the hospitality of the Jacobitical Provost, when an alarm was given that a troop of the enemy, from the Castle, were coming down the Close to seize them. This curious building derives an additional interest from its last occupant, James Donaldson, the wealthy printer, from whose bequest the magnificent hospital that bears his name has been erected at the west end of the town.

Our historical sketch of the ancient capital of Scotland has mainly embraced the period during which the Stuart race filled the throne, and made it the arena of many of the most prominent incidents in their history; and with this closing scene in the narrative of their illustrious line, our historic Memorials of the Olden Time may fitly end. The associations with which the local antiquites of Edinburgh still abound, will afford a fitting opportunity for treating of incidents and characters of a later date, that are worthy of our notice,

[1] Chambers's Traditions, vol. i. p. 143. [2] Ibid, vol. i. p. 144.

as well as for a more detailed consideration of some of those that have already been alluded to in this introductory sketch.

The appearance which Edinburgh presented at this period, as well as the character and manners of its inhabitants, cannot be readily realised by those of the present generation. Its general features had undergone little change since the departure of the Court to England in 1603. The extended wall, erected in the memorable year 1513, still formed the boundary of the city, with the exception of the enclosure of the High Riggs, as already described, on the south. The ancient gates remained kept under the care of jealous warders, and nightly closed at an early hour; even as when the dreaded inroads of the *Southron*, with fire and sword, summoned the burgher watch to guard their walls. At the foot of the High Street, the lofty tower and spire of the Nether Bow Port terminated the vista, surmounting the old Temple Bar of Edinburgh, interposed between the city and the ancient burgh of Canongate.

This handsome structure was rebuilt in its latest form in the year 1606, directly in a line with St Mary's and Leith Wynds, and about fifty yards further eastward than the second erection already mentioned. It was by far the most conspicuous and important of the six gates which gave access to the ancient capital, and was regarded as an object in the maintenance and protection of which the honour of the city was so deeply involved, that, as we have seen, its demolition was one of the penalties by which the government sought to revenge the slight put upon the royal prerogative by the Porteous mob. In style of architecture, it bore considerable resemblance to the ancient Porte St Honore of Paris, as represented in old engravings; and it is exceedingly probable that it was constructed in imitation of some of the old gates of that capital, between which and Edinburgh so constant an intercourse was maintained, at a somewhat earlier period than the date of its erection.

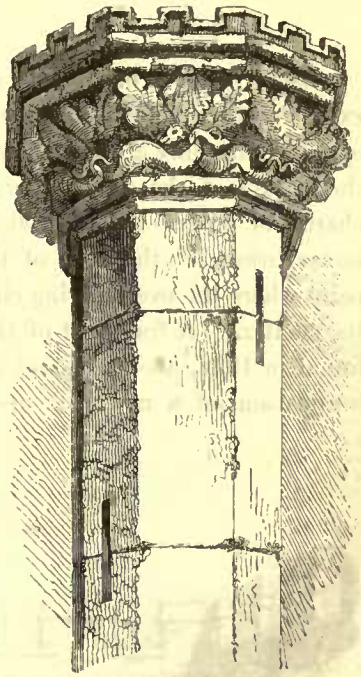
When the destruction of this, the main port of the city, was averted by the strenuous patriotic exertions of the Scottish peers and members of Parliament, it was regarded as a national triumph; but, unhappily, towards the middle of the last century, a perfect mania seized the civic rulers throughout the kingdom, for *sweeping away all the old rubbish*, as the ancient fabrics that adorned the principal towns were contemptuously styled. The Common Council of London set the example by obtaining an Act of Parliament, in 1760, to remove their city gates; and, only four years afterwards, the Town Council of Edinburgh demolished the Nether Bow, one of the chief ornaments of the city, which, had it been preserved, would have been now regarded as a peculiarly interesting relic of the olden time. The ancient clock, which was removed from the tower, was afterwards placed in that of the old Orphan's Hospital, and continued there till the demolition of the latter building in 1845.

It is worthy of remark, however, that the destruction of this stately structure was not the earliest symptom of improved taste in our civic dignitaries. Their first step towards "enlarging and *beautifying*" the city, was the removal of the ancient Cross, an ornamental structure, possessed of the most interesting local and national associations. The lower part of it was an octagonal building of a mixed style of architecture, rebuilt in the year 1617, in the form already represented.[1] In its reconstruction, the chief ornaments of the

[1] Ante, p. 33.

ancient building had been preserved; the heads, in basso relievo, which surmounted seven of the arches, have been referred, by eminent antiquaries, to the remote era of the lower empire. Four of these were placed by Mr Walter Ross, in his tower at Deanhaugh, and on its demolition in 1814, they were secured by Sir Walter Scott, along with a large shallow stone basin, which served as the fountain from whence wine was distributed at the Cross on occasions of festivity. All of these objects are now among the antiquities at Abbotsford.

The ancient pillar which surmounted the octagonal building, has been described by Arnot,[1] and most of his successors, as a "column consisting of one stone upwards of twenty feet high, spangled with thistles, and adorned with a Corinthian capital." It is still preserved on the Drum estate, near Edinburgh, whither it was removed by Lord Somerville in 1756, but it in no way corresponds with this description.[2] It is an octagonal gothic pillar, built of separate stones, held together by iron clamps, with a remarkably beautiful gothic capital, consisting of dragons with their heads and tails intertwined, and surmounted by a battlemented top, on which the unicorn was formerly seated, holding an iron cross.



From this ancient edifice, royal proclamations, and the more solemn denunciations of the law, were announced; and here also the chief pageants were displayed on occasions of public rejoicings. Before the art of printing was invented, all Acts of Parliament and other matters of public interest were published from it to the people, and from thence also the mimic heralds of the unseen world, cited the gallant James and the nation's chivalry to the domains of Pluto, immediately before the Battle of Flodden.

No incident in history appears to us more strongly to mark the perversion of taste, and the total absence of the wholesome spirit of veneration, that prevailed during the eighteenth century, than the demolition of this most interesting national monument. The love of destructiveness could alone instigate the act, for its site was in the widest part of the High Street, at a time when the Luckenbooths narrowed the upper part of that thoroughfare to half its breadth, and immediately below it stood the guard-house, "a long, low, ugly building, which, to a fanciful imagination, might have suggested the idea of a long black snail crawling up the middle of the High Street, and deforming its beautiful esplanade."[3] No such haste, however, was shown in removing this unsightly building. Its deformity gave no offence to civic taste, and it continued to encumber the street till near the close of the century. Propositions have been made at various times for the restoration of the City Cross.

[1] Arnot, p. 303.

[2] Restored in front of St Giles's Cathedral, 1869.

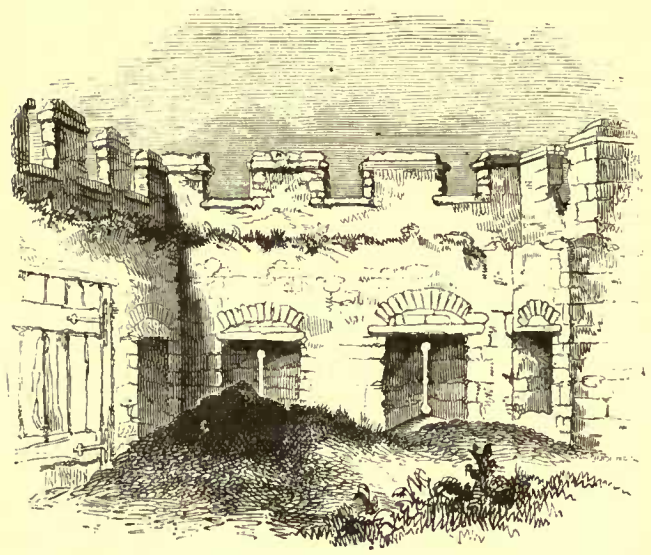
[3] Heart of Mid-Lothian, vol. i. p. 247.

VIGNETTE—The Capital of the City Cross.

We shall only add, that until our civic rulers manifest, by some such act, a regard for the monuments of antiquity committed to their care, they must take their unenviable share in the minstrel's curse :—

> Dun Edin's Cross, a pillar'd stone,
> Rose on a turret octagon ;
> But now is razed that monument,
> Whence royal edict rang,
> And voice of Scotland's law was sent
> In glorious trumpet clang.
> Oh ! be his tomb as lead to lead,
> Upon its dull destroyer's head !—
> A minstrel's malison is said.[1]

Large portions of the city wall have been demolished from time to time, owing to the extension of the town and the many alterations that have been made on the older portions of it, so that only a few scattered fragments remain. These, however, are sufficient to show the nature of the ancient fortifications. No part of the earliest wall, erected under the charter of James II., in 1450, is now visible, if we except the fine old ruin of the Well-house tower, at the base of the Castle rock, which formed a strong protection at that point where the overhanging cliff might have otherwise enabled an enemy to approach under its shelter. A fragment of this wall, about fifty feet long and twenty feet in height, was found in 1832, about ten feet south from the Advocates' Library,[2] when digging for the foundations of a new lock-up-house, in connection with the Parliament House; and, in 1845, another considerable portion was disclosed to the east of this, on the site of the old Parliament Stairs, in making the more recent additions to the same building. Both of these fragments have been closed over by the new buildings, and may in all probability continue to exist for centuries. The next addition to the fortifications of the city is the well-known Flodden wall, reared, as already described, by the terrified citizens in 1513.[3] Of this there still remains the large portion forming the north side of Drummond Street; an interesting little fragment at the back of the Society, at Bristo Port, curiously pierced for windows and other openings; and, lastly, the old tower in the Vennel, already alluded to, which, thanks to the zealous efforts of Dr Neill, has been preserved from destruction, when the Town Council had already pronounced its doom as a useless encumbrance. We furnish a view of its in-



[1] Marmion, canto v. v. 25. [2] Minor Antiquities, p. 73. [3] Ante, p. 35.

VIGNETTE—Interior of the Tower in the Vennel.

terior, with the embrasures and loop-holes, as it appeared before the erection of the Infant School there.

We have already mentioned the erection of the wall in Leith Wynd, a considerable portion of which still remains, by virtue of an Act of Parliament in 1540.[1] Maitland describes another addition in 1560, extending from thence to the end of the North Loch, at the foot of Halkerston's Wynd.[2] The southern wall of the west wing of Trinity Hospital included part of this ancient defence. It stood about six feet south from the present retaining wall of the North British Railway, in the Physic Gardens,[3] and was a piece of such substantial masonry, that its demolition, in 1845, was attended with great labour, requiring the use of wedges to break up the solid mass. In 1591, the citizens were empowered, by Parliament, to raise money on all lands and rents within Edinburgh, towards strengthening the town, by an addition of height and thickness to its walls, with forcing places, bulwarks, or flankers, &c.;[4] and finally, the Common Council having, in 1618, bought from Tours of Innerleith ten acres of land at the Greyfriars' Port, they immediately ordered it to be enclosed with a wall, a considerable portion of which forms the western boundary of the Heriot's Hospital grounds. It only remains to be added, that the last attempt made to render these walls an effective defence, was in the memorable year 1745; with how little success has already been narrated. From the evidence brought out in the course of Provost Stewart's trial, they seem to have been, at that period, in a most ruinous condition, and it is improbable that any efforts were made after that to stay their further decay.

The changes wrought upon the town itself during the same period are no less remarkable. Owing to its peculiar situation, crowning the ridge of the hill, on the highest point of which the Castle is perched, and sloping off to the low grounds on either side, its limits seemed to our ancestors to be defined almost beyond the possibility of enlargement. The only approach to the main street, from the west, previous to the commencement of the North Bridge, in 1765, was up the steep and crooked thoroughfare of the West Bow, by which kings and nobles so often entered in state, and from thence it extended, in unbroken continuity to St Mary's and Leith Wynds. The remainder of the street, through the Canongate, has fortunately, as yet, escaped the revision of "improvements commissioners," and presents, in the continuation of the principal thoroughfare through the Nether Bow to the Palace, many antique features, awaking associations of the period when the Scottish nobility resided there in close vicinity to the Court.

A very few years, however, have sufficed to do the work of centuries in the demolition of time-honoured and interesting fabrics. St Giles's Church has been renovated externally, and reduced to the insipid standard of modern uniformity. George IV. Bridge, and its approaches, have swept away nearly all the West Bow, Gosford's and the Old Bank Closes, Libberton's Wynd, and some of the most interesting houses in the Cowgate. The projectors of the New College have taken for its site another portion, including the Guise Palace, in Blyth's Close, which bore, on its north front, the earliest date then existing on any private building in Edinburgh; and the same parties, in their zeal to do honour to Knox's

[1] Ante, p. 44.

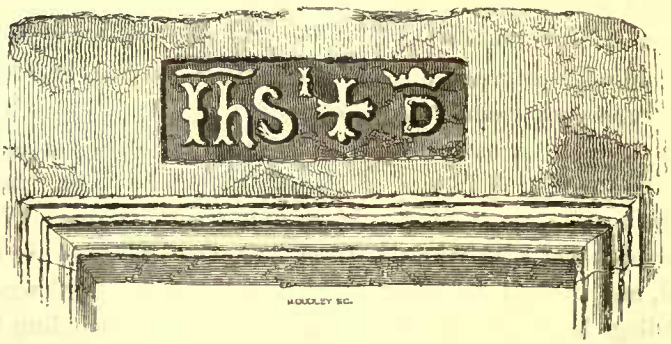
[2] Maitland, p. 20, where it is defined as at the foot of *Libberton's* Wynd, but this is obviously an error.

[3] So called from having long been the site of the Botanical Gardens.

[4] Maitland, p. 45.

memory, have devoted his picturesque old domicile to destruction. The Collegiate Church of Mary of Guelders is destined to a similar fate; and, in truth, it would seem as if a regular crusade had been organised by all classes, having for its object to root out everything in Edinburgh that is ancient, picturesque, or interesting, owing to local or historical associations, and to substitute in their stead the commonplace uniformity of the New Town. One effect, however, of all this has been, by so greatly diminishing these ancient fabrics, to awake an increased interest in the few that remain, while, even by the demolition of others, many curious features have been brought to light, which would otherwise have remained unknown.

It is earnestly to be desired that a lively veneration for these monuments of past times may be more widely diffused, and produce such a wholesome spirit of conservatism, as may at least preserve those that remain from reckless destruction. An antiquary, indeed, may at times seem to resemble some querulous crone, who shakes her head, with boding predictions of evil at the slightest variance from her own narrow rule; but the new, and what may be called the *genteel* style of taste, which has prevailed during the earlier portion of the present century, has too well justified his complaints. The old Parliament Close, with its irregular Elizabethan Court houses, and the ancient Collegiate Church (which on that side at least was ornate and unique), have been remodelled according to the newest fashion, and, to complete the change, the good old name of Close, which is pleasingly associated with the cloistral courts of the magnificent cathedrals and abbeys of England, has been replaced by the modern, and, in this case, ridiculous one of Square. In full accordance with this is the still more recent substitution of the name of North British Close for that of Halkerston's Wynd—the only thing that remained about that ancient alley to commemorate the death of David Halkerstoun of Halkerstoun, while bravely defending this passage against the English in 1544. Modern imitations of the antique, such as have been attempted in the newest thoroughfares in the Old Town, are easily erected, with more or less taste, and as easily replaced. But if the Old Town of Edinburgh is once destroyed, no wealth can restore the many interesting associations that still linger about its ancient halls.



VIGNETTE—Ancient Doorway in Halkerston's Wynd.

MEMORIALS OF EDINBURGH.

PART II.

LOCAL ANTIQUITIES AND TRADITIONS.

Edinburgh.

Install'd on hills, her head neare starrye bowres,
Shines Edinburgh, proud of protecting powers:
Justice defends her heart; Religion east
With temples; Mars with towres doth guard the west;
Fresh Nymphes and Ceres serving, waite upon her;
And Thetis, tributarie, doth her honour.
The sea doth Venice shake; Rome Tiber beates;
Whilst She bot scornes her vassall watteres' threats.
For scepters no where standes a towne more fitt,
Nor place where towne, world's Queene, may fairer sitt.
Bot this Thy praise is, above all most brave,
No man did e'er diffame Thee bot a slave.

Drummond of Hawthornden,
From the Latin of Dr Arthur Johnstone.

The Town.

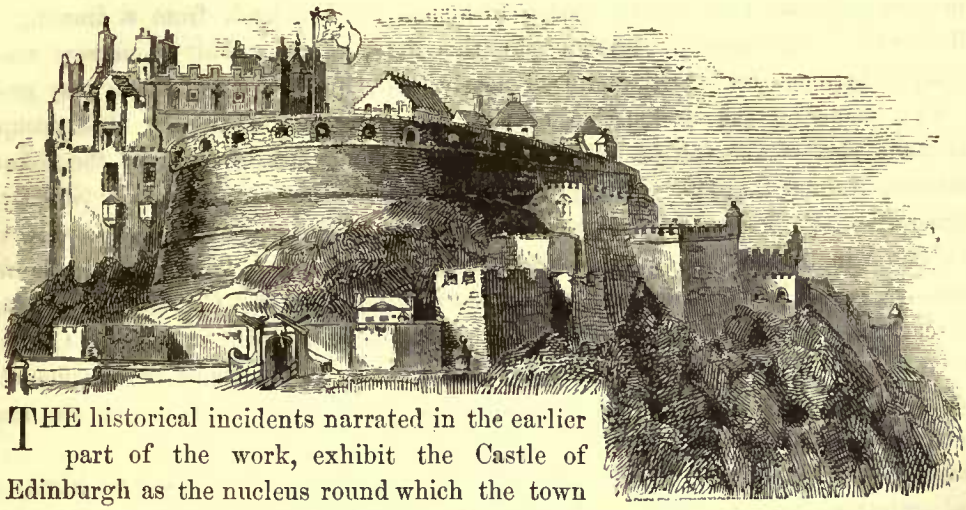
The shady lane, the hedgerow, and the wood,
And ripening fields have won the poet's heart,
Until the love of Nature is a part
Of his soul's being ;—yet own I the mood
That seeks out nature in the crowded mart,
Nor thinks the poet's teaching unwithstood,
Because, within the thicker solitude
Of peopled cities, fancy plays its part :—
"Man made the town," and therefore fellowman
May garner there, within its dusky lanes
Of pent-up life, an airy empyrean,
Dwelling apart, in sympathy, where wanes
The light of present being, while the vast
"Has been" awakes again,—the being of the past.

St Giles's.

Hoar relic of the past, whose ancient spire
Climbs heavenward amid the crowded mart,
Keeping as 'twere within the city's heart,
One shrine where reverent thoughts may yet retire ;
And dreaming fancies, from the world apart,
Wander among old tales of which thou art
Sole relic. Is it vain that we inquire
Somewhat of scenes where thou hast borne a part
Mine own St Giles ! Old fashions have gone by,
And superstitions,—even of the heart,—
Thyself has changed some wrinkles for a smart
New suit of modern fashion. To my eye
The old one best beseemed thee, yet the more
Cling I to what remains, the soul of yore.

CHAPTER I.

THE CASTLE.



THE historical incidents narrated in the earlier part of the work, exhibit the Castle of Edinburgh as the nucleus round which the town has gradually arisen. Notwithstanding the numerous sieges which it has stood, the devastations to which it has been subjected by successive conquerors, and above all, the total changes in its defences, consequent on the alterations introduced in modern warfare, it still contains remains of an earlier date than any that are to be found in the ancient capital.

The main portion of the fortifications, however, must be referred to a period subsequent to the siege in 1572, when it was surrendered by Sir William Kirkcaldy, after it had been reduced nearly to a heap of ruins. In a report furnished to the Board of Ordnance, from documents preserved in that department, it appears that, in 1574 (only two years after the siege), the governor, George Douglas of Parkhead, repaired the walls, and built the half-moon battery, on the site, it may be presumed, of David's Tower, which was demolished in the course of the siege.[1] Tradition affixes the Protector's name to a small tower, with crow-stepped gables, built to the east of the great draw-well, forming the highest point of this battery. It is, without doubt, a building erected long before Crom-

[1] MS. Report, R. M'Kerlie, Esq., Ordnance Office, wherein it is further stated that,—"In 1575, the Citadel contained eight distinct Towers, fronting the Old Town and south-west, and twelve buildings were outside the Citadel but within the walls, eight of which were in a castellated form."

VIGNETTE—Edinburgh Castle, from a drawing by T. Sandby, about 1750.

well's time, and, to all appearance, coeval with the battery, but its commanding position and extensive view are not unlikely to have arrested his notice. Considerable portions of the western fortifications, the parapet wall, and port holes of the half-moon battery, and the ornamental coping and embrazures of the north and east batteries, as well as the house now occupied by the barrack sergeant, are of a much later date. The building last mentioned, situated immediately to the north of the grand parade, bears a close resemblance in its general style to the Darien House, erected in 1698, and the whole may, with every probability, be referred to nearly the same period, towards the close of William III.'s reign.

Very considerable alterations have been made from time to time on the approach to the fortress from the town. The present broad esplanade was formed chiefly with the rubbish removed from the site of the Royal Exchange, the foundation of which was laid in 1753. In the very accurate view of the Castle furnished by Maitland, from a drawing by T. Sandby, which represents it previous to this date, there is only a narrow roadway, evidently of artificial construction, raised nearly to the present level, which may probably have been made on the destruction of the Spur, an ancient battery that occupied a considerable part of the Castle Hill, until it was demolished by order of the Estates of Parliament, August 2, 1649.[1] The previous elevation of the ground had evidently been no higher than the bottom of the present dry ditch. The curious bird's-eye view of the Castle, taken in 1573 (a fac-simile of which is given in the 2nd volume of the Bannatyne Miscellany), and all the earlier maps of Edinburgh, represent the Castle as rising abruptly on the east side, and in that of 1575, from which we have copied a view of the Castle,[2] the entrance appears to be by a long flight of steps. It may perhaps be considered as a confirmation of this, that in the representations of the fortress, as borne in the arms of the burgh, a similar mode of approach is generally shown.[3]

Immediately within the drawbridge, there formerly stood an ancient and highly ornamental gateway, near the barrier guard-room. It was adorned with pilasters, and very rich mouldings carried over the arch, and surmounted with a remarkably curious piece of sculpture, in basso relievo, set in an oblong panel, containing a representation of the famous cannon, Mons Meg, with groups of ancient artillery and military weapons. This fine old port was only demolished in the beginning of the present century, owing to its being found too narrow to give admission to modern carriages and waggons, when the present plain and inelegant gateway was erected on its site. Part of the curious carving alluded to has since been placed over the entrance to the Ordnance Office in the Castle, and the remaining portion is now preserved in the Antiquarian Museum.[4]

Immediately to the west of this, another ancient ornamented gateway still exists.

[1] Bannatyne Misc., vol. ii. p. 398.

[2] Ante, p. 8.

[3] In the survey of the Castle, taken for Sir William Drury in 1572, the following description occurs :—"On the fore parte estwarde, next the towne, stands like iiij^{xx} foote of the haule, and next unto the same stands Davyes Towre, and from it a courten, with vj cannons, in loopes of stone, lookinge in the streatwarde ; and behynd the same standes another teare of ordinance, lyke xvj foote clym above the other ; and at the northe ende stands the Constables Towre; and in the bottom of the same, is the way into the Castle, with xl^{ti} steppes." The number of the stepps is in another hand, the MS. being partially injured.—Bann. Misc., vol. ii. p. 69.

[4] Vide pp. 1 and 6, for views of these stones. They were preserved, and placed in their present situations through the good taste of R. M'Kerlie, Esq., of the Ordnance Office, to whose recollections of the old gateway, when an officer in the garrison ir 1800, we are mainly indebted for the above description.

Along the deeply arched vault which leads into the Argyle Battery, may be traced the openings for two portcullises, and the hinges of several successive gates that formerly guarded this important pass. In Sandby's view, already referred to, from which the vignette at the head of this chapter is copied, this gateway is shown as finished with an embattled parapet, and a flat roof, on which a guard could be stationed for its defence; but since then it has been disfigured by the erection over it of an additional building, of a very unornamental character, intended for the use of the master carpenter.

The apartment immediately above the long vaulted archway, is a place of peculiar interest, as the ancient state prison of the Castle. Within this gloomy stronghold, both the Marquis and Earl of Argyle were most probably confined previous to trial; and here also many of lesser note have been held in captivity at different periods, down to the eventful year 1746, when numerous noble and gallant adherents of the house of Stuart were confined in it, as well as others suspected of an attachment to the same cause.[1] The last state prisoners lodged in this stronghold were Watt and Downie, accused of high treason, in 1794, the former of whom was condemned and executed. It was at first intended to have fulfilled the sentence of the law at the ancient place of execution for traitors, on the Castle Hill, but this being considered liable to be construed into a betrayal of fear on the part of Government, as seeking to place themselves under the protection of the Castle guns, he was ultimately executed in the Lawnmarket.

The only other objects of interest in the outer fortress are the Governor's House, a building probably erected in the reign of Queen Anne, and the Armoury, immediately behind it, where a well appointed store of arms is preserved, neatly arranged, intermixed with some relics of ancient warfare. In the exterior fortifications, to the west of the Armoury, may still be traced the archway of the ancient postern, which has been built up for many years. Here Viscount Dundee held his conference with the Duke of Gordon, when on his way to raise the Highland clans in favour of King James, while the Convention were assembled in the Parliament House, and were proceeding to settle the crown upon William and Mary. With only thirty of his dragoons, he rode down Leith Wynd, and along what was called the Long-Gate, a road nearly on the present line of Princes Street, while the town was beating to arms to pursue him. Leaving his men at the Kirk-brae-head, he clambered up the rock at this place, and urgently besought the Duke to accompany him to the Highlands, and summon his numerous vassals to rise on behalf of King James. The Duke, however, preferred to remain and hold out the Castle for the terror of the Convention, and Dundee hastily pursued his way to Stirling.[2] On this same site we may, with every probability, presume the ancient postern to have stood, through which the body of the pious Queen Margaret was secretly conveyed in the year 1093, while the fortress was besieged by Donald Bane, the usurper.[3]

The most interesting buildings, however, in the Castle, are to be found, as might be

[1] The rebel *ladies* are also said to have been confined there, and Lady Ogilvie made her escape in the dress of a washerwoman, brought by Miss Balmain, who remained in her stead; she was allowed afterwards to go free.

[2] Minor Antiquities, p. 65.

[3] Ante, p. 3. It has been stated (Walks in Edinburgh, p. 52), but, we think, without sufficient evidence, that the Castle was without fortifications on the west and north sides until a recent period, tradition assigning their first erection to William III. But the same walls that still exist appear in Gordon's map, 1648, with the remains of ruinous buildings attached to them, proving their antiquity at that earlier date.

anticipated, on the loftiest and least accessible part of the rock on which it is built. Here, on the very edge of the precipitous cliff, overhanging the Old Town several hundred feet below, the ancient Royal Palace is reared, forming the south and east sides of a large quadrangle, called the Grand Parade. The chief portion of the southern side of this square consists of a large ancient edifice, long converted into an hospital for the garrison, but which had been originally the great hall of the Palace. Notwithstanding the numerous changes to which it has been subjected in adapting it to its present use, some remains of its ancient grandeur have been preserved. At the top of the principal staircase may be seen a very finely sculptured stone corbel, now somewhat mutilated, representing in front a female face of very good proportions, and ornamented on each with a volute and thistle. On this still rests the original oak beam; and on either side of it there are smaller beams let into the wall, with shields carved on the front of each. The whole are now defaced with whitewash, but they afford evidence of the existence formerly of a fine open timbered roof to the great hall, and it is probable that much more of it still remains, though concealed by modern ceilings and partitions. From the occasional assembling of the Parliament here, while the Scottish Monarchs continued to reside in the Castle, it still retains the name of the Parliament House.[1]

The view from the windows on this side of the Palace is scarcely surpassed by any other in the capital. Immediately below are the picturesque old houses of the Grassmarket and West Port, crowned by the magnificent towers of Heriot's Hospital. From this abyss, the hum of the neighbouring city rises up, mellowed by the distance, into one pleasing voice of life and industry; while, beyond, a gorgeous landscape is spread out, reaching almost to the ancient landmarks of the kingdom, guarded on the far east by the old keep of Craigmillar Castle, and on the west by Merchiston Tower. Between these is still seen the wide expanse of the Borough Muir, on which the fanciful eye of one familiar with the national history will summon up the Scottish hosts marshalling for southern war; as when the gallant Jameses looked forth from these same towers, and proudly beheld them gathering around the standard of "the Ruddy Lion," pitched in the massive "Bore Stane,"[2] still remaining at the Borough Muir Head.

Immediately to the east of this, the royal apartments are situated. The windows in this part of the quadrangle have been very large, though now partly built up, and near the top of the building, there is a sculptured shield, much defaced, which seems to bear the Scottish Lion, with a crown over it. A stone tablet over the arch of the old doorway, with

[1] In the Treasurer's Accounts, various items occur, relating to the royal apartments in the Castle, *e.g.* A.D. 1516, "for treiu werk (timber work) for The Great Haw Windois in the Castell; gret gestis, doubill dalis, &c., for the Myd Chamer;" and, again, "to Robert Balye for fluring of the Lordis Haw in Davidis Tower of the Castell in Ed^{r}"—Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, Appendix. The Hall is also alluded to in the survey of 1572, and its locality described as "On the south syde wher the haule is," &c.—Bann. Misc., vol. ii. p. 70. In a series of "One hundred and fifty select views, by P. Sandby," published by Boydell, there is one of Edinburgh Castle from the south, dated 1779, in which two of the great hall windows remain; they are lofty, extending through two stories of the building, as now arranged, and apparently divided by stone mullions. The coping, supported on stone corbels, still remains as in the earliest views.

[2] *Bore Stane*, so called from the hollow or *bore* into which the staff of the royal standard was placed (vide Marmion, canto iv. v. 28). About a mile south of this, near the entrance to Morton Hall, is the *Hare Stane* (confounded by Maitland, p. 506, with the former). Various stones in Gloucestershire and other districts of England bear the same name, which an antiquarian friend suggests is probably derived from the Saxon *Hâr*, signifying *slaughter*, and therefore indicating the site of an ancient battle. About a mile to the south of this, a huge Druidical mass of red sandstone bears the name of *Buck Stane*. The two last are popularly believed to mark the rendezvous of the Court for coursing the hare or hunting the buck in "The olden time."

the initials H. and M. inwrought, for HENRY and MARY, and the date 1566,[1] commemorates the birth of James VI., on the 19th June of that year. The small room, which was the scene of this important event, forms the south-east angle of the building. It is singularly irregular in form and circumscribed in its dimensions, its greatest length being little more than eight feet. The room was formerly neatly panelled with wainscot, but, after being abandoned for years as a drinking-room to the canteen, much of this has been renewed in a very rude and inelegant fashion. The original ceiling, however, is preserved, wrought in ornamental wooden panels, with the initials I. R. and M. R. surmounted with the royal crown, in alternate compartments; and, on the wall, the commemorative inscription, in black letter, mentioned by Maitland, still remains, with the Scottish arms over it:—

Lord Jesu Chryst, that crounit was with Thornis,
Preserve thy Birth, quhais Padgie heir is borne,
And send Hir Sonee successione, to Reigne still,
Lang in this Realme, if that it be Thy will
Als grant, O Lord, quhat ever of Hir proceed
Be to Thy Honer and Prais, sobied.
19th IVNII, 1566.

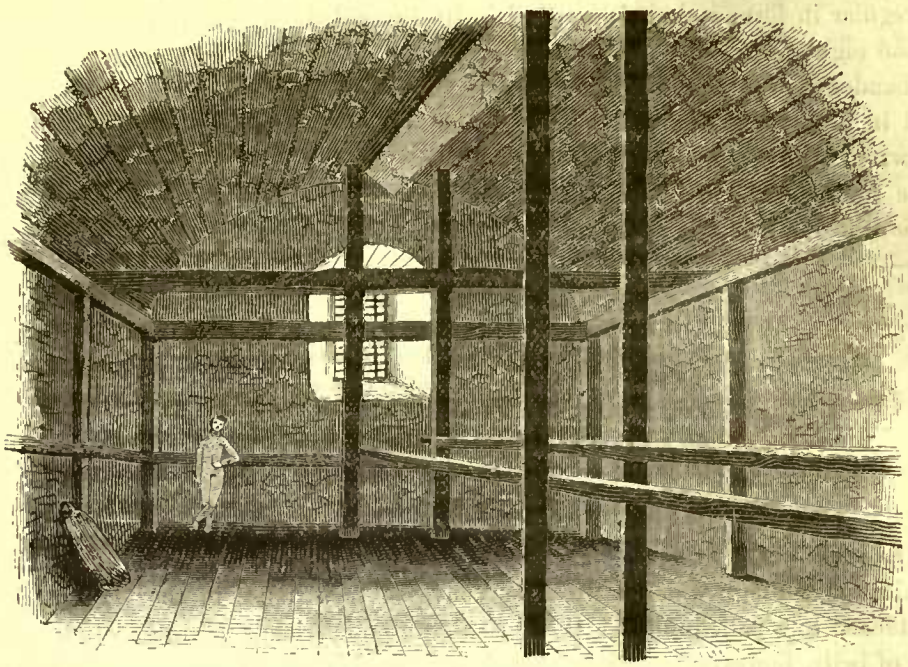
At the back of the fireplace was formerly shown a hole, said to have served as the communication through which a wire was conveyed to a house in the Grassmarket, and there attached to a bell, to advise the Queen's Catholic friends of the birth of her son. The use of bells, however, except in church steeples, is of a much more modern date; and equally apocryphal is another story of the infant Prince having been secretly let down over the rock in a basket, into the hands of these same adherents of the Queen, to be educated in the Catholic religion.

A considerable part of the east and north fronts of the ancient Royal Palace seem, from the dates on them, as well as from the general style of the building, to have been erected in the year 1616. The appearance, however, of many portions of the interior leave no room to doubt that the works of that date were only a partial remodelling of a more ancient fabric. Some of the stone panels on the east front are wrought in remarkably beautiful Elizabethan ornaments, and on one of them the regalia have been sculptured in high relief, though some chance shot, in one of the later sieges of the Castle, has broken away the larger portion of the figures. The turrets at the angles of the building, as well as the clock tower in the quadrangle, were originally covered with ogee lead roofs, similar to that still remaining on the turret staircase at the north end.

Immediately below the grand hall, are two tiers of large and strongly-vaulted bomb-proof vaults, extending below the paved court of the quadrangle, communicating with a wide arched passage, entered from the west side. The small loop-hole that admits light into each of these huge vaults is strongly secured by three ranges of iron bars, and a massive iron gate closes the entrance to the steep flight of steps that give admission to the dreary dungeons. Within these gloomy abodes the French prisoners were confined during the late war, above forty of them sleeping in a single vault. We furnish a view

[1] Ante. p. 77. From the style of ornament, it appears to have been put up at a later period, probably by James VI. on his visit to Scotland in 1617.

of one of them as it still exists, with the wooden frame-work that sustained the hammocks of the prisoners.



Immediately below Queen Mary's Room, there is another curiously-vaulted dungeon, partly excavated out of the solid rock, and retaining the staple of an iron chain, doubtless used for securing the limbs of some wretched captive in ancient times. No date can with any certainty be assigned to these massive foundations of the Castle, though they undoubtedly belong to a remote period of its history.

In making some repairs on the west front of the royal apartments in the year 1830, a remarkably curious and interesting discovery was made. Nearly in a line with the Crown Room, and about six feet from the pavement of the quadrangle, the wall was observed, when struck, to sound hollow, as though a cavity existed at that place. It was accordingly opened from the outside, when a recess was discovered, measuring about two feet six inches by one foot, and containing the remains of a child, enclosed in an oak coffin, evidently of great antiquity, and very much decayed. The remains were wrapped in a cloth, believed to be woollen, very thickly wove, so as to resemble leather, and within this were the decayed fragments of a richly-embroidered silk covering, with two initials wrought upon it, one of them distinctly marked I. This interesting discovery was reported at the time to Major General Thackery, then commanding the Royal Engineers, by whose orders they were again restored to their strange place of sepulture, where they still remain. It were vain now to attempt a solution of this mysterious discovery, though it may furnish the novelist with material on which to found a thrilling romance.

Within this portion of the old Palace is the Crown Room, where the ancient Regalia

VIGNETTE—French Prisoners' Vault in the Castle.

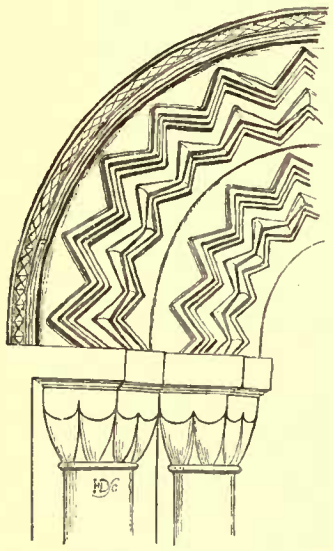
of Scotland is kept. The apartment is a massive bomb-proof vault, and contains, along with these national treasures, the old, iron-bound oak chest in which they were found in the year 1817. The remarkably elegant crown is referred, with every probability, to the era of Bruce, although it was not adorned with the graceful concentric arches of gold till the reign of James V. It was further completed by the substitution of the present cap of crimson velvet by James VII. for the former purple one, which had suffered during its concealment in the civil wars. Next in interest to the crown is the beautiful sword of state, presented by Pope Julius II. to James IV. The scabbard is richly wrought with filigree work of silver, representing oak boughs adorned with leaves and acorns,—an oak tree being the heraldic device of that warlike Pontiff. In addition to the finely proportioned sceptre, surmounted with statues of the Virgin, St Andrew, and St James, which was made for James V., these interesting national relics are accompanied by the royal jewels, bequeathed by Cardinal York, the last of the Stuarts, to George IV., including the George and collar of the Order of the Garter, presented by Queen Elizabeth to James VI.—the badge of the Thistle of the same Monarch, containing a portrait of Anne of Denmark,—and the coronation ring of Charles I.

The north side of this quadrangle now consists of a plain and uninteresting range of barracks, erected about the middle of last century, previous to which time the site was occupied by a church of large dimensions and great antiquity. It is described by Maitland as "a very long and large ancient church, which," says he, "from its spacious dimensions, I imagine that it was not only built for the use of the small garrison, but for the service of the neighbouring inhabitants, before St Giles's Church was erected for their accommodation."[1] Unfortunately, that laborious and painstaking historian, having little taste for ecclesiastical remains, has furnished no account of the style of architecture by which to judge of its probable date, though his idea of its having existed before the earliest church of St Giles, shows his conviction of its very great antiquity, and would carry its foundation back to a much earlier period than can be assigned to it. This most probably was a church that appears to have been built shortly after the death of the pious Queen of Malcolm Canmore, and dedicated to her. It is mentioned by David I. in his charter of Holyrood, as "the Church of the Castle of Edinburgh,"[2] and is again confirmed to the Abbey of the Holy Rood in that of Alexander III., as well as in successive Papal bulls.[3] Robert II. granted to St Margaret's Chapel, within the Castle of Edinburgh, an yearly rent of eight pounds sterling, out of the customs of Edinburgh; and this donation is confirmed by Robert III.[4]

Some idea of the form of the church may be gathered from old views. In the bird's-eye view in Gordon's map, the south elevation is shown; it also forms a prominent object in Sandby's view of the Castle from the east, already referred to, and would seem to have been a comparatively plain edifice, with crow-step gables and small windows, and was, in all probability, an erection in the Norman style that prevailed at the period. From the latter view, it would also appear to have been roofed with stone flags, and ornamented along the ridge with carved pinnacles, such as may still be seen on St Mary's Church at Leith. This church seems to have been applied to secular purposes soon after the Reformation

[1] Maitland, p. 145.
[2] Liber Cartarum, pp. 3–7.
[3] Liber Cartarum, pp. 64, 169, 186.
[4] Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 593.

In 1595, the following entry occurs in the records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh:—"Anent the desyre of James Reid, Constable of the Castell of Edinburgh, in effect craving that, seing thair was ane paroche kirk within the said Castell, command wald be given to John Brand to baptese the barnis borne in the Castell. The Presbyterie understanding that the kirk thairof is unreparitt, willis the said Constable to repair the same, and to dedicatt it for na uther use bot for preiching. Thairefter his desyre sal be answerit."[1] Eight years afterwards, it appears, from the same records, that the question of its being a parish was disputed, and still under discussion, and so it remains even to our own day. When Maitland wrote, the old church was divided by floors, and converted into an armoury and storehouse; and soon after his time, it must have been entirely demolished.



We have been the more careful in describing the site and general character of the ancient Church of the Castle, in order to prevent its being confounded with a singularly curious and interesting ecclesiastical edifice still remaining there, immediately to the west of the garrison chapel, the existence of which seems to have been totally lost sight of. Its external appearance, though little calculated to excite attention, leaves little reason to doubt that the original walls remain. It is still in a tolerably perfect condition, consisting of a very small building, measuring sixteen feet six inches, by ten feet six inches within the nave, probably the smallest, as well as the most ancient chapel in Scotland. At the east end, there is a neatly carved, double, round arch, separating it from a semicircular chancel, with a plain alcoved ceiling. It is decorated with the usual Norman zigzag mouldings, and finished on the outer side by a border of lozenge-shaped ornaments, the pattern of which is curiously altered as it approaches the spring of the arch. No traces of ornament are now apparent within the chancel, a portion of the building usually so highly decorated, but the space is so small, that the altar, with its customary appendages, would render any further embellishment immaterial. There have been formerly two pillars on each side, supporting the arch, with plain double cushion capitals, which still remain, as well as two of the bases, but the shafts of all the pillars are now wanting, and the opening of the arch is closed in with a rude brick partition in order to adapt the chancel to its modern use as a powder magazine. The original windows of the chapel have all been built up or enlarged, but sufficient remains can be traced to show that they have been plain, round-headed, and very narrow openings. The original doorway is also built up, but may still be seen in the north wall, close to the west end, an arrangement not unusual in such small chapels, and nearly similar to that at Craigmillar Castle. This interesting edifice is now abandoned to the same uses as the larger church was in

[1] Wodrow Misc., vol. i. p. 463.

VIGNETTE—Mouldings of the Chancel Arch, from the Chapel in the Castle

Maitland's time, and is divided into two stories by a floor which conceals the upper portion of the chancel arch.

This chapel is, without doubt, the most ancient building now existing in Edinburgh, and may, with every probability, be regarded as having been the place of worship of the pious Queen Margaret, during her residence in the Castle, till her death in 1093. It is in the same style, though of a plainer character, as the earliest portions of Holyrood Abbey, begun in the year 1128; and it is worthy of remark, that the era of Norman architecture is one in which many of the most interesting ecclesiastical edifices in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh were founded, including Holyrood Abbey, St Giles's Church, and the parish churches of Duddingston, Ratho, Kirkliston, and Dalmeny, all of which, with the exception of St Giles's Church, still contain interesting remains of that era.[1]

The present garrison chapel is almost entirely a modern building, though including in its walls portions of a former edifice of considerable antiquity. Immediately north of this is the King's Bastion, or mortar battery, upon which is placed the famous old cannon, MONS MEG. This ancient national relic, which is curiously constructed of iron staves and hoops, was removed to the Tower of London in 1754, in consequence of an order from the Board of Ordnance to the governor to send thither all unserviceable cannon in the Castle. It lay there for seventy years, until it was restored to Scotland by George IV., in 1829, mainly in consequence of the intercessions of Sir Walter Scott. The form of its ancient wooden carriage is represented on the sculptured stone, already described, over the entrance of the Ordnance Office, but that having broken down shortly after its return to Scotland, it has since been mounted on an elegant modern carriage of cast-iron. On this a series of inscriptions have been introduced, embodying the usually received traditions as to its history, which derive the name from its supposed construction at Mons, in Flanders. There is good reason, however, for believing that local repute has erred on this point, and that this famous piece of artillery is a native of the land to which all its traditions belong. The evidence for this interesting fact was first communicated in a letter from that diligent antiquary, Mr Train, to Sir Walter Scott, and affords proof, from the local traditions of Galloway, that this huge piece of ordnance was presented to James II. in 1455, by the M'Lellans, when he arrived with an army at Carlingwark, to besiege William Earl of Douglas, in the Castle of Threave. We have compressed into a note the main facts of this interesting communication respecting the pedigree of Mons Meg, which Sir Walter thus unhesitatingly attests in his reply: "You have traced her propinquity so clearly, as henceforth to set all conjecture aside."[2]

[1] Our attention was first directed to this chapel by being told, in answer to our inquiries after the antiquities of the Castle, that a font still existed in a cellar to the west of the garrison chapel; it proved, on inspection, to be the socket of one of the chancel pillars. In further confirmation of the early date we are disposed to assign to this chapel, we may remark that the building gifted by David I. to his new Abbey, is styled in all the earlier charters, *Ecclesia*—"concedimus ecclesiam, scilicet Castelli cum omnibus appendiciis,"—a description we can hardly conceive referable to so small a chapel, while those of Corstorphine and Libberton are merely *Capellæ*,—dependencies of the Church of St Cuthbert—and neither the style of this building, nor the probability derived from the practice of the period, admit of the idea that so small a chapel would be erected apart from the church after its completion.

In "The inventare of golden and silver werk being in the Castell of Edinburgh," 8th Nov. 1543, the following items occur:—"The Chapell geir of silver ouregilt, ane croce of silver with our Lady and Sanct John,—Tua chaudleris,—ane chalice and ane patine,—aue halie watter fatt," &c., &c., all "of silver ouregilt. Chapell geir ungilt. Ane croce of silver,—tua chandleris of silver,—ane bell of silver,—ane halie watter fatt, with the stick of silver,—ane caise of silver for the mess breid, with the cover," &c.—Inventory of Royal Wardrobe, &c., 4to, Edinburgh, 1815, p. 112.

[2] Contemporaries of Burns. Joseph Train, p. 200.—The Earl of Douglas having seized Sir Patrick M'Lellan,

The high estimation in which this huge cannon was anciently held, appears from numerous notices of it in early records. Mons Meg was taken, by order of James IV., from Edinburgh Castle on 10th July 1489, to be employed at the siege of Dumbarton, on which occasion there is an entry in the treasurer's books of eighteen shillings for drink-money to the gunners. The same records again notice her transportation from the Castle to the Abbey of Holyrood, during the same reign, apparently at a period of national festivity. Some of the entries on this occasion are curious, such as,—"to the menstrallis that playit befoir *Mons* down the gait, fourteen shillings; eight elle of claith, to be *Mons* a claith to cover her, nine shillings and fourpence," &c. In the festivities celebrated at Edinburgh by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, on the marriage of her daughter, Queen Mary, to the Dauphin of France, Mons Meg testified with loudest acclaim the general joy. The treasurer's accounts contain the following item on the occasion:—"By the Queenis precept and speciale command, to certane pyonaris for thair lauboris in the mounting of *Mons* furth of her lair to be schote, and for the finding and carying of hir bullet after scho wes shot, fra Weirdie Mure,[1] to the Castell of Edinburgh," &c.

In the list of ordnance delivered by the governor to Colonel Monk, on the surrender of the Castle in 1650, *Meg* receives, with all due prominence, the designation of "the great iron murderer, Muckle Meg."[2] This justly celebrated cannon, after sustaining for centuries, in so credible a manner, the dignity of her pre-eminent greatness, at length burst

tutor of Bomby, the Sheriff of Galloway, and chief of a powerful clan, carried him prisoner to Threave Castle, where he caused him to be hanged on "The Gallows Knob," a granite block which still remains, projecting over the main gateway of the Castle. The act of forfeiture, passed by Parliament in 1455, at length furnished an opportunity, under the protection of Government, of throwing off that iron yoke of the Douglasses under which Galloway had groaned upwards of eighty years. When James II. arrived with an army at Carlingwark, to besiege the Castle of Threave, the M'Lellans presented his Majesty with the piece of ordnance, now called *Mons Meg*, to batter down the fortlet of the rebellious chieftain. The first discharge of this great gun is said to have consisted of a peck of powder and a granite ball, nearly as heavy as a Galloway cow. This ball is believed, in its course through the Castle of Threave, to have carried away the hand of Margaret de Douglas, commonly called the Fair Maid of Galloway, as she sat at table with her lord, and was in the act of raising the wine-cup to her lips. Old people still maintain that the vengeance of God was thereby evidently manifested in destroying the hand which had been given in wedlock to two brothers, and that even while the lawful spouse of the first was alive. As a recompense for the present of this extraordinary engine of war, and for the loyalty of the M'Lellans, the King, before leaving Galloway, erected the town of Kirkcudbright into a royal burgh, and granted to *Brawny Kim*, the smith, the lands of Mollance, in the neighbourhood of Threave Castle. Hence the smith was called Mollance, and his wife's name being Meg, the cannon, in honour of her, received the appellative of "Mollance Meg." There is no smithy now at the "Three Thorns of Carlingwark;" but a few years ago, when making the great military road to Portpatrick, which passes that way, the workmen had to cut through a deep bed of cinders and ashes, which plainly showed that there had been an extensive forge on that spot at some former period. Although the lands of Mollance have now passed into other hands, there are several persons of the name of Kim, blacksmiths, in this quarter, who are said to be descendants of the brawny makers of Mollance Meg. It is likewise related, that while Brawny Kim and his seven sons were constructing the cannon at the "Three Thorns of the Carlingwark," another party was busily employed in making balls of granite on the top of Bennan Hill, and that, as each ball was finished, they rolled it down the rocky declivity facing Threave Castle. One of these balls is still shown at Balmaghie House, the residence of Captain Gordon, in that neighbourhood, and corresponds exactly in size and quality with those carried with the cannon to Edinburgh. As the balls in the Castle are evidently of Galloway granite, a strong presumptive proof is afforded that Mons Meg was of Galloway origin. Some years ago, Threave Castle was partially repaired under the superintendence of Sir Alexander Gordon of Culvennan, Sheriff-Depute of the Stewartry; and one of the workmen, when digging up some rubbish within the walls, found a massive gold ring, with an inscription on it, purporting that the ring had belonged to the same Margaret de Douglas,—a circumstance seeming to confirm a part of the tradition. This curious relic was purchased from the person who found it, by Sir Alexander Gordon.—In addition to this, Symson, in his work written nearly an hundred and sixty years ago, says: "The common report also goes in that country, that in the Isle of Threaves, the great iron gun in the Castle of Edinburgh, commonly called Mount Meg, was wrought and made." This statement should, of itself, set the question at rest. For further evidence, see History of Galloway, Appendix, vol. i. pp. 25–38.

[1] Wardie is fully two miles north from the Castle, near Granton.

[2] Provincial Antiquities, p. 21.

in 1682, in firing a royal salute to the Duke of York, afterwards James VII., a circumstance that did not fail to be noted at the time as an evil omen.[1] On her restoration to Edinburgh, in 1829 (from which she had been taken as a lump of old iron), she was again received with the honours accorded to her in ancient times, and was attended in grand procession, and with a military guard of honour, from Leith to her ancient quarters in the Castle.[2]

Near the battery on which this ancient relic now stands is situated the postern gate, as it is termed, which forms the western boundary of the inner fortification, or citadel of the Castle. Immediately without this, the highest ground was known, till the erection of the new barracks, by the name of Hawk-Hill,[3] and doubtless indicated the site of the falconry in earlier times, while the Castle was a royal residence. Numerous entries in the treasurers' books attest the attachment of the Scottish Kings to the noble sport of hawking, and the very high estimation in which these birds were held.

On the northern slope of the Esplanade, without the Castle wall, there still exists a long, low archway, like the remains of a subterraneous passage, the walls being of rubble work, and the arch neatly built of hewn stone. Until the enclosure and planting of the ground excluded the public from the spot, this was popularly known as the Lions' Den, and was believed to have been a place of confinement for some of these animals, kept, according to ancient custom, for the amusement of the Scottish monarchs, though it certainly looks much more like a covered way to the Castle.[4] Storer, in his description of the West Bow, mentions a house "from which there is a vaulted passage to the Castle Hill," as a thing then (1818) well known, the house being reported to have afforded in earlier times a place of meeting for the Council. This tradition of an underground way from the Castle, is one of very old and general belief; and the idea was further strengthened, by the discovery of remains of a subterranean passage crossing below Brown's Close, Castle Hill, in paving it about the beginning of the present century.[5] At the bottom of the same slope, on the margin of the hollow that once formed the bed of the North Loch, stand the ruins of an ancient fortification, called the Well-house Tower, which dates as early at least as the erection of the first town wall, in 1450. It formed one of the exterior works of the Castle, and served, as its name implies, to secure to the garrison comparatively safe access to a spring of water at the base of the precipitous rock. Some interesting discoveries were made relative to this fortification during the operations in the year 1821, preparatory to the conversion of the North Loch into pleasure grounds. The removal of a quantity of rubbish brought a covered way to light, leading along the southern wall of the tower to a strongly fortified doorway, evidently intended as a sally port, and towards which the

[1] Fountainhall's Chron. Notes, No. 1.

[2] A curious and ancient piece of brass ordnance, now preserved in the Antiquarian Museum, is worthy of notice here from its connection with Edinburgh. It was found on the battlements of Bhurtpore, when taken by Lord Combermere, and bears the inscription—JACOBUS MONTEITH ME FECIT, EDINBURGH, ANNO DOM. 1642.

[3] Kincaid, p. 137. "The governor appointed a centinell on the Hauke Hill, to give notice so soon as he saw the mortar piece fired."—Siege of the Castle, 1689. Bann. Club, p. 55.

[4] A very curious monumental stone stands near the top of the bank, but it can hardly be included, with propriety, among our local antiquities. It was brought from Sweden, and presented many years since to the Society of Antiquaries by Sir Alex. Setoun of Preston. There is engraved on it a serpent encircling a cross, and on the body of the serpent a Runic inscription, signifying,—Ari engraved this stone in memory of Hialm, his father. God help his soul. Vide Archæologia Scotica, vol. ii. p. 490.

[5] Chambsrs's Traditions, vol. i. p. 156.

defences of the tower were principally directed. The walls are here of very great thickness, and pierced by a square cavity in the solid mass, for the reception of a sliding beam to secure the door, while around it are the remains of various additional fortifications to protect the covered way.

During the same operations, indications were discovered of a pathway up the cliff, partly by means of steps cut in the shelving rock, and probably completed by moveable ladders and a drawbridge communicating with the higher story of the Well-house Tower. About seventy feet above, there is a small building on an apparently inaccessible projection of the cliff, popularly known as "Wallace's Cradle"[1] (an obvious corruption of the name of the tower below), which would seem to have formed a part of this access from the Castle to the ancient fountain at its base. In excavating near the tower, and especially in the neighbourhood of the sally port, various coins were found, chiefly those of Edward III. and Cromwell, in very good preservation. There were also some foreign coins, and one of Edward I., many fragments of bombshells, a shattered skull, and other indications of former warfare. The coins are now in the Antiquarian Museum, and are interesting from some of them being of a date considerably anterior to the supposed erection of the tower.[2]

The ancient fortifications of the town of Edinburgh, reared under the charter of James II., formed, at this part, in reality an advanced wall of the Castle, the charge of which was probably committed entirely to the garrison. The wall, after extending for a short way from the Well-house Tower, along the margin of the Loch, was carried up the Castle bank, and thence over the declivity on the south, until it again took an easterly direction towards the ancient Overbow Port, at the first turning of the West Bow, so that the whole of the Esplanade was separated from the town by this defence. There was in the highest part of the wall, a gate which served as a means of communication with the town by the Castle Hill, and was styled the Barrier Gate of the Castle. This outer port was temporarily restored for the reception of George IV., on his visit to the Castle in the year 1822, and it was again brought into requisition in 1832, in order completely to isolate the garrison, during the prevalence of Asiatic cholera.

Previous to the enclosure and planting of the Castle bank and the bed of the ancient North Loch, the Esplanade was the principal promenade of the citizens, and a road led from the top of the bank, passing in an oblique direction down the north side, by the Well-house Tower, to St Cuthbert's Church, some indications of which still remain. This church road had existed from a very early period, and is mentioned in the charter of

[1] The following extracts from the Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 332–3, in reference to the siege of the Castle by Sir William Drury in 1573 (ante, p. 84), embrace various interesting allusions to the local detail:—"Wpoun the xxij day of Maij, the south quarter of the toure of the Castell, callit Dauid's toure, fell through the vehement and continuall schuting, togidder with some of the foir wall, and of the heid wall besyd Sanct Margaretis zet.

"Wpoun the xxiiij day, the eist quarter of the said tour fell, with the north quarteris of the port culzeis; the tour als callit Wallace tour, with some mair of the foir wall, notwithstanding the Castell men kust thair hand with schutting of small artailzerie. . . . . Wpoun the xxvj day, the haill cumpanyis of Scotland and Ingland, being quietlie convenit at vij houris in the mornyng, passed with ledders, ane half to the blockhous, the vther half to Sanct Katherin's zet, on the west syd, quhair the syid wes schote doun." The Castle was at length rendered by Sir William Kirkaldy on the 29th of the month. In Calderwood's History, Wodrow Soc., vol. iii. 281, the following occurs, of the same date:—"Captain Mitchell was layed with his band at Sanct Cuthbert's Kirk, to stoppe the passage to St Margaret's Well." Also in "The Inventory of Royal Wardrobe," &c., p. 168,—"Item, ane irne yet for Sanct Margareth's tour," &c.

[2] Archæologia Scotica, vol. ii. pp. 469-477.

David I. to Holyrood Abbey, in the description of the lands lying under the Castle. In the old song, entitled "The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy," to which Allan Ramsay added some verses, the laird addresses his mistress,—

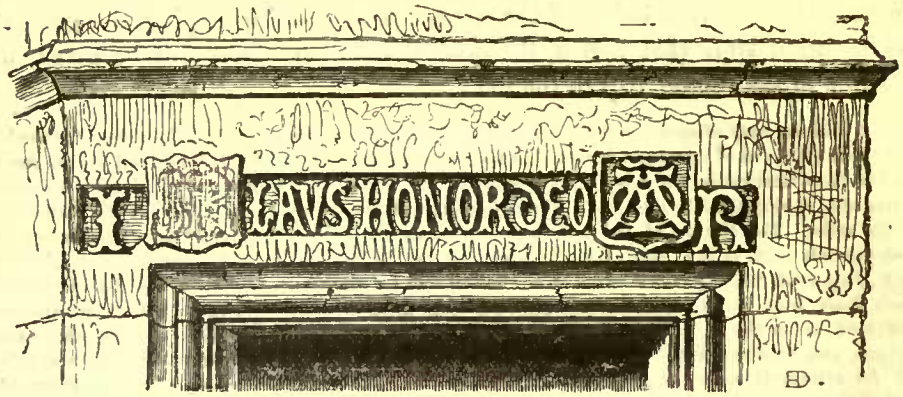
> My dear, quoth I, thanks to the Night
> That never wisht a Lover ill;
> Since ye 're out of your Mither's sight,
> Let 's take a walk up to the Hill.

In a footnote the poet adds—"The *Castle Hill*, where young people frequently take the air on an evening," but the local allusions of the earlier stanza are not carried out in his additions.[1] This favourite walk of the citizens has been greatly improved since then, by levelling and the construction of parapet walls. In an act passed in the reign of Queen Anne, for the better keeping of the Lord's Day, it is specially mentioned, along with the King's Park and the Pier of Leith, as the most frequent scene of the Sunday promenadings that then excited the stern rebukes of the clergy; and, notwithstanding the great changes that have occurred since that period, the same description might still be given, with the single addition of the Calton Hill to the list.

[1] The Castle Hill was very often made the scene of public executions, and was particularly famous for the burning of witches, and those convicted of unnatural crimes. In the reign of James IV., in 1538, John Lord Forbes was beheaded here, and a few days afterwards, the Lady Glamis, sister of the Earl of Angus, was burnt alive, on a charge of high treason. Here also, during the following reign, Foret, the Vicar of Dollar, and several others of the earliest reformers, perished at the stake. The Diurnal of Occurrents records many other executions, such as—"September 1st, 1570, thair wer tua personis brint in the Castell Hill of Edinburgh, for the committing of ane horrible sinne." Birrel again mentions, *e.g.*, July 1605, "Henry Lourie brunt on the Castell Hill for witchcraft, committed and done by him in Kyle;" and in Nicol's Diary, from 1650 to 1667, including the period of the Commonwealth, executions on this spot occur with painful frequency, as on the 15th of October 1656, when seven culprits, including three women, were executed for different crimes, two of whom were burnt. Again, "9th March 1659, thair wer fyve wemen, witches, brint on the Castell Hill for witchcraft, all of them confessand thair covenanting with Satan, sum of thame renunceand thair baptisme, all of thame oft tymes dancing with the Devill." In the reign of Charles I. a novel character was assigned to it. The Earl of Stirling, having obtained leave to colonise Nova Scotia, and sell the *honour* of the baronetage to two hundred imaginary colonists, the difficulty of infeoffing the knights in their remote possessions was overcome by a royal mandate converting the soil of the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, for the time being, into that of Nova Scotia, and the new baronets were accordingly invested with their honours on this spot.

CHAPTER II.

KING'S STABLES, CASTLE BARNS, AND CASTLE HILL.



PREVIOUS to the discovery of gunpowder, and while its destructive powers remained only very partially understood, the vicinity of the Castle seems to have been eagerly selected as a desirable locality for the erection of dwellings, that might thus in some degree share in the protection which its fortifications secured to those within the walls; and we find, accordingly, in its immediate neighbourhood, considerable remains of ancient grandeur. Before examining these, however, we may remark, that a general and progressive character prevails throughout the features of our domestic architecture, many of which are peculiar to Scotland, and some of them only to be found in Edinburgh.

Various specimens of the rude dwellings of an early date remain in the Grassmarket, the Pleasance, and elsewhere, which, though more or less modified to adapt them to modern habits and manners, still retain the main primitive features of a substantial stone ground-flat, surmounted with a second story of wood, generally approached by an outside stair, and exhibiting irregular and picturesque additions, stuck on, like the clusters of swallows' nests that gather round the parent dwelling, as the offshoots of the family increase and demand accommodation.

In buildings of more pretension, the character of the mouldings and general form of the doorway, the ornaments of the gables, the shape of the windows, even the pitch of the roof, and, what is more interesting than any of these, the style and character of the inscriptions

VIGNETTE—Lintel from the Guise Palace, Blyth's Close.

so generally placed on them, all afford tests as to the period of their erection, fully as definite and trustworthy as those that mark the progressive stages of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Middle Ages. The earliest form of the crow-stepped gable presents a series of pediments surmounting the steps, occasionally highly ornamented, and always giving a rich effect to the building. Probably the very latest specimen of this, in Edinburgh, is the fine old building of the Mint, in the Cowgate, which bears the date 1574 over its principal entrance, while its other ornaments are similar to many of a more recent date. After the adoption of the plain square crow-step, it seems still to have been held as an important feature of the building; in many of the older houses, the arms or initials, or some other device of the owner, are to be found on the lowest of them, even where the buildings are so lofty as to place them almost out of sight. The dormer window, surmounted with the thistle, rose, &c., and the high-peaked gable to the street, are no less familiar features in our older domestic architecture. Many specimens, also, of windows originally divided by stone mullions, and with lead casements, still remain in the earliest mansions of the higher classes; and in several of these there are stone recesses or niches of a highly ornamental character, the use of which has excited considerable discussion among antiquaries. A later form of window than the last, exhibits the upper part glazed, and finished below with a richly carved wooden transom, while the under half is closed with shutters, occasionally highly adorned on the exterior with a variety of carved ornaments.

Towards the close of Charles II.'s reign, an entirely new order of architecture was adopted, engrafting the mouldings and some of the principal features of the Italian style upon the forms that previously prevailed. The Golfers' Land in the Canongate is a good and early specimen of this. The gables are still steep, and the roofs of a high pitch; and while the front assumes somewhat of the character of a pediment, the crow-steps are retained on the side gables; but these features soon after disappear, and give way to a regular pediment, surmounted with urns, and the like ornaments,—a very good specimen of which remains on the south side of the Castle Hill, as well as others in various parts of the Old Town. The same district still presents good specimens of the old wooden fronted lands, with their fore stairs and handsome inside turnpike from the first floor, the construction of which Maitland affirms to be coeval with the destruction of the extensive forests of the Borough Muir, in the reign of James IV. We furnish a view of some other remarkably picturesque specimens of the same style of building in this locality, recently demolished to make way for the New College. All these various features of the ancient domestic architecture of the Scottish Capital will come under review in the course of the Work, in describing the buildings most worthy of notice that still remain, or have been demolished during the present century.

Immediately below the Castle rock, on its south side, there exists an ancient appendage of the Royal Palace of the Castle, still retaining the name of the King's Stables, although no hoof of the royal stud has been there for wellnigh three centuries. This district lies without the line of the ancient city wall, and was therefore not only in an exposed situa-

tion for the royal stables, but the approach to it from the Castle must have been by a very inconvenient and circuitous route, although it was immediately overlooked by the windows of the royal apartments. It seems more probable that the earliest buildings on this site were erected in the reign of James IV., when the low ground to the westward was the scene of frequent tiltings and of magnificent tournaments, the fame of which spread throughout Europe, and attracted the most daring knights-errant to that chivalrous Monarch's Court.[1] Considerable accommodation would be required for the horses and attendants on these occasions, as well as for the noble combatants, among whom the King, it is well known, was no idle spectator; but the buildings of that date, which we presume to have been reared for these public combats, were probably only of a temporary nature, as they were left without the extended wall, built at the commencement of the following reign, in 1513, a procedure not likely to have taken place had they been of much value. Maitland, however, mentions a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the remains of which were visible in his time (1750) at the foot of the Chapel Wynd; and Kincaid,[2] who wrote towards the close of the century, speaks of them as still remaining there; but since then they have entirely disappeared, and nothing but the name of the Wynd, which formed the approach to the chapel, survives to indicate its site. This may, with every probability, be presumed to have been at the point of junction with that and the Lady's Wynd, both evidently named from their proximity to the same chapel.

On this locality, now occupied by the meanest buildings, James IV. was wont to preside at the joustings of the knights and barons of his Court, and to present the meed of honour to the victor from his own hand; or, as in the famous encounter, already related, between Sir Patrick Hamilton and a Dutch knight, to watch the combat from the Castle walls, and from thence to act as umpire of the field. The greater portion of the ancient tilting ground remained unenclosed when Maitland wrote, and is described by him as a pleasant green, about one hundred and fifty yards long and fifty broad, adjoining the chapel of the Virgin Mary, on the west. But this "pleasant green" is now crowded with slaughter-houses, tan-pits, and dwellings of the humblest description.

In the challenge in 1571, between Alexander Stewart, younger, of Garlies, and Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, the place of combat proposed is, "upon the ground the baresse be-west the West Port of Edinburgh, the place accustomed, and of old appointed, for triell of suche maters."[3] The exact site of this interesting spot is now occupied in part by the western approach, which crosses it immediately beyond the Castle Bridge; it is defined in one of the title-deeds of the ground, acquired by the City Improvements Commission, as "All and haill these houses and yards of Orchardfield, commonly called Livingston's Yards, comprehending therein that piece of ground called The Barras."

The interest attaching to these scenes of ancient feats of arms has been preserved by successive events almost to our own day. In 1661 the King's Stables were purchased by the Town Council for £1000 Scots, and the admission of James Boisland, the seller, to the freedom of the city.[4] The right, however, of the new possessors, to whom they would seem to have been resold, was made a subject of legal investigation at a later date. Foun-

[1] Ante, p. 23.
[2] Maitland, p. 172. Kincaid, p. 103.
[3] Calderwood's Hist., Wod. Soc., vol. iii. p. 108.
[4] Coun. Reg., vol. xx. p. 268, apud Kincaid, p. 103.

tainhall records, 11th March 1685, a reduction pursued by the Duke of Queensberry, as Constable and Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, against Thomas Boreland and the other heritors and possessors of the King's Stables, alleging that they were a part of the Castle. The proprietors claimed to hold their property by virtue of a *feu* granted in the reign of James V. But the judges decided, that unless the defenders could prove a legal dissolution of the royal possession, they must be held as the King's Stables, belonging to the Castle, and accordingly annexed to the Crown. Thomas Boreland's house still stands,[1] immediately behind the site of the old Corn Market. It is a handsome and substantial erection, adorned with picturesque gables and dormer windows, which form a prominent feature in the oft-repeated view of "the Castle from the Vennel;" and from the date, 1675, which still appears over the main doorway, we may presume that this substantial mansion, then so recently erected, had its full influence in directing the attention of the Duke of Queensberry to this pendicle of the royal patrimony. It bears over the entrance, in addition to the date, the initials T. B. and V. B., those of the proprietor, and probably of his brother or wife; and above them is boldly carved the loyal inscription,

FEAR · GOD · HONOR · THE · KING.

It may reasonably be presumed that the owner must have regarded the concessions demanded from him on behalf of royalty, so speedily thereafter, as a somewhat freer translation of his motto than he had any conception of, when he inscribed it where it should daily remind him of the duties of a good subject.

Several of the neighbouring houses are evidently of considerable antiquity, and may, with little hesitation, be referred to a much earlier date than this. Their latest reflection of the privileges of royalty has been that of affording sanctuary for a brief period to debtors, a right of protection pertaining to the precincts of royal residences, now entirely fallen into desuetude there, though affirmed to have proved available for this purpose within the memory of some aged neighbours.[2]

A little to the west of this, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Canal Basin, is a place still bearing the name of the Castle Barns. It is described by Maitland as for the accommodation of the Court when the King resided in the Castle, and it no doubt occasionally sufficed for such a purpose; but the name implies its having been the grange or farm attached to the royal residence, and this is further confirmed by earlier maps, where a considerable portion of ground, now lying on both sides of the Lothian Road, is included under the term.

But the most interesting portion of Edinburgh connected with the Castle, is its ancient approach. Under the name of the Castle Hill, is included not only the broad Esplanade extending between the fortifications and the town, but also a considerable district, formerly bounded on the south by the West Bow, and containing many remarkable and once patrician alleys and mansions, the greater portion of which have disappeared in the course of the extensive changes effected of late years on that part of the town.

A singularly picturesque and varied mass of buildings forms the nearest portion of the town to the Castle, on the south side of the approach, though there existed formerly a very old house between this and the Castle, as delineated in Gordon's map. This group is

[1] Disposition of House in Portsburgh, Council Charter Room.

[2] Chambers's Traditions, vol. i. p. 99.

bounded on the east by Brown's Close, and forms a detached block of houses of various dates and styles, all exhibiting considerable remains of former magnificence.

The house that now forms the south-west angle towards the Castle Hill bears, on the pediment of a dormer window facing the Castle, the date 1630, with the initials A. M., M. N.; and there still remains, sticking in the wall, a cannon ball, said to have been shot from the Castle during the cannonade of 1745, though we are assured that it was placed there by order of government, to indicate that no building would be permitted on that side nearer the Castle. Through this land[1] there is an alley called Blair's Close, leading by several curious windings into an open court behind. At the first angle in the close, a handsome gothic doorway, of very elegant workmanship, meets the view, forming the entry to a turnpike stair. The doorway is surmounted with an ogee arch, in the tympanum of which is somewhat rudely sculptured a coronet with supporters,—"two deer-hounds," says Chambers, "the well-known supporters of the Duke of Gordon's arms."[2] This accords with the local tradition, which states it to have been the town mansion of that noble family; but the style of this doorway, and the substantial character of the whole building, leave no room to doubt that it is an erection of a much earlier date than the Dukedom, which was only created in 1684. Tradition, however, which is never to be despised in questions of local antiquity, proves to be nearly correct in this case, as we find, in one of the earliest titles to the property now in the possession of the City Improvements Commission, endorsed, "Disposition of House be Sir Robert Baird to William Baird, his second son, 1694," it is thus defined,—"All and hail that my lodging in the Castel Hill of Edinburgh, formerly possessed by the Duchess of Gordon." This appears, from the date of the disposition, to have been the first Duchess, Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk. She retired to a Convent in Flanders during the lifetime of the Duke, but afterwards returned to Edinburgh, where she principally resided till her death, which took place at the Abbey Hill in 1732, sixteen years after that of her husband.

In 1711, her Grace excited no small stir in Edinburgh, by sending to the Dean and Faculty of Advocates, "a silver medal, with a head of the Pretender on one side, and on the other the British Isles, with the word *Reddite*." On the Dean presenting the medal, the propriety of accepting it was keenly discussed, when twelve only, out of seventy-five members present, testified their favour for the House of Hanover by voting its rejection.[3]

The most recent of the interior fittings of this mansion appear old enough to have remained from the time of its occupation by the Duchess. It is finished throughout with wooden panelling, and one large room in particular, overlooking the Castle Esplanade, is elegantly decorated with rich carvings, and with a painting (one of old Norie's[4] pictorial adornments) filling a panel over the chimney-piece, and surrounded by an elaborate piece

[1] The term *Land*, in this and similar instances throughout the Work, is used according to its Scottish acceptation, and signifies a building of several stories of separate dwellings, communicating by a common stair.

[2] Traditions, vol. i. p. 153.

[3] Douglas's Peerage, vol. i. p. 654.

[4] Norie, a house-decorator and painter of the last century, whose works are very common, painted on the panels of the older houses in Edinburgh. Pinkerton remarks, in his introduction to the "Scottish Gallery," 1799,—"Norie's genius for landscapes entitles him to a place in the list of Scotch painters."

of carved wood work, exhibiting traces of gilding. An explosion of gunpowder, which took place in the lower part of the house in 1811, attended with loss of life, entirely destroyed the ancient fireplace, which was of a remarkably beautiful Gothic design.

Notwithstanding the comparatively modern decorations, the house still retains unequivocal remains of a much earlier period. The sculptured doorway in Blair's Close, already alluded to, forming the original main entrance to the whole building, is specially worthy of notice, and would of itself justify us in assigning its erection to the earlier part of the sixteenth century. It very nearly corresponds with one still remaining on the west side of Blackfriar's Wynd, the entrance to the turnpike stair of an ancient mansion, which appears. from the title-deeds of a neighbouring property, to have been the residence of the Earl of Morton. In the latter example, the heraldic supporters, though equally rudely sculptured, present somewhat more distinctly the same features as in the other, and both are clearly intended for unicorns.[1]

The south front of the building is finished with a parapet, adorned with gurgoils in the shape of cannons, and on the first floor[2] (in Blair's Close) there is still remaining an ancient fireplace of huge old-fashioned dimensions. The jambs are neatly carved Gothic pillars, similar in design to several that formerly existed in the Guise Palace, Blyth's Close; and the whole is now enclosed, and forms a roomy coal-cellar, after having been used as a bedcloset by the previous tenant in these degenerate days. As late as 1783, this part of the old mansion was the residence of John Grieve, Esq., then Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

This house has apparently been one of special note in early times from its substantial magnificence. It is described in one of the deeds as "that tenement or dwelling-house called the *Sclate House* of old, of the deceased Patrick Edgar," a definition repeated in several others, evidently to distinguish it from its humble thatched neighbours, "lying on the south side of the High Street of Edinburgh, near the Castle wall, between the lands of the deceased Mr A. Syme, advocate, on the east, the close of the said Patrick Edgar on the west," &c. It is alluded to in the Diurnal of Occurrents, 7th September 1570, where the escape of Robert Hepburn, younger of Wauchtoun, from the Earl of Morton's adherents, is described. It is added—"He came to the Castell of Edinburgh, quhairin he was ressauit with great difficultie; for when he was passand in at the said Castell zett, his adversaries were at Patrik Edgar his hous end."[3] This mansion was latterly possessed, as we have seen, by the Newbyth family, by whom it was held for several generations; and here it was that the gallant Sir David Baird was born and brought up.[4] It is said also to have been

[1] The adoption of the royal supporters may possibly have been an assumption of the Regent's, in virtue of his exercise of the functions of royalty. In which case, the building on the Castle Hill might be presumed also to be his, and deserted by him from its dangerous proximity to the Castle, when held by his rivals. This, however, is mere conjecture. A note in the Diurnal of Occurrents, 20th Nov. 1572, states—"In this menetyme, James Earle of Mortoun, regent, lay deidlie seik; his Grace was lugeit in Williame Craikis lugeing on the south syid of the trone, in Edinburgh."

[2] To prevent misconception in the description of buildings, we may state that, throughout the Work, the floors of buildings are to be understood thus:—Sunk, or area floor, ground floor, first floor, second floor, &c., reckoning from below.

[3] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 186.

[4] On Sir David Baird's return from the Spanish Campaign, he visited his birth-place, and examined with great interest the scenes where he had passed his boyhood. Chambers has furnished a lively account of this in his Traditions, vol. i. p. 155.

afterwards possessed by the ancient family of the Nisbets of Dirleton, and by Gordon of Braid; but, if so, it must have been as tenants, as it was sold by Mr Baird to A. Brown, Esq., of Greenbank, from whom it passed successively to his sons, Colonel George Brown, and Captain James Brown, commander of the ship *Alfred*, in the East India Company's service. From these later owners, Brown's Close, where the modern entrance to the house is situated, derives its name.

The name of Webster's Close, on the same side of the street, by which Brown's Court was formerly known, served to indicate the site of Dr Webster's house, the originator of the Widows' Scheme, and long one of the ministers of the old Tolbooth Kirk. He was a person of great influence and popularity in his day, and entertained Dr Johnson often at his table during his visit to Edinburgh. At a later period it was occupied by the Rev. Dr Greenfield, Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the University, after whose time it passed through various hands, and closed its career as a cholera hospital, previous to its demolition in 1837, to make way for the Castle Road. Dr Webster built another house immediately adjoining this, from stones taken out of the North Loch. It was first occupied by Mr Hogg as a banking house, and afterwards, for twenty years, by the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, during the whole of which period, Alexander Smellie, Esq., the Emeritus Secretary, resided in the house.

A very handsome old land of considerable breadth stands to the east of this. It presents a polished ashler front to the street, ornamented with string courses, and surmounted by an elegant range of dormer windows, with finials of various design. Over the main entrance, in Boswell's Court, there is a shield bearing a fancy device, with the initials T. L., and the inscription, O · LORD · IN · THE · IS · AL · MI · TRAIST. In a compartment on the left of the shield, there are also the initials, I. L., R. W.; a similar compartment on the right is now defaced.[1]

Immediately to the west of the Assembly Hall, a tall narrow land forms the last remaining building on the south side of the Castle Hill. In the style of its architecture it differs entirely from any of the neighbouring houses, presenting a pediment in front, surmounted with urns, and otherwise adorned according to the fashion that prevailed during the earlier part of the last century.

This house, as appears from the title-deeds, was built by Robert Mowbray, Esq., of Castlewan, in 1740, on the site of an ancient mansion belonging to the Countess Dowager of Hyndford. The keystone of the centre window in the second floor is ornamented with a curiously inwrought cipher of the initials of Robert Mowbray, its builder; from whose possession it passed into that of William, the fourth Earl of Dumfries, who succeeded his mother, Penelope, Countess of Dumfries in her own right, and afterwards, by the death of his

[1] The close, we believe, derives its name from a Dr Boswell, who resided there about eighty years since. We were informed, however, by the good lady who very politely conducted us over the house, that it was the Earl of Bothwell's mansion, "An' nae doubt," said she, as she showed us into the best room, with its fireplace lined with Dutch tiles, "nae doubt mony queer doings hae taen place here between the auld Earl and Queen Mary!" Nothing is so amusing, in investigating our local antiquities, as the constant association of Queen Mary's name with everything that is old, however homely or even ridiculous.

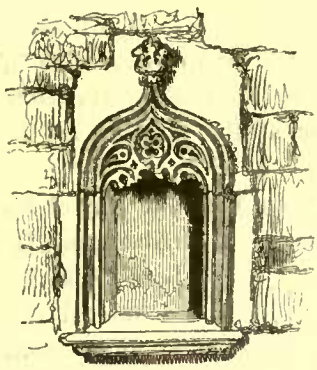
brother, united with it the title of Earl of Stair; a combination of titles in one person, that afforded the wits of last century a favourite source of jest in the supposed recontres of the two noble Earls.

The mansion appears to have passed into this nobleman's possession very shortly after its erection, as among the titles there is a declaration by William Earl of Dumfries, of the date 20th March 1747, "that the back laigh door or passage on the west side of the house, which enters to the garden and property belonging to Mr Charles Hamilton Gordon, advocate, is ane entry of mere tolerance given to me at the pleasure of the owner," &c.

The Earl was succeeded in it by his widow, who, exactly within year and day of his death, married the Honourable Alexander Gordon, son of the second Earl of Aberdeen. On his appointment as a Lord of Session in 1784, he assumed the title of Lord Rockville, from his estate in East Lothian. He was the last titled occupant that inhabited this once patrician dwelling of the Old Town; and the narrow alley that gives access to the court behind, accordingly retains the name of Rockville Close. Within this close, towards the west, there is a plain substantial land now exposed to view by the Castle Road, originally possessed by Elizabeth, Countess Dowager of Hyndford, and sold by her in the year 1740, to Henry, the last Lord Holyroodhouse, who died at his house in the Canongate in 1755.[1] Various ancient closes, and very picturesque front lands that formed the continuation of the southern side of the Castle Hill, have been swept away to give place to the new western approach and the Assembly Hall. One of these, Ross's Court, contained "The great Marquis of Argyle's House in the Castlehill," described by Creech, in his "Fugitive Pieces," as inhabited, at that degenerate period, by a hosier, at a rental of £12 *per annum.* Another of them, Kennedy's Close, though in its latter days a mean and dirty alley, possessed some interesting remains of earlier times. It probably derived its name from a recent occupant, a son of Sir Andrew Kennedy of Clowburn, Baronet; but both from the antique character, and the remains of faded grandeur in some of its buildings, it had doubtless afforded residences for some of the old nobles of the Court of Holyrood. The front land was said to have been the town mansion of the Earls of Cassillis, whose family name is Kennedy. It was adorned, at the entrance to the close, with a handsome stone architrave, supported on two elegant spiral fluted pillars, and the rest of the building presented a picturesque wooden front to the street. Within the close there was another curious old wooden fronted land, which tradition reported as having been at one period a nonjurant Episcopal chapel. An inspection of this building during its demolition, served to show that, although the main fabric was substantial and elegant stone work, the wooden front was an integral part of the original design. It was found that the main beams of the house, of fine old oak, were continued forward through the stone wall, so as to support the wood work beyond, and this was further confirmed by the existence of a large fireplace on the outside of the stone wall; an arrangement which may still be seen in a similarly constructed land at the head of Lady Stair's Close, and probably in others. Within this house there was one of the beautifully sculptured gothic niches, already alluded to, of which we furnish a view, in the state in which it existed when the house was taken down. This we presume

[1] Douglas's Peerage.

to have been the same that Arnot alludes to as one of the private oratories existing in his time, in which "The baptismal fonts are still remaining." It is described by him as a building nigh the Weigh-house, on the south side of the Castle Hill, which has been set apart for devotion.[1] This idea, first suggested by him, of these ornamental niches having been originally intended for baptismal fonts, has been repeated by some of the most careful writers on the antiquities of Edinburgh in our own day, although the fitness of such an appendage to a private oratory seems very questionable indeed. From our own observation, we are inclined to believe that, in the majority of cases, they were simply ornamental recesses or cupboards; and this is the more confirmed, from their most common position being at the side of the fireplace, and the base in nearly all of them being a flat and generally projecting ledge. "We doubt not," Arnot adds, "but that many more of the present dwelling-houses in Edinburgh have formerly been consecrated to religious purposes; but to discover them would be much less material than difficult!" It may reasonably be regretted that one who professed to treat of our local antiquities, should have dismissed, in so summary and contemptuous a manner, this interesting portion of his subject, for which, as he acknowledges, he possessed numerous facilities now beyond our reach.



A house of a very different appearance from any yet described occupies a prominent position on the north Castle bank, and associates the surrounding district with the name of Scotland's great pastoral poet, Allan Ramsay. The house is of a fantastic shape, but it occupies a position that, we may safely say, could not be surpassed in any city in Europe, as the site of a "Poet's Nest." It is surrounded by a beautiful garden, and though now in the very heart of the city, it still commands a magnificent and varied prospect, bounded only on the distant horizon by the Highland hills. At the time of its erection, it was a suburban retreat, uniting the attractions of a country villa, with an easy access to the centre of the city. We have been told by a gentleman of antiquarian tastes, from information communicated to him nearly fifty years ago, that Ramsay applied to the Crown for as much ground from the Castle Hill as would serve him to build a cage for his *burd*, meaning his wife, to whom he was warmly attached, and hence the octagon shape it assumed, not unlike an old parrot cage! If so, she did not live to share its comforts, her death having occurred in 1743. Here the poet retired in his sixtieth year, anticipating the enjoyment of its pleasing seclusion for many years to come; and although he had already exhausted his energies in the diligent pursuit of business, he spent, in this lovely retreat, the chief portion of the last twelve years of his life in ease and tranquil enjoyment, though interrupted towards its close by a painful malady. He was remarkably cheerful and lively to the last, and his powers of conversation were such, that his company was eagerly courted by all ranks of society; yet he delighted in nothing so much as seeing himself surrounded by his own family and their juvenile companions, with whom he would join in their sports with the most hearty life and good-humour.

[1] Arnot, p. 245.

The poet was extremely proud of his new mansion, and appears to have been somewhat surprised to find that its fantastic shape rather excited the mirth than the admiration of his fellow-citizens. The wags of the town compared it to a goose pie; and on his complaining of this one day to Lord Elibank, his lordship replied, "Indeed, Allan, when I see you in it, I think they are not far wrong!"

On the death of Allan Ramsay, in 1757, he was succeeded in his house by his son, the eminent portrait-painter, who added a new front and wing to it, and otherwise modified its original grotesqueness; and since his time it was the residence of the Rev. Dr Baird, late Principal of the University. Some curious discoveries, made in the immediate neighbourhood of the house, in the lifetime of the poet, are thus recorded in the Scots Magazine for 1754,—"About the middle of June, some workmen employed in levelling the upper part of Mr Ramsay's garden, in the Castle Hill, fell upon a subterraneous chamber about fourteen feet square, in which were found an image of white stone, with a crown upon its head, supposed to be the Virgin Mary; two brass candlesticks; about a dozen of ancient Scottish and French coins, and some other trinkets, scattered among the rubbish. By several remains of burnt matter, and two cannon balls, it is guessed that the building above ground was destroyed by the Castle in some former confusion." This, we would be inclined to think, may have formed a portion of the ancient Church of St Andrew, of which so little is known; though, from Maitland's description, the site should perhaps be looked for somewhat lower down the bank. It is thus alluded to by him,—"At the southern side of the Nordloch, near the foot of the Castle Hill, stood a church, the remains whereof I am informed were standing within these few years, by Professor Sir Robert Stewart, who had often seen them. This I take to have been the Church of St Andrew, near the Castle of Edinburgh, to the Trinity Altar, in which Alexander Curor, vicar of Livingston, by a deed of gift of the 20th December 1488, gave a perpetual annuity of twenty merks Scottish money."[1] In the panelling of the Reservoir, which stands immediately to the south of Ramsay Garden, a hole is still shown, which is said to have been occasioned by a shot in the memorable year 1745. The ball was preserved for many years in the house, and ultimately presented to the late Professor Playfair.

An old stone land occupies the corner of Ramsay Lane, on the north side of the Castle Hill. It presents a picturesque front to the main street, surmounted with a handsome double dormer window. On its eastern side, down Pipe's Close, there is a large and neatly moulded window, exhibiting the remains of a stone mullion and transom, with which it has been divided; and, in the interior of the same apartment, directly opposite to this, there are the defaced remains of a large gothic niche, the only ornamental portions of which now visible are two light and elegant buttresses at the sides, affording indication of its original decorations.

Tradition, as reported to us by several different parties, assigns this house to the Laird of Cockpen, the redoubted hero, as we presume, of Scottish song; and one party further affirms, in confirmation of this, that Ramsay Lane had its present name before the days of the poet, having derived it from this mansion of the Ramsays of Cockpen.[2] Its

[1] Maitland, p. 206.

[2] The Lairds of Cockpen were a branch of the Ramsays of Dalhousie; Douglas's Peerage, vol. i. p. 404. Maitland in his List of Streets, &c., mentions a Ramsay's Close without indicating it on the map.

last recorded noble occupants are mentioned by Chambers as "two ancient spinsters, daughters of Lord Gray." Over the main entrance of the next land, there is a defaced inscription, with the date 1621. The house immediately below this is worthy of notice, as a fine specimen of an old wooden fronted land, with the timbers of the gable elegantly carved. During the early part of the last century, this formed the family mansion of David, the third Earl of Leven, on whom the title devolved after being borne by two successive Countesses in their own right. He was appointed Governor of Edinburgh Castle by William and Mary, on its surrender by the Duke of Gordon in 1689; and shortly after he headed his regiment, and distinguished himself at the battle of Killicrankie by running away! To the east of this there formerly stood, at the head of Sempill's Close, another wooden fronted land, ornamented with a curious projecting porch at the entrance to the close, and similar in general style to those taken down in 1845, of which we furnish an engraving. It hung over the street, story above story, each projecting further the higher it rose, as if in defiance of all laws of gravitation, until at length it furnished unquestionable evidence of its great age by literally tumbling down about the ears of its poor inmates, happily without any of them suffering very serious injury.

Immediately behind the site of this house stands a fine old mansion, at one time belonging to the Sempill family, whose name the close still retains. It is a large and substantial building, with a projecting turnpike stair, over the entrance to which is the inscription, PRAISED BE THE LORD MY GOD, MY STRENGTH, AND MY REDEEMER. ANNO DOM. 1638, and a device like an anchor, entwined with the letter S. Over another door, which gives entrance to the lower part of the same house, there is the inscription, SEDES MANET OPTIMA CŒLO, with the date and device repeated. On the left of the first inscription there is a shield, bearing party per fesse, in chief three crescents, a mullet in base. The earliest titles of the property are wanting, and we have failed to discover to whom these arms belong. The house was purchased by Hugh, twelfth Lord Sempill, in 1743, from Thomas Brown and Patrick Manderston, two merchant burgesses, who severally possessed the upper and under portions of it. By him it was converted into one large mansion, and apparently an additional story added to it, as the outline of dormer windows may be traced, built into the west wall.

Lord Sempill, who had seen considerable military service, commanded the left wing of the royal army at Culloden. He was succeeded by his son John, thirteenth Lord Sempill, who, in 1755, sold the family mansion to Sir James Clerk of Pennycuik.

The ancient family of the Sempills is associated in various ways with Scottish song. John, son of Robert, the third Lord, married Mary Livingston, one of "the Queen's Maries." Their son, Sir James, a man of eminent ability and great influence in his day, was held in high estimation, and employed as ambassador to England in 1599; he was the author of the clever satire, entitled "The Packman's Paternoster." His son followed in his footsteps, and produced an "Elegy on Habbie Simson, the piper of Kilbarchan,"[1] a poem of great vigour and much local celebrity; while his grandson, Francis Sempill of Beltrees, is the author both of the fine old song, "She rose and let me in," and of a curious poem preserved in Watson's collection, entitled "Banishment of Poverty," written about

[1] Watson's Collection of Scots Poems, 1706, part i. p. 32.

1680. It contains some interesting local allusions, and among others, the following, to the mansion of his noble relatives, which would appear at that time to have been at Leith:—

Kind widow Caddel sent for me
To dine, as she did oft, forsooth;
But oh, alas! that might not be,
Her house was ov'r near the Tolbooth.
* * *
I slipt my page, and stour'd to Leith,
To try my credit at the wine,
But foul a dribble fyl'd my teeth,
He catch'd me at the Coffee-sign.
I staw down through the Nether-Wynd,
My Lady Semple's house was near;
To enter there was my design,
Where Poverty durst ne'er appear.

I din'd there, but I baid not lang,
My Lady fain would shelter me;
But oh, alas! I needs must gang,
And leave that comely company.
Her lad convoy'd me with her key,
Out through the garden to the fiels,
But I the Links could graithly see,
My Governour was at my heels.[1]

There is a tradition in the family, that Lady Sempill having been a Catholic, the mansion was at that period a favourite place of resort for the Romish priests then visiting Scotland in disguise, and that there existed a concealed passage,—apparently alluded to in the poem,—by which they could escape on any sudden surprise. One other incident in connection with the Scottish muse deserves notice here:—Dr Austin, the author of the celebrated song, "For lack of gold she has left me," having "given his woes an airing in song," on his desertion by an inconstant beauty, for the Duke of Athol, married the Honourable Anne Sempill in 1754, by whom he had a numerous family. His house is still standing in the north-west corner of Brown Square.

To the east of Sempill's Close, there stood till recently an ancient and curious land, possessing all the characteristics of those already alluded to as the earliest houses remaining in Edinburgh. It consisted only of two stories, and its internal arrangements were of the simplest description. The entire main floor appeared to have formed originally a

[1] Watson's Collection of Scots Poems, part i. p. 14. The full title of the Poem previously alluded to is, "A Pick-tooth for the Pope; or, The Pack-man's Paternoster, set downe in a Dialogue betwixt a Pack-man and a Priest." The work is now very scarce. A polemical work by the same author, entitled "Sacrilege sacredly handled," London, 1619, contains in the preface the following quaint allusion to his name—"A sacred and high subject seemeth to require a sacred pen-man too: True. And though I be not of the tribe of *Levi*, yet I hope of the tents of *Sem*, how *Simple* soever."

VIGNETTE—Lord Sempill's House, Sempill's Close, Castle Hill.

single apartment, with a huge fireplace at the west end, and a gallery added to it by the timber projection in front. The hearth-stone was raised above the level of the floor, and guarded by a stone ledge or fender, similar in character to a fireplace of the thirteenth century still existing at St Mary's Abbey, York. This room was lighted by a large dormer window in the roof, in addition to the usual windows in front; and in the thickness of the stone wall, within the wooden gallery, there were two ornamental stone recesses, with projecting sculptured sills, and each closed by an oak door, richly carved with dolphins and other ornamental devices.[1] The roof was high and steep, and the entire appearance of the building singularly picturesque. We have been the more particular in describing it, from the interest attaching to its original possessors. It is defined, in one of the title-deeds of the neighbouring property, as "That tenement of land belonging to the chaplain of the chaplainry of St Nicolas's Altar, founded within the College Church of St Giles, within the burgh of Edinburgh;" it is now replaced by a plain, unattractive, modern building.

The most interesting portions of this district, however, or perhaps of any other among the private buildings in the Old Town, were to be found within the space including Todd's, Nairn's, and Blyth's Closes, nearly the whole of which have been swept away to provide a site for the New College. On the west side of Blyth's Close there existed a remarkable building, some portion of which still remains. This the concurrent testimony of tradition and internal evidence pointed out as having been the mansion of Mary of Guise, the Queen of James V., and the mother of Queen Mary. There was access to the different apartments, as is usual in the oldest houses in Edinburgh, by various stairs and intricate passages; for no feature is so calculated to excite the surprise of a stranger, on his first visit to such substantial mansions, as the numerous and ample flights of stone stairs, often placed in immediate juxtaposition, yet leading to different parts of the building. Over the main doorway, which still remains, there is the inscription, in bold Gothic characters, Laus Honor Deo. with I. R., the initials of the King, at the respective ends of the lintel. On a shield, placed on the right side, the monogram of the Virgin Mary is sculptured,[2] while a corresponding shield on the left, now entirely defaced, most probably bore the usual one of our Saviour.[3]

On the first landing of the principal stair, a small vestibule gave entrance to an apartment, originally of large dimensions, though for many years subdivided into various rooms and passages. At the right-hand side of the inner doorway, on entering this apartment, a remarkably rich Gothic niche remained till recently, to which we have given the name of a piscina, in the accompanying engraving, owing to its having a hole through the bottom of it, the peculiar mark of that ecclesiastical feature, and one which we have not discovered in any other of those niches we have examined. The name is at least convenient for distinction in future reference to it; but its position was at the side of a very large and handsome fireplace, one of the richly clustered pillars of which appears in the engraving, on the outside of a modern partition, and no feature was discoverable in the apartment calculated

[1] For the description of the interior of this ancient building, we are mainly indebted to the Rev. J. Sime, chaplain of Trinity Hospital, whose uncle long possessed the property. A very oblique view of the house appears in Storer's "High Street, from the Castle Parade." Plate 1, vol. ii.

[2] Vide Pugin's Glossary of Eccl. Ornament, p. 162.

[3] Vignette at the head of the Chapter.

to lead to the idea of its having been at any time devoted to other than domestic uses. We may farther remark, that there were, in all, seven of these sculptured recesses, of different sizes and degrees of ornament, throughout the range of buildings known as the Guise Palace and Oratory,—a sufficient number of "baptismal fonts," we should presume, even for a Parisian *Hôpital des Enfans trouvés!*

Various remains of very fine wood carving have from time to time been removed from different parts of this building; a large and well-executed oaken front of a cupboard was found in the apartment below the one last referred to, with the panels wrought in elegant and varied designs;[1] and in another room on the same floor, immediately beyond the former, there existed a very interesting relic of the same kind, which long formed one of the chief attractions to antiquarian visitors. This was an ancient oak door, with richly carved panels, now preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, of which we furnish a view. The two upper panels are decorated with shields, surrounded with a wreath and other ornaments of beautiful workmanship, and each supported by a winged cherub. The lower panels contain portraits carved in high relief, and which, in accordance with the tradition of the locality, have generally been considered as the heads of James V. and his Queen. The lady is very little indebted to the artist for the flattery of her charms, and the portrait cannot be considered as bearing any resemblance to those of Mary of Guise, who is generally represented as a beautiful woman.[2] That of the King has been thought to bear a considerable resemblance to the portraits of James V., and "has all that free carriage of the head, and elegant slouch of the bonnet, together with the great degree of manly beauty with which this monarch is usually represented."[3] The heraldic bearings on the shields in the upper panels remain to be mentioned; one of them bears a deer's head erased, while on the other is an eagle with expanded wings grasping a star in the left foot, and with a crescent in base. The whole appearance of this door is calculated to convey a pleasing idea of the state of the arts in Scotland at the period of its execution, though in this it in no way surpasses the other decorations of this interesting building. The door has been cut down in some modern subdivision of the house, to adapt it to the humble situation which it latterly

[1] Now in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq.

[2] The Duke of Devonshire has an undoubted portrait of Mary of Guise. She is very fair complexioned, with reddish hair. The picture in the Trinity House at Leith is not of the Queen Regent, but a bad copy of that of her daughter, at St James, painted by Mytens.

[3] Chambers's Traditions, vol. i. p. 81. The "manly beauty," however, is somewhat questionable.

occupied, the outer framework on one side being nearly cut away; but its original position was doubtless one of importance, suited to its highly decorated character. The armorial bearings, though suggesting no relation to those of the Queen Regent, serve to prove that it had been executed for the mansion in which it was found, as the same arms, impaled on one shield, was sculptured over the north doorway of the building on the east side of the close, with the date 1557, already alluded to, as the oldest then existing on any house in Edinburgh,[1] and the initials A. A., as represented below. The lintel had been removed from its original position to heighten the doorway, for the purpose of converting this part of the old Palace into a stable, and was built into a wall immediately adjacent; but its mouldings completely corresponded with the sides of the doorway from which it had been taken, and the high land was rent up through the whole of its north front, owing to its abstraction.[2] This portion of the Palace formed a sort of gallery,

extending across the north end of the whole buildings, and internally affording communication from those in Todd's and Nairn's Closes, and that on the west side of Blyth's Close, with the oratory or chapel on the east side of the latter. The demolition of these buildings brought to light many interesting features of their original character. The whole had been fitted up at their erection in a remarkably elegant and highly ornate style; the fireplaces especially were all of large dimensions, and several of very graceful and elegant proportions. One of these we have already alluded to, with its fine Gothic niche at the side; another in Todd's Close was of a still more beautiful design, the clustered pillars were further adorned with roses filling the interstices, and this also had a very rich Gothic niche at its side, entirely differing in form from the last, and indeed from all the others that we have examined, in the apparent remains of a stoup or hollowed basin, the front of

[1] It is not necessarily inferred from this that no older house exists. The walls of Holyrood admitted of being roofed again after the burning in 1544, and it is not unlikely that some of the oldest houses still remaining passed through the same fiery ordeal.

[2] This stone, which is in good preservation, is now in the interesting collection of antiquities of A. G. Ellis, Esq. We have failed to trace from the shield any clue to the original owner or builder of this part of the Palace; but the data now furnished may perhaps enable others to be more successful. Sir Robert Carnegie of Kinnaird, who was appointed one of the Senators of the College of Justice in 1547, and as Ambassador to France in 1551, had a great share in persuading the Duke of Chatelherault to resign the regency to Mary of Guise,—bore for arms an eagle displayed, azure; but his wife's arms,—a daughter of Guthrie of Lunan,—do not correspond with those impaled with them, and the initials are also irreconcilable. The same objections hold good in the case of his son, a faithful adherent of Queen Mary.

which had been broken away. We furnish an engraving of this apartment also, in the dilapidated state in which it existed in its latter days, with the large fireplace concealed, all but one clustered pillar, by a wooden partition.[1] This apartment had also been finished with highly carved ornamental work, considerable portions of which had only been removed a few years previous to the entire destruction of the whole building. One beautiful fragment of this, which we have seen, consists of a series of oak panellings, about eight feet high, divided into four compartments by five terminal figures in high relief, and the panels all richly finished in different patterns of arabesque ornament of the finest workmanship. The demolition of this house in 1845 brought to light a curious small concealed chamber on the first floor, lighted by a very narrow aperture looking into Nairn's Close. The entrance to it had been by a movable panel in the room just described, affording access to a narrow flight of steps, ingeniously wound round the wall of a turnpike stair, and thereby effectually preventing any suspicion being excited by the appearance it made. The existence of this mysterious chamber was altogether unknown to the inhabitants, and all tradition had been lost as to the ancient occupants to whom it doubtless afforded refuge.

Another apartment in this portion of the house, on the same flat with the fine Gothic fireplace described above, was called the Queen's Dead Room, where the noble occupants of the mansion were said to have lain in state, ere their removal to their final resting-place. The room had formerly been painted black, to adapt it to the gloomy purpose for which it was set apart, and the more recent coats of whitewash it had received very imperfectly veiled its lugubrious aspect. The style of the fittings of this room, however, and indeed of the greater portion of the building, was evidently long posterior to the date of erection, and the panel over the mantelpiece was filled with a landscape, painted in the manner of Old Norie. The inhabitant of this part of the house, when we last visited it, was a respectable old lady, who kept her share of the Palace in a remarkably clean and comfortable condition, and took great pride in pointing out its features to strangers. She professed an intimate knowledge of the original uses of the several portions of the house, and showed a comfortable-looking room on the first floor, commanding a very fine view to the north, which she called the Queen's bedroom. Two round arched or waggon-shaped ceilings were brought to view in the progress of demolition, richly decorated with painted devices, in a style corresponding with the date of erection, and both concealed by flat, modern, plaster ceilings constructed below them. One of these, situated immediately above what was styled the Queen's bedroom, had been lighted by windows ranged along each side of the arched roof, and in its original state must have formed a lofty and very elegant room. The roof, which was of wood, was painted in rich arabesques and graceful designs of flowers, fruit, leaves, &c., surrounding panels with inscriptions in Gothic letters. On one portion all that could be made out was, ye Trvbilis of ye Righties. On another was perfectly defined the following metrical legend:—

[1] These remains are mentioned in Chambers's Traditions, with this addition—"At the right-hand side is a pillar in the same taste, on the top of which there formerly, and till within these few years, stood the statue of a saint presiding over the font." The author had doubtless been misled in this by the traditions of the neighbourhood, and the appearance of the jamb of the ancient fireplace partially exposed. We may remark that, except where it appears absolutely necessary for preventing confusion or error, we have avoided directing attention to those points on which we differ from previous writers.

Gif þow wt. syn afflictit be,
Och þan sap Chryst cvm þow to me.
Swith þe way, walk þow thairin,
Embrace þe truth, abandoun ——

The last word, obviously Sin, had been curiously omitted, and a dash substituted for it, as though for a guess or puzzle. In the centre of this roof there was a ring, apparently for the purpose of suspending a lamp, and in one of the walls there was a niche with a trefoil arch very slightly ornamented. The fireplace, which was of very large dimensions, was entirely without ornament, and in no way corresponded with the style of finish otherwise prevailing in the apartment, although its size and massive construction seemed to prove that it must have been a portion of the original fabric.

Another ceiling of a similar form, in a room adjoining this, on the west side of Blyth's Close, was adorned with a variety of emblematic designs, mostly taken from Paradin's Emblems (the earliest edition of which, as far as we are aware, was published at Lyons in 1557), and from the *Traicté des Devises Royales*, although some of them are not to be found in either of these works,—such as a hand amid flames, holding up a dagger, with the motto, *Agere et pati fortia;* a branch covered with apples, *Ab insomni non custodita dragoni;* and two hands out of a cloud, one holding a sword, and the other a trowel, *In utrumque paratus.* This species of emblematic device was greatly in vogue in the sixteenth century, and various other works of similar character still exist in the libraries of the curious. Among other devices on this ceiling, may be mentioned an ape crushing her offspring in the fervour of her embrace, with the motto, *Cæcus amor prolis;* a serpent among strawberry plants, *Latet anguis in Herba;* a porcupine with apples on its spikes, *Magnum vectigal parsimonia*, &c.[1] These devices were united by a series of ornamental borders, and must have presented altogether an exceedingly lively and striking appearance when the colours were fresh, and the other decorations of the chamber in consistent harmony therewith.[2]

Another interesting feature in the decoration of the ceilings of this once magnificent mansion, was the blazonry which distinguished the chief ornaments remaining in some of the rooms. These consisted of the armorial bearings of the Duke of Chatelherault, with his initials, I. H.; those of France, with the initials H. R.; and, lastly, those of Guise, impaled with the Scottish Lion, and having the Queen Regent's intitials, M. R.[3] The first of these occupied the centre of a large entablature in the ceiling of the outer vestibule of the apartment, where the elegant Gothic niche stood, to which we have given the name of

[1] It is much to be regretted that no attempt was made to preserve these interesting specimens of early decorations, which could have been so easily done, as they were all painted on wood. The restoration in one of the apartments of the New College would have formed a pleasing memorial of the building that it superseded. The only fragments that we know of are now in the collection of C. K. Sharpe, Esq.

[2] A few items from "A Collection of Inventories, &c.," 1815, may afford some idea of the probable furnishing of the walls. "The Quene Regentis movables, A.D. 1561. Item, ane tapestrie maid of worsett mixt with threid of gold of the historie of the judgment of Salamon, the deid barne and the twa wiffis. Item, ane tapestrie of the historie of the Creatioun, contening nyne peces; ane of the King Roboam, contening foure peces; ane other of little Salamon," &c., p. 126. "Of Rownd Gloibbis and Paintrie. Item, twa gloibbis, the ane of the heavin, the uther of the earth. Sex cartis of sundrie cuntreis. Twa paintit broddis, the ane of the muses, and the uther of crotescque or conceptis. Aucht paintit broddis of the Doctouris of Almaine," &c.—Ibid, p. 130.

[3] All now in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq.

a piscina; and those of France were in the same position in the floor above.[1] In their original position these devices were so obscured with dirt and whitewash as to appear merely rude plaster ornaments; but on their removal they proved to be very fine and carefully-finished carvings in oak, and retaining marks of the colours with which they had been blazoned. These heraldic bearings are not only interesting, as confirming the early tradition first mentioned by Maitland,—a careful and conscientious antiquary,—of its having been the residence of Mary of Guise, but they afford a very satisfactory clue to the period of her abode there. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, was created Duke of Chatelherault in the year 1548, but not fully confirmed in the title till 1551, when it was conceded to him as part of his reward for resigning the Regency to the Queen Dowager; and that same year she returned from France to assume the government. The death of Henry II. of France occurred in 1559, just about the period when the complete rupture took place between the Regent and the Lords of the Congregation, after which time her chief place of residence was in Leith, until her last illness, when she took up her abode in the Castle of Edinburgh, where she died. The interval between these dates entirely coincides with that period of her history when she might be supposed to have chosen such a residence within the city walls, and near the Castle, while the burning of the Capital and Palace by the English army in 1544 was of so recent occurrence, and the buildings of the latter were probably only partially restored.[2]

In accordance with the traditions of the locality, we have described the property in Todd's Close as forming a part of the Guise Palace, entered from Blyth's Close, and with which there existed an internal communication. It appears, however, from the title-deeds of the property, that this portion of the range of ancient buildings had formed, either in the

[1] Chambers mentions (Traditions, vol. i. p. 80) having seen, in the possession of an antiquarian friend, the City Arms, which had been removed from a similar situation in the third floor. We have reason to believe, however, that he was mistaken in this, and that the arms he saw were removed from an old house on the south side of the Canongate.

[2] No allusion occurs in any of the historians of the period in confirmation of the tradition. "The Queen Dowager," says Calderwood, A.D. 1554, "came from the Parliament Hous, to the Palace of Halyrudhous, with the honnours borne before her" [vol. i. p. 283], on which Knox remarks, that, "It was als seemelie a sight to see the crowne putt upon her head, as to see a saddle putt upon the backe of an unrulie kow!" This, however, and similar allusions to her going to the Palace on occasions of state, cannot be considered as necessarily inconsistent with the occupation of a private mansion. The title-deeds of the property which we have examined throw no light on this interesting question. They are all comparatively recent, the earliest of them bearing the date of 1622.

Some curious information about the household of Mary of Guise is furnished in the selection from the register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, appended to Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, *e.g.* 1538. "Item, for iiij elnis grene veluet, to be ye covering of ane sadill to the fule." Again, "for vij elnis, ½ elne grene birge satyne, to be the Quenis fule, ane goune . . . zallow birge satyne, to be hir ane kirtill . . . blaid black gray, to lyne ye kirtill," &c., and at her coronation in 1540, "Item, deliuerit to ye Frenche telzour, to be ane cote to Serrat, the Quenis fule," &c. Green and yellow seems to have been the Court Fool's livery. This is one of the very few instances on record of a Female Buffoon or Fool, for the amusement of the Court. The Queen's establishment also included a male and female dwarf, whose dresses figure in these accounts, alongside of such items, as—"For vj elnis of Parise blak, to be Maister George Balquhannane ane goune, at the Quenis Grace entre in Edinburghe." "To Janet Douglas, spous of David Liudesay, of the Monthe xl. li." "To the pow-penny, deliuerit to David Lindesay, Lyoune herald, on the Quenis [Magdalen] Saull-Mes and Dirige," &c. The following items from the Treasurer's accounts show the existence of similar servitors in Queen Mary's household:—"1562, Paid for ane cote, hois, lynyng and making, to Jonat Musche, fule, £4, 5s. 6d. 1565, For grene plading to mak ane bed to Jardinar, the fule, with white fustiane, fedders, &c. Ane abulzement to Jaquelene gouernance de la Jordiner. 1566, Ane garment of reid and yellow to be ane gowne, hois, and cote, to Jane Colquhoun, fule. 1567, Ane abulzement of braid inglis yellow, to be cote and breikis,—also sarkis,—to James Geddie, fule." Subsequent entries show that Queen Mary had a Female Fule, called "Nicolau, the Queen's Grace fule," who would appear, from the following item, to have been retained in the service of the Regent after the Queen's flight to England:—"1570, The first day of August, be the Regent's g. speciale command, to Nichola the fule, to mak hir expensis and fraucht to France, £15."

Regent's time, or almost immediately afterwards, a distinct mansion, occupied by Edward Hope, son of John de Hope,—the ancestor of the celebrated Sir Thomas Hope, and of the Earls of Hopetoun,—who came from France in 1537, in the retinue of Magdalen, Queen of James V. The earliest title-deeds are wanting, which would fix the date of its acquirement by Edward Hope, and determine the question as to whether he succeeded the Queen in its occupancy, or was its first possessor.

Edward Hope was one of the most considerable inhabitants of Edinburgh in the reign of Queen Mary, and the old mansion, such as we have described it, retained abundant evidence of the adornments of a wealthy citizen's dwelling. He appears to have been a great promoter of the Reformation, and was accordingly chosen, in 1560, as one of the Commissioners for the Metropolis to the first General Assembly;[1] and again we find him, in the following year, incurring Queen Mary's indignation, as one of the magistrates of Edinburgh most zealous in enforcing "the statuts of the toun" against any "massemoonger, or obstinat papist, that corrupted the people, suche as preests, friers, and others of that sort, that sould be found within the toun." The Queen caused the provost, Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, along with Edward Hope and Adam Fullerton, "to be charged to waird in the Castell, and commanded a new electioun to be made of proveist and bailliffes;" but after a time her wrath was appeased, and civic matters left to take their wonted course.[2] Within this house, in all probability, the Earls of Murray, Morton, and Glencairn, John Knox, Erskine of Dun, with Lords Boyd, Lindsay, and all the leading men of the reforming party, have often assembled and matured plans whose final accomplishment led to results of such vast importance to the nation. The circumstances of that period may also suggest the probable use of the secret chamber we have described, which was discovered at the demolition of the building.

The close continues to bear the name of Edward Hope's through all the title-deeds down to a very recent period; and in 1622 it appears by these documents to have been in the possession of Henry Hope, grandson of the above, and younger brother of Sir Thomas, from whom, also, there is a disposition of a later date, entitled, "by Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Knight Baronet, his Majesty's Advocate," resigning all right or claim to the property, in favour of his niece, Christian Hope. This appears to have been a daughter of his brother Henry, who was little less celebrated in his own time than the eminent lawyer, as the progenitor of the Hopes of Amsterdam, "the merchant-princes" of their day, surpassing in wealth and commercial enterprise any private mercantile company ever known. From Henry Hope it passed by marriage and succession through several hands, until in 1691 it lapsed into the possession of James, Viscount Stair, in lieu of a bond for the sum of "three thousand guilders, according to the just value of Dutch money," probably some transaction with the great house at Amsterdam. The property was transferred by him to his son, Sir David Dalrymple, who in 1702 sold it to John Wightman of Mauldsie, afterwards Lord Provost of Edinburgh,[3] and the founder

[1] Calderwood's Hist., Wod. Soc., vol. ii. p. 44.

[2] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 155. Ante, p. 70.

[3] It may not be out of place here to correct an error of Maitland. He remarks (Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 227) that "the title of Lord, annexed to the Provost, being by prescription, and not by grant, every Provost in the kingdom has as great a right to that epithet as the Provost of Edinburgh hath." It appears, however, from Fountainhall's Decisions (Folio, vol. i. p. 400), that "The town, in a competition betwixt them and the College of Justice, got a letter from the King [Charles II.] in 1667, by Sir Andrew Ramsay, then their Provost procurement, determining their Provost should

of the school recently rebuilt in Ramsay Lane, that still bears his name. Since then it shared the fate of most of the patrician dwellings of the Old Town; its largest apartments were subdivided by flimsy partitions into numerous little rooms, and the old mansion furnished latterly a squalid and straitened abode for a host of families of the very humblest ranks of life.

The external appearance of this interesting range of buildings is more easily described with the pencil than the pen. The accompanying engraving exhibits the front to the Castle Hill, and also shows a curious feature that attracted considerable notice, at the entrance to Todd's Close, where, owing to the construction of the overhanging timber fronts, the whole weight of the buildings on each side seemed to be borne by a single slender stone pillar, of neat proportions, though exhibiting abundant evidence of age and long exposure to violence.

The buildings already described in Blyth's Close stood upon the west side, where a portion of them still remains. They retained, in the relics of their ancient decorations, evidence which appears to confirm the tradition of their having at one period been the residence of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise; but it is to that on the east side alone that anything of an ecclesiastical character can, with propriety, be assigned.

About halfway down the close, and directly opposite the main entrance on the west side, a projecting turnpike-stair gave access to a vestibule on the first floor, which formed only a small portion of what had originally been a large and magnificent apartment. This we conceive to have been what Maitland describes as "the chapel or private oratory of Mary of Lorraine."[2] Immediately on entering from the stair, a large doorway appeared on the left hand, which had apparently given access to a gallery leading across to the Palace on the opposite side of the close. Beyond this there was a niche placed, as usual, at the side of a large and handsome fireplace, with clustered Gothic pillars, of the same form as those already described in other parts of the building. The mouldings of this niche corresponded in character with those on the opposite side of the close, but the sculptured top had been removed. In the east wall, however, and almost directly opposite the fireplace, there was a large and highly ornamental niche,[3] of which we furnish a view. In the centre there was the figure of an angel holding a shield, and the whole character of the tracery and other ornaments was in the richest style of decorated Gothic.[4] It, in all probability, served as a credence table, or other appendage to the altar of the chapel.

This apartment was occupied as a schoolroom, about the middle of last century, by a teacher of note, named Mr John Johnstone. "When he first resided in it, there was a curious urn in the niche, and a small square stone behind the same, of so singular an appearance, that, to satisfy his curiosity, he forced it from the wall, when he found in the recess an iron casket, about seven inches long, four broad, and three deep, having a lid like that of a *caravan-trunk*, and secured by two clasps falling over the key-holes, and com-

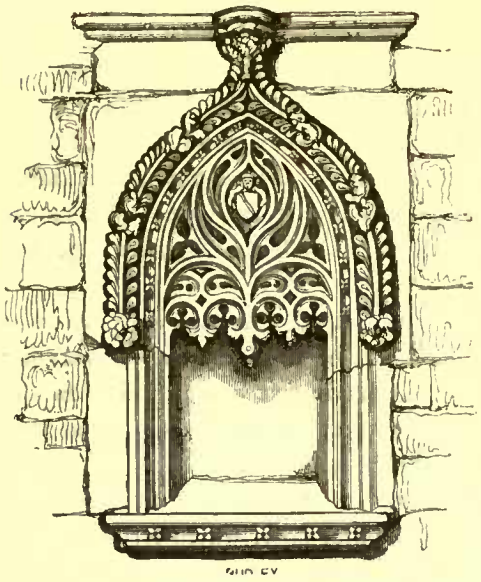
have the same place and precedency within the town precincts that was due to the Mayors of London or Dublin, and that no other Provost should be called Lord Provost but he;"—a privilege that seems to have been lost sight of by the civic dignitaries of the good town.

[2] Maitland, p. 206.

[3] Now in the collection of C. K. Sharpe, Esq.

[4] This and various other examples serve to show that the principles of pure Gothic architecture were followed to a much later date in Scotland than in England. The foundation stone of Caius College, Cambridge, for example, a good specimen of the hybrid style of debased Gothic, was laid in 1565.

municating with some curious and intricate machinery within."[1] This interesting relic was obtained from a relative of the discoverer by Robert Chambers, Esq., the author of the "Traditions of Edinburgh," by whom it was presented to Sir Walter Scott. It was empty at the time of its discovery, but is supposed to have been used for holding the smaller and more valuable furnishings of the altar. It is now in the collection at Abbotsford, and has all the appearance of great antiquity. Portions of another curious relic, found near the same spot, and presented by the late E. A. Drummond Hay, Esq., to the Society of Antiquaries, are thus described in the list of donations for 1829:—"An infantine head and hand, in wax, being all that remained of a little figure of the child Jesus, discovered in May 1828, in a niche carefully walled up in the chapel of the house formerly occupied by Mary of Lorraine, in Blyth's Close, Castle Hill."[2]



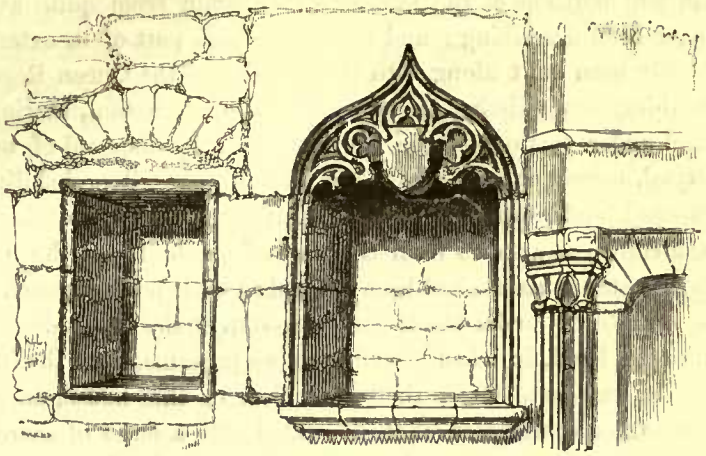
Considerable fragments of very fine carving in oak remained in the chapel till within these few years. One specimen in particular, now in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq., presents a richly carved and exceedingly beautiful design of grapes and vine leaves, surmounted by finials; and other portions of the same decorations have recently been adopted by the Duke of Sutherland, as models for the carved work introduced by him in the interior fittings of Dunrobin Castle. The windows of the chapel were very tall and narrow, and singularly irregular in their height; their jams were splayed externally on the one side, as is not uncommon in the narrow closes of the Old Town, to catch every ray of light, and exhibited the remains of stone mullions with which they had been originally divided.

In the east wall of this building, which still stands, there is a curious staircase built in the thickness of the wall, which afforded access from the chapel to an apartment below, where there was a draw-well of fine clear water, with a raised parapet of stone surrounding it. Immediately to the north of this, on the same floor, another room existed with interesting remains of former grandeur; the fireplace was in the same rich style of Gothic design already described, and at the left side there was a handsome Gothic niche, with a plain one immediately adjoining it. The entrance to this portion of the Palace was locked and cemented with the rust of years; the door leading to the inner staircase was also built up, and it had remained in this deserted and desolate state during the memory of the oldest of the neighbouring inhabitants; excepting that "ane sturdy beggar" lived for some time, rent free, in one of the smaller rooms, his only mode of ingress or egress to which was by

[1] Traditions, vol i. p. 85.

[2] The genuineness of this relic has been called in question, from its resemblance to the fragments of a large doll, but those who have visited the Continent will readily acknowledge the groundlessness of such an objection.

the dilapidated window. The same difficulties had to be surmounted in obtaining the sketch, from which the accompanying vignette is given.



In the highest floor, various indications of the same elaborate style of decoration were visible as we have described in the ceilings of the Palace. A curious fragment of painting, filling an arch on one of the walls, was divided into two compartments by very elegant ornamental borders. The picture on the left represented a young man kneeling before an altar, on which stood an open vessel amid flames, while, from a dark cloud overhead, a hand issued, holding a ladle, and just about to dip it into the vessel. A castellated mansion, with turrets and gables in the style of the sixteenth century, appeared in the distance; and at the top there was inscribed on a scroll the words *Demum purgabitvr*. In the other compartment, a man of aged and venerable aspect was seen, who held in his hands a heart, which he appeared to be offering to a figure like a bird, with huge black wings. Above this were the words . . *Impossibile est.* The whole apartment had been decorated in the same style, but only very slight remains of this were traceable on the walls. On the removal of the lath and plaster from the ceilings of the lower rooms, the beams,—which were of solid oak,—and the under sides of the flooring above, were all covered with ornamental devices, those on the main beams being painted on three sides, and divided at short distances by fillets or bands of various patterns running round them.[1]

The somewhat minute description which we have given of these ancient buildings will, we think, amply bear us out in characterising them as among the most interesting that old Edinburgh possessed. Here we have good reason for believing the widow of James V. took up her residence during the first years of her regency;—here, in all probability, the leading churchmen and Scottish nobles who adhered to her party have met in grave deliberation, to resist the earlier movements that led to the Reformation;—in this mean and obscure alley the ambassadors and statesmen of England and France, and the messengers of the Scottish Queen, have assembled, and have been received with fitting dignity in its once splendid halls; while within the long desecrated fane royal and noble worshippers have knelt around its altar, gorgeous with the imposing ceremonials of the Catholic Church. It is a dream of times long gone by, of which we would gladly have retained some such remembrance as the dilapidated mansion afforded; but time and modern changes have swept over its old walls with ruthless hand, and this feeble description of its decrepitude is probably the best memorial of it that survives.

There still remains to be described the fine old stone land at the head of Blyth's Close,

[1] The Vignette at the end of the Chapter is from one of the oak beams belonging to the late Mr Hugh Paton.

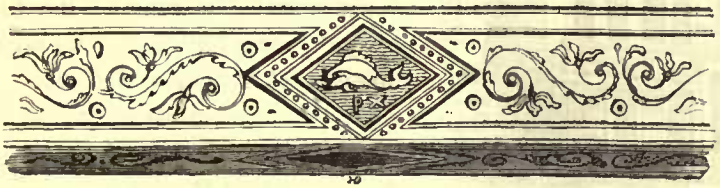
which appears prominently in our view of the Castle Hill, with the inscription LAVS DEO, and the date 1591, curiously wrought in antique iron letters on its front. The most ancient portions of the interior that remain seem quite as early in character as those we have been describing; and indeed the back part of it, extending into the close, has apparently been built along with the mansion of the Queen Regent. The earliest titles of this building now existing are two contracts of alienation, bearing date 1590, by which the upper and under portions of the land are severally disposed of to Robert M'Naught and James Rynd, merchant burgesses. The building, in all probability, at that period was a timber-fronted land, similar to those adjoining it, which were taken down in 1845. Immediately thereafter, as appears from the date of the building, the handsome polished ashlar front, which still remains, had been erected at their joint expense. In confirmation of this there is sculptured, under the lowest crow-step at the west side of the building, a shield bearing an open hand, in token of amity, as we presume, with the initials of both proprietors.[1]

In an apartment on the second floor of this house, an arched ceiling was accidentally discovered some years since, decorated with a series of sacred paintings on wood, of a very curious and interesting character. A large circular compartment in the centre contains the figure of our Saviour, with a radiance round His head, and His left hand resting on a royal orb. Within the encircling border are these words, in gilded Roman letters, on a rich blue ground, *Ego sum via, veritas, et vita*, 14 *Johne*. The paintings in the larger compartments represent Jacob's Dream, Christ asleep in the storm, the Baptism of Christ, and the Vision of Death from the Apocalypse, surmounted by the symbols of the Evangelists. The distant landscape of the Lake of Galilee in the second picture presents an amusing, though by no means unusual liberty, taken by the artist with his subject. It consists of a view of Edinburgh from the north, terminating with Salisbury Crags on the left and the old Castle on the right! This pictorial license affords a clue as to the probable period of the work, which, as far as it can be trusted, indicates a later period than the Regency of Mary of Guise. The steeples of the Nether Bow Port and the old Weigh-house are introduced—the first of which was erected in the year 1606, and the latter taken down in 1660. The fifth picture, and the most curious of all, exhibits an allegorical representation, as we conceive, of the Christian life. A ship, of antique form, is seen in full sail, and bearing on its pennon and stern the common symbol, IHS. A crowned figure stands on the deck, looking towards a burning city in the distance, and above him the word VÆ. On the mainsail is inscribed *Caritas*, and over the stern, which is in the fashion of an ancient galley, [*Sa*]*piencia*. Death appears as a skeleton, riding on a dark horse, amid the waves immediately in front of the vessel, armed with a bow and arrow, which he is pointing at the figure in the ship, while a figure, similarly armed, and mounted on a huge dragon, follows in its wake, entitled *Persecutio*, and above it a winged demon, over whom is the word *Diabolus*. In the midst of these perils there is seen in the sky a radiance surrounding the Hebrew word יהוה, and from this symbol of the Deity a hand issues, taking hold of a line attached to the stern of the vessel. The whole series is executed with great spirit, though now much injured by damp and decay. The broad borders between them are richly decorated with every variety of flowers, fruit, harpies, birds, and fancy

[1] This is one undoubted example of the date on a building being put on at a considerably later period than its erection, an occurrence which we have found reason to suspect in various other instances.

devices, and divide the ceiling into irregular square and round compartments, with raised and gilded stars at their intersections. The fifth painting—of which we have endeavoured to convey some idea to the reader—possesses peculiar interest, as a specimen of early Scottish art. It embodies, though under different forms, the leading features of the immortal allegory constructed by John Bunyan for the instruction of a later age. The Christian appears fleeing from the City of Destruction, environed still by the perils of the way, yet guided, through all the malignant opposition of the powers of darkness, by the unerring hand of an over-ruling Providence. These paintings were concealed, as in similar examples previously described, by a modern flat ceiling, the greater portion of which still remains, rendering it difficult to obtain a near view of them. Mr Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe has, in his interesting collection, another curious relic of the decorations of this apartment, consisting of a group of musicians, which may possibly have been one of the "paintit brod-dis" mentioned among "the Quene Regentis Paintrie." One of the band is playing on a lute, another on a horn, &c., and all with their music-books before them. This painting was rescued by its present possessor, just as the recess or cupboard, of which it formed the back, was about to be converted into a coal-cellar. Fragments of a larger, but much ruder, copy of the same design were discovered on the demolition of the fine old mansion of Sir William Nisbet of the Dean, in 1845, which bore above its main entrance the date 1614. Most of the other portions of the interior have been renewed at a later period, and exhibit the panelling and decorations in common use during the last century.

This building appears, from the various titles, to have been the residence of a succession of wealthy burgesses, as usual with the "fore tenements of land,"—the closes being then, and down to a comparatively recent date, almost exclusively occupied by noblemen and dignitaries of rank and wealth.



Painted Oak Beam from Mary of Guise's Chapel.

CHAPTER III.

THE LAWNMARKET.

MANY citizens still living can remember when the wide thoroughfare immediately below the Castle Hill used to be covered with the stalls and booths of the "lawn merchants," with their webs and cloths of every description, giving that central locality all the appearance of a fair. This also, however, with other old customs, has passed away, and the name only remains to preserve the memory of former usages, although such was the importance of this locality in former times, that its occupants had a club of their own, styled "The Lawnmarket Club," which was celebrated in its day for the earliest possession of all important news.

The old market-place was bounded on the west by the Weigh-house, or "butter trone," as it is styled in some of the title-deeds of the neighbouring buildings, and on the east by the ancient Tolbooth, and formed in early times the only open space of any great extent, with the single exception of the Grassmarket, that existed within the town walls.

The Weigh-house, of which we furnish an engraving, was a clumsy and inelegant building, already alluded to,[1] occupying the centre of the street at the head of the West Bow. It was rebuilt in the year 1660 on the site of a previous erection, which is shown in Gordon's map of 1646, adorned with a steeple at the east end, and appears, from contemporaneous accounts, to have been otherwise of an ornamental character. The only decorations on

[1] Vide pp. 96 7.

VIGNETTE.—Gladstone's Land.

the latter building, consisted of a rudely executed ogee pediment, containing the city arms, and surmounted by three tron weights. On Queen Mary's entry to Edinburgh in 1561, this was the scene of some of the most ingenious displays of civic loyalty. Her Majesty dined in the Castle, and a triumphal arch was erected at the Weigh-house, or "butter trone," where the keys of the city were presented to her by "ane bony barne, that descendit doun fra a cloude, as it had bene ane angell," and added to the wonted gift a Bible and Psalm-book—additions which some contemporary historians hint were received with no very good grace.[1] Cromwell established a guard in the older building there, while the Castle was held out against him in 1650, and prudently levelled it with the ground on gaining possession of the fortress, lest it should afford the same cover to his assailants that it had done to himself. The latter erection proved equally serviceable to the Highlanders of Prince Charles in 1745, when they attempted to blockade the Castle, and starve out the garrison by stopping all supplies. The first floor of the large stone land, in front of Milne's Court, was occupied at the same period as the residence and guard-room for the officers commanding the neighbouring post; and it is said that the dislodged occupant,—a zealous Whig,—took his revenge on them after their departure by advertising for the recovery of missing articles abstracted by his compulsory guests. The court immediately behind this appears to have been one of the earliest attempts to substitute an open square of some extent for the narrow closes that had so long afforded the sole town residences of the Scottish gentry. The main entrance is adorned with a Doric entablature, and bears the date 1690. The principal house, which forms the north side of the court, has a handsome entrance, with neat mouldings, rising into a small peak in the centre, like a very flat ogee arch. This style of ornament, which frequently occurs in buildings of the same period, seems to mark the handiwork of Robert Milne, the builder of the most recent portions of Holyrood Palace, and seventh Royal Master Mason, whose uncle's tomb,—erected by him in the Greyfriars' Churchyard,—records in quaint rhymes these hereditary honours:—

> Reader, John Milne, who maketh the fourth John,
> And, by descent from father unto son,
> Sixth Master-Mason, to a royal race
> Of seven successive kings, sleeps in this place.

The houses forming the west side of the court are relics of a much earlier period, that had been delivered from the durance of a particularly narrow close by the march of fashion and improvement in the seventeenth century. The most northerly of them long formed the town mansion of the lairds of Comiston, in whose possession it still remains; while that to the south, though only partially exposed, presents a singularly irregular and picturesque

[1] Ante, p. 71. "Quhen hir grace come fordwart to the butter trone of the said burgh, the nobilitie and convoy foir-said precedand, at the quhilk butter trone thair was ane port made of tymber, in maist honourable maner, cullorit with fyne cullouris, hungin with syndrie armes; upon the quhilk port was singand certane barneis in the maist hevinlie wyis; under the quhilk port thair wes ane cloud opynnand with four levie, in the quhilk was put ane bony barne. And quhen the quenes hienes was cumand throw the said port, the said cloud opynnit, and the barne descendit doun as it had beene ane angell, and deliuerit to her hienes the keyis of the toun, togidder with ane Bybill and ane Psalme Buik, couerit with fyne purpourit veluot; and efter the said barne had spoken some small speitches, he deliuerit alsua to her hienes thre writtingis, the tennour thairof is vncertane. That being done, the barne asceudit in the cloud, and the said clud stekit; and thairefter the quenis grace come doun to the tolbuith."—Diurnal of Ocurrents, p. 68.

aspect—dormer windows rise above the line of roof—and a bold projection supported on a large ornamental stone corbel, admits of a very tall window at an oblique angle below it, evidently constructed to catch every stray gleam of light, ere the narrow alley gave way to the improvements of the royal master-mason. Over the entrance to the stair there is the very common inscription, *Blissit . be . God . in . al . his . Giftis.*, with the date 1580; and while the whole of the east side is substantially built of hewn stone, the south front, —looking directly down the old West Bow—is a very picturesque timber façade, with irregular gables, and each story thrusting its beams farther into the street than the one below it.

One of the earliest proprietors of this ancient dwelling appears from the titles to have been Bartholomew Somerville, merchant burgess; the most conspicuous among those generous citizens to whose liberality we are mainly indebted for the establishment of the University of Edinburgh on a lasting basis. "In December [1639] following," says Craufurd, "the Colledge received the greatest accession of its patrimony which ever had been bestowed by any private person. Mr Bartholomew Somervale (the son of Peter Somervale, a rich burgess, and sometime Baylie),[1] having no children, by the good counsel of his brothers-in-law, Alex. Patrick and Mr Samuel Talfar, mortified to the College 20,000 merks, to be employed for maintenance of an Professor of Divinity, and 6000 merks for buying of Sir James Skeen's lodging and yaird, for his dwelling."[2] This worthy citizen was succeeded in the old tenement by Sir John Harper of Cambusnethan.

Immediately to the east of Milne's Court, a more modern erection of the same kind exists, which is associated in various ways with some of the most eminent men that have added lustre to the later history of the Scottish capital. To this once fashionable and aristocratic quarter David Hume removed in 1762 from his previous place of residence in Jack's Land, Canongate; here also, and in the same house, Boswell resided when he received and entertained Paoli, the Patriot Corsican Chief, in 1771, and the still more illustrious Dr Johnson, when he visited Edinburgh in 1773, on his way to the Western Islands.

Entering by a narrow alley which pierces the line of lofty houses along the Lawnmarket, the visitor finds himself in a large court, surrounded by high and substantial buildings, which have now evidently fallen to the lot of humbler inhabitants than those for whom they were erected. These spaces, walled off by the intervening houses from the main street, were in the Scottish metropolis like the similar edifices of the French nobility, frequently designed with the view of protecting those who dwelt within the gate from the unwelcome intrusion of either legal or illegal force. But James's Court scarcely dates back to times so lawless, having only been erected by a wealthy citizen in 1727, on the site of various ancient closes, containing the residences of judges, nobles, and dignitaries of

[1] Peter Somerville's house stood near the head of the West Bow, with the Somerville arms over the doorway, surmounted by his initials, and the date 1602.

[2] Craufurd's Hist. of the University, p. 136. An apartment on the first floor of this land, lighted by two large windows looking into Milne's Court, has a modern ceiling about ten feet from the floor—a comparison of this, with the height of the next story, shows, that a space of about three feet must be enclosed between it and the floor above. It is exceedingly probable that the modern plaster-work may conceal another painted roof similar to those described in Blyth's Close.

note in their day, the most eminent of whom was the celebrated lawyer, Sir John Lauder, better known by his judicial title of Lord Fountainhall. This interesting locality is thus described by the latest biographer of David Hume:—"Entering one of the doors opposite the main entrance, the stranger is sometimes led by a friend, wishing to afford him an agreeable surprise, down flight after flight of the steps of a stone staircase, and when he imagines he is descending so far into the bowels of the earth, he emerges on the edge of a cheerful, crowded thoroughfare, connecting together the Old and New Town; the latter of which lies spread before him,—a contrast to the gloom from which he has emerged. When he looks up to the building containing the upright street through which he has descended, he sees that vast pile of tall houses standing at the head of the Mound, which creates astonishment in every visitor of Edinburgh. This vast fabric is built on the declivity of a hill, and thus one entering on the level of the Lawnmarket, is at the height of several stories from the ground on the side next the New Town. I have ascertained," he adds, "that by ascending the western of the two stairs facing the entry of James's Court, to the height of three stories, we arrive at the door of David Hume's house, which, of the two doors on that landing-place, is the one towards the left."[1]

During Hume's absence in France, this dwelling was occupied by Dr Blair, and on his leaving it finally for the house he had built for himself in St Andrew Square, at the corner of St David Street, James Boswell became its tenant. Thither, in August 1773, he conducted Dr Johnson, from the White Horse Inn, Boyd's Close, Canongate, then one of the chief inns in Edinburgh, where he had found him in a violent passion at the waiter, for having sweetened his lemonade without the ceremony of a pair of sugar-tongs. The doctor, in his indignation, threw the lemonade out of the window, and seemed inclined to send the waiter after it.[2]

We have often conversed with a gentleman whose mother had been present at a tea-party in James's Court, on the occasion of the doctor's arrival in town, and the impression produced on her by the society of the illustrious lexicographer was summed up in the very laconic sentence in which Mrs Boswell had then expressed her opinion of him, that he was "a great brute!"[3] Margaret, Duchess of Douglas, was one of the party, "with all her diamonds,"—a lady somewhat noted among those of her own rank for her illiteracy,—but the doctor reserved his attentions during the whole evening almost exclusively for the Duchess.[4] The character thus assigned to him is fully borne out in the lively letters of Captain Topham, who visited Edinburgh in the following year. He describes the reception of the doctor, by all classes, as having been of the most flattering kind, and he adds, "From all I have been able to learn, he repaid all their attention to him with ill-breeding;

[1] Burton's Life of Hume, vol. ii. p. 136. The western portion of this vast fabric was destroyed by fire in 1858. On its site has been erected, in the old Scottish style, an equally lofty structure for the Savings Bank and Free Church Offices.

[2] Boswell's Johnson, by Croker, vol. ii. p. 259.

[3] The opinion of Lord Auchinleck about "the Auld Dominie" is well known, and the doctor's hostess, Mrs Boswell, though assiduous in her attentions to her guest, seems to have coincided in opinion with the wit, who, on hearing him styled by some of his admirers *a constellation* of learning, said, "Then he must be the *Ursa Major.*" Boswell tells, with his usual naïveté, that his wife exclaimed to him on one occasion, with natural asperity,—"I have seen many a bear led by a man, but I never before saw a man led by a bear!"—Boswell's Johnson, note, Nov. 27, 1773.

[4] "An old lady," as Dr Johnson describes her, "who talks broad Scotch with a paralytic voice, and is scarce understood by her own countrymen."—Boswell's Johnson, by Croker, vol. i. p. 209.

and when in the company of the ablest men in this country, his whole design was to show them how little he thought of them."[1]

It is told of Johnson, that being on one occasion in a company where Hume was present, a mutual friend offered to introduce him to the philosopher, when the intolerant moralist roared out, "No, sir!" It is not therefore without reason that Mr Burton questions if Johnson would have been able to "sleep o' nights," had he learned that he had been entrapped into the arch-infidel's very mansion![2]

In Hume's day the North Loch lay directly below the windows of his house, with gardens extending to its margin, and a fine open country beyond, diversified with woodland and moor, where now the modern streets of the Scottish capital cover a space vastly exceeding its whole ancient boundaries for many centuries. Hume appears to have derived great pleasure from the magnificent prospect which his elevated residence secured to him; yet although he writes to Dr Robertson in 1759, "I have the strangest reluctance to change places," he was, nevertheless, one of the earliest to emigrate beyond the North Loch. In 1770 he commenced building his new house, which was the first erected in South St David Street, and in which he died. The old dwelling, however, was not immediately abandoned to the plebeian population; Boswell, as we have seen, succeeded him, and he was followed in its occupancy by the Lady Wallace, Dowager, relict of Sir Thomas Wallace of Cragie.[3] The floor below Hume's house was the property of Andrew Macdowal, Esq., advocate, author of the "Institutional Law of Scotland," a ponderous mass of legal learning in three folio volumes. On his elevation to the bench in 1755, under the title of Lord Bankton, his lordship,—in order to adapt the flat in the Lawnmarket to his increased dignity and rank,—purchased the one below it, on a level with the court, and united the two by an elegant internal stair of carved mahogany, which has since been displaced by a more homely substitute, on the conversion of the old judge's dwelling into a printing office.

Immediately to the east of the lofty range of buildings fronting James's Court, houses of an early date, and of considerable variety of character, again occur. The first of these, represented at the head of the chapter, is a tall and narrow stone land, of a marked character, and highly adorned, according to the style prevailing at the close of the sixteenth century. The house belonged of old to Sir Robert Bannatyne, chaplain, and after passing through several hands, was purchased in 1631 by Thomas Gladstone, merchant burgess, who appears to have built the present stone front. On a shield below the crow-steps of the west

[1] Topham's Letters, London, 1776, p 139.

[2] We have adhered in this to the biographer of Hume, who assigns the same house to both. It is certain that Hume had a tenant of the name of Boswell; and as the house below was a large residence, consisting of two flats, the probability of Boswell occupying the single flat seems confirmed by the fact that he "regretted sincerely that he had not also a room for Mr Scott," afterwards Lord Stowell, who had accompanied the doctor from Newcastle to the White Horse Inn, Edinburgh. Dr Johnson's evidence, however, contradicts this. "Boswell," he writes, "has very handsome and spacious rooms, level with the ground at one side of the house, and on the other four stories high,"—a remark only explicable, on this idea, by supposing him to refer to the peculiar character of the building, as described above.

[3] So late as 1771, his brother, Joseph Hume, Esq. of Ninewells, occupied a fashionable residence in the fifth flat of an old house that stood at the junction of the Lawnmarket with Melbourne Place. The following notice of the residence of Lady Ninewells, the grandmother, as we presume, of Hume, occurs in a series of accounts of a judicial sale of property in Parliament Close, in the year 1680:—"The house presently possest bs the Lady Ninewells, being the fourth storie above the entrie from the long transs of the tenement upon the east side of the kirk-heugh, consisting of four fire rowmes, with ane sellar, at a yearly rent of ane hundred fourtie and four pounds Scotts."

gable are the initials T. G. and B. G., while on a corresponding shield to the east a curious device occurs, not unlike an ornamental key, with the *bit* in the form of a crescent. Many such fancy devices occur on the older buildings in Edinburgh, the only probable explanation of which appears to be that they are merchants' marks. This house is alluded to in the divisions of the city for the sixteen companies formed in 1634, in obedience to an injunction of Charles I., where the second division, on the north side of the Castle Hill, terminates at "Thomas Gladstone's Land."[1]

Previous to the opening of Bank Street, Lady Stair's Close, the first below this old building, was the chief thoroughfare for foot passengers taking advantage of the half-formed earthen mound, to reach the New Town. It derives its name from Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Stair, who, as the wife of the Viscount Primrose, forms one of the most interesting characters associated with the romantic traditions of old Edinburgh. Scott has made the incidents of Lady Primrose's singular story the groundwork of "Aunt Margaret's Mirror," perhaps the most striking of all his briefer tales; while the scarcely less interesting materials preserved by the latest survivors of the past generation form some of the most attractive pages of "Chambers's Traditions." This story, with nearly all the marvellous features of Aunt Margaret's tale, received universal credit from the contemporaries of the principal actors in its romantic scenes, as well as from many of the succeeding generation.

The Countess Dowager of Stair was long looked up to as the leader of fashion, and an admission to her select circle courted as one of the highest objects of ambition among the smaller gentry of the period. One cannot help smiling now at the idea of the leader of ton in the Scottish capital condescendingly receiving the *élite* of fashionable society in the second flat of a common stair in a narrow close of the Old Town; yet such were the habits of Edinburgh society in the eighteenth century, at a period when the distinctions of rank and fashion were guarded with a degree of jealousy of which we have little conception now.

A characteristic sample of the manners of the period is furnished in the evidence of Sir John Stewart of Castlemilk, in the celebrated Douglas Cause, affording a peep into the interior of Holyrood Palace about the middle of last century. Sir John Stewart states that, being on a visit to the Duke of Hamilton, at his lodgings in the Abbey, the Countess of Stair entered the room, seemingly in a very great passion, holding in her hand a letter from Thomas Cochrane, Esq., afterwards Earl of Dundonald, to the Duke of Douglas, in which he affirmed that the Countess of Stair had declared, that, to her knowledge, the children said to be those of Lady Jane Douglas were fictitious; whereupon the Countess struck the floor three times with a staff which she had in her hand, and each time that she struck the floor, she called the Earl a damned villain, which her ladyship said was his own expression in his letter to the Duke. One can fancy the stately old lady in her high-heeled shoes and hoop, flourishing her cane, and crushing the obnoxious letter in her hand, as she applied to its author the elegant epithet of his own suggestion.[2]

In the same close which bears her ladyship's name also resided the celebrated bibliographer and antiquary, Mr George Paton, the friend and correspondent of Lord Hailes, Gough, Bishop Percy, Ritson, George Chalmers, Pennant, Herd, and, indeed, of nearly all

[1] Maitland, p. 285.

[2] Proof for Douglas of Douglas, Esq., defender, &c. Douglas Cause.

the most eminent venerators of antiquity, during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Two small volumes of the Paton Correspondence—now rare and valuable—have been published, which serve to show the very high estimation in which he was held as a literary antiquary, and the numerous contributions furnished by him towards the most eminent works of that class, only a small portion of which has been acknowledged by the recipients. George Paton was a man of extreme modesty and diffidence,—a bachelor of retiring and taciturn inclinations;—yet he was neither illiberal nor unsocial in his habits; his time, his knowledge, and his library, were all at the service of his friends, and though not only temperate but abstemious in his tastes, his evenings were generally spent with Herd, and other kindred spirits, in Johnie Dowie's Tavern, in Libberton's Wynd, the well-known rendezvous of the Scottish literati during that period. He was methodical in all his habits; the moment eleven sounded from St Giles's steeple, his spare figure might be seen emerging from the wynd head, and the sound of his cane on the pavement of Lady Stair's Close, gave the signal to his housekeeper for his admittance. This interesting old Edinburgh *character* bears in many respects a resemblance to the more celebrated "Elia" of the East India House. He obtained a clerkship in the Custom House, the whole emoluments of which, after an augmentation for many years' service, never exceeded £80; and yet with this narrow income he contrived to amass a collection of books and manuscripts to an extent rarely equalled by a single individual. On his death in the year 1807, at the advanced age of eighty-seven, his valuable library was sold by auction, occupying considerably more than a month in its disposal; and its treasures were strenuously contended for by the chief bibliopolists assembled from distant parts of the kingdom.[1]

The old mansion in Lady Stair's Close bears over its entrance this pious inscription, "FEARE THE LORD, AND DEPART FROM EVILL," with the date 1622, and the arms and initials of its original proprietors, Sir William Gray of Pittendrum,—the ancestor of the present Lord Gray,—and Geida or Egidia his wife, sister of Sir John Smith of Grothill, Provost of Edinburgh. Sir William was a man of great influence and note; although, by virtue of a new patent, granted by Charles I., the ancient title of Lord Gray reverted to his family, he devoted himself to commerce, and became one of the most extensive Scottish merchants of his day, improving and enlarging the foreign trade of his country, and acquiring great wealth to himself. On the breaking out of civil commotions, he adhered to the royal party, and shared in its misfortunes; he was fined by the Parliament 100,000 merks, for corresponding with Montrose, and imprisoned first in the Castle

[1] The correspondence between Paton and Gough—full of matter deeply interesting to the antiquary and topographer—was some years since prepared for publication by Mr Turnbull, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, but owing to the paucity of subscribers, the MS. was thrown aside, to the great loss of literary students.

and afterwards in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, till the penalty was modified to 35,000 merks, which was instantly paid.[1] Other and still more exorbitant exactions followed, until his death in 1648, which was believed to have been accelerated by his share in the troubles of the period. Other cares, however, besides those attendant on civil strife, embittered the latter years of the noble merchant. From Sir Thomas Hope's diary, 12th May 1645, we learn that "a dauchter of Sir William Grayis departit off the plaig, quhilk put us all in greit fear."[2] So that the old mansion in Lady Stair's Close remains a memorial of the terrible plague of 1645, the last and most fatal visitation of that dreadful scourge which Edinburgh experienced, and which, like its first recorded appearance in 1513—the memorable year of Flodden—followed in the wake of a disastrous war, while the city was awaiting, in terror, the victorious forces of Montrose.

The "Statuts for the Baillies of the Mure,"[3] first enacted in 1567, were renewed with various modifications at this period, sealing up the houses where "the angel of the pestilence" had stayed his boding flight, and forbidden to his victims the rites of sepulture with their kindred. One interesting memorial of the stern rule of "the Baillies of the Mure," during this terrible year, still remains in a field to the east of Warrender House, Bruntsfield Links,—a central spot in the Old Borough Moor. Here, amid the luxuriant pasturage of the meadow, and within sight of the busy capital, a large flat tombstone may be seen, timeworn and grey with the moss of age; it bears on it a skull, surmounted by a winged sandglass, and a scroll inscribed *mors pace . . . . hora cæli*, and below this a shield bearing a saltier, with the initials M. I. R., and the date of the fatal year 1645. The M. surmounts the shield, and in all probability indicates that the deceased had taken his degree of Master of Arts. A scholar, therefore, and perhaps one of noble birth, has won the sad pre-eminence of slumbering in unconsecrated grouud, and apart from the dust of his fathers, to tell of the terrors of the plague to other generations.

The lady of Sir William Grey appears to have long survived her husband, as in the writs of some neighbouring properties, the old alley is styled Lady Grey's Close. The Countess of Stair's house, we may add, is proved from the titles to have been the upper story, "immediately above the dwelling-house, which partained to the heirs of David Gray, merchant burgess," doubtless a descendant of its builder; and her successor is a Lady Clestram, the relict of some worthy laird, whose honours did not prove strong enough to overcome the *eclât* of a Countess's name.

The associations of the adjoining close connect us with a period much more recent, and with characters yielding in interest to none with whose memories the localities of Edinburgh are linked. Here, in the year 1786, the poet Burns,—just snatched from exile by the generous intervention of the blind bard, Dr Blacklock,—found his way, fresh from

[1] Wood's Peerage, vol. i. p. 672.

[2] Sir Thomas Hope's Diary, Bann. Club, p. 219.

[3] "*Statuts for the Baillies of the Mure, and ordering the Pest.* For ordouring of the said mure, and pepill infectit thairupoun, for clengeing of houssis within the toun," &c. "That the Thesaurer causs mak for everie ane of the Baillies, Clengers, and Berears of the deid, ane gown of gray, with Sanct Androiss corss, quhite behind and before; and to everie ane of thame, ane staff, with ane quhite clayth on the end, quhairby thay may be knawin quhairevir thay pass. That thair be maid twa clois beris, with foure feet, colorit over with blak, and ane quhite cross, with ane bell to be hung in upoun the side of the said beir, quilk sall mak warning to the pepill. . . . . That with all deligence possible, sa sone as ony houss sall be iufectit, the haill houshald, with their gudds, be depescit towert the mure, the deid buriet, and with like diligence the houss clengit," &c.—Council Register, 1568. Maitland, p. 31.

the plough, to his friend Richmond, a writer's apprentice, and accepted the offer of a share of his room and bed, in the house of Mrs Carfrae, Baxter's Close, Lawnmarket.[1]

In the first stair to the left, on entering the close, and on the first floor of the house, is the poet's lodging. The tradition of his residence there has passed through very few hands; the predecessor of the present tenant (a respectable widow, who has occupied the house for many years) learned it from Mrs Carfrae, and the poet's room is pointed out, with its window looking into Lady Stair's Close. The land is an ancient and very substantial building, with large and neatly moulded windows, retaining the marks of having been finished with stone mullions; in one tier in particular the windows are placed one above another, only separated at each story by a narrow lintel, so as to present the singular appearance of one long and narrow window from top to bottom of the lofty land. From this ancient dwelling Burns issued to dine or sup with the magnates of the land, and, "when the company arose in the gilded and illuminated rooms, some of the fair guests—perhaps

> Her Grace,
> Whose flambeaux flash against the morning skies,
> And gild our chamber ceilings as they pass,

took the hesitating arm of the bard, went smiling to her coach, waved a graceful good-night with her jewelled hand, and, departing to her mansion, left him in the middle of the street, to grope his way through the dingy alleys of the 'gude town,' to his obscure lodging, with his share of a deal table, a sanded floor, and a chaff bed, at eighteenpence a week."[2] The poet's lodging, however, is no such dingy apartment as this description implies; it is a large and well-proportioned room, neatly panelled with wood, according to a fashion by no means very antiquated then; and if he was as well boarded as lodged, the hardy ploughman would find his independence exposed to no insurmountable temptation, for all the grandeur of the old Scottish Duchesses, most of whose carriages were only sedan chairs, unless when they preferred the more economical conveyance of "a gude pair of pattens!"

Over the doorway of the old house immediately opposite to that of Burns', in Baxter's Close, there is a curious and evidently a very ancient lintel,—a relic of some more stately mansion of the olden time. It bears a shield, now much defaced, surmounted by a crown, and above this a cross, with the figure of a man leaning over it, wearing a mitre. The initials, A. S. and E. I., are placed on either side; and above the whole, in antique Gothic letters, is the inscription, BLISSIT · BE · THE · LORD · IN · HIS · GIFTIS · FOR · NOV · AND · EVIR. We are inclined, from the appearance of this stone, to assign to it an earlier date than that of any other inscription in Edinburgh. The house into which it is built is evidently a much later erection, and no clue is furnished from its titles as to any previous building having occupied the site. It passed by inheritance, in the year 1746, into the possession of Martha White, only child of a wealthy burgess, whose gold won for her, some years later, the honours of Countess of Elgin and Kincardine, Governess to her Royal Highness Princess Charlotte of Wales, and the parentage of sundry honourable Lady Marthas, Lord Thomases, and the like.

[1] Allan Cunningham's Burns, vol. i. p. 115.

[2] Ibid, vol. i. p. 131.

An ancient land in Johnston's Close, on the south side of the Lawnmarket, immediately behind the West Bow, exhibits an unusually picturesque character in its gloomy interior, abounding with plain arched recesses and corbelled projections, scattered throughout in the most irregular and lawless fashion, and with narrow windows thrust into the oddest corners, or up even above the very cornice of the ceiling, in order to catch every wandering ray of borrowed light, amid the jostling of its pent-up neighbourhood. A view of the largest apartment is given in the Abbotsford edition of the Waverley Novels, under the name of "Hall of the Knights of St John, St John's Close, *Canongate.*" We have failed in every attempt to obtain any clue to the early history of the building, which tradition has associated with this ancient order of soldier-priests.

In the first and smaller court of Riddle's Close, immediately to the east of this, there is a lofty land with a projecting turret stair, bearing the date 1726, although a portion of the building to the south belongs to a much earlier period. This lofty tenement derives an interest from the fact of its having been the first residence of David Hume, as an independent householder in Edinburgh,—adding another link to the associations with which the Lawnmarket abounds in connection with the great philosopher. He removed thither from Ninewells in 1751, from whence he writes, shortly after, to Adam Smith, "Direct to me in Riddal's Land, Lawnmarket." He thus facetiously describes to the great political economist, his own first attempts at domestic economy:—"I have now at last—being turned of forty, to my own honour, to that of learning, and to that of the present age,—arrived at the dignity of being a householder. About seven months ago I got a house of my own, and completed a regular family, consisting of a head—viz., myself, and two inferior members—a maid and a cat. My sister has since joined me, and keeps me company. With frugality, I can reach, I find, cleanliness, warmth, light, plenty, and contentment. What would you have more? Independence? I have it in a supreme degree. Honour? That is not altogether wanting. Grace? That will come in time. A wife? That is none of the indispensable requisites of life. Books? That *is* one of them, and I have more than I can use," &c.[1] The titles of this property include "an express servitude upon the tenement of land called Major Weir's Land, sometime belongiug to James Riddle of Caister, in the county of Norfolk, in England; that the same shall not be built higher than it is at present, lest it may anywise hurt or prejudice the said subject." From a comparison of dates, no doubt can exist that Hume commenced his History of England in Riddle's Land, though the bulk of it was written after his removal to Jack's Land, Canongate.

An interesting mansion, of a much earlier date, but of equally lofty character, occupies the opposite side of this narrow court. Entering the doorway under a corbelled angle, which adapts the projecting staircase to its narrow site, the visitor ascends a substantial stone stair to a broad landing on the second floor. Here the stair seems to terminate, but, on proceeding along the dark passage a little way, he will be surprised to stumble on another equally substantial, though somewhat narrower, rather puzzling him to conjecture by what species of substructure it reaches a foundation on terra-firma. Without ascending this second stair, however, he will reach a large apartment, now occupied as a bookbinder's workshop, although retaining the proscenium and other requisites for

[1] Burton's Life of Hume, vol. i. p. 377.

dramatic exhibitions, this having been used at one time as a public theatre. On passing through this, an inner room is reached, which exhibits an exceedingly interesting series of decorations of an earlier period, still remaining in tolerable preservation. The ceiling, which is richly ornamented in stucco, in the style that prevailed during the reign of Charles II., has a large circle in the centre, containing the royal crown, surrounded by alternate roses and thistles, and with the date 1678. The remainder of the ceiling is arranged in circular and polygonal compartments, with the Scottish Lion *Rampant*, and the Lion *Statant Gardant*, as in the English crest, alternately. The walls of this apartment are panelled in wood, and decorated in the very richest style of old Norrie's[1] art, justifying his claim to rank among the landscape painters of Scotland. Every panel in the room, on shutters, walls and doors, contains a different landscape, some of them executed with great spirit; even the keystone of an arched recess has a mask painted on it, and the effect of the whole is singularly beautiful, notwithstanding the injury that many of the paintings have sustained.

This fine old mansion was originally the residence of Sir John Smith of Grotham, Provost of Edinburgh, who, in 1650, was one of the Commissioners chosen by the Committee of State, to convey the loyal assurances of the nation to Charles II. at Breda, taking with them, at the same time, "The Covenant to be subscryvit by his Majestie."[2] So recent, we may add, has been the desertion of this locality by the wealthier citizens of Edinburgh, that the late Professor Pillans, who long occupied the Chair of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh, was born and brought up within the same ancient dwelling.

The inner court, of which we furnish an engraving, is a neat, open, paved square, that still looks as though it might afford a fitting residence for the old courtiers of Holyrood. The building which faces the visitor on passing through the second large archway, has long been regarded with interest as the residence of Bailie Macmoran, one of the Magistrates of Edinburgh in the reign of James VI., who was shot dead by one of the High School boys, during a barring-out or rebellion in the year 1595. The luckless youth who fired the rash shot was William Sinclair,[3] a son of the Chancellor of Caithness, and owing to this he was allowed to escape, his father's power and influence being too great to suffer the law to take its course. Until the demolition of the Old High School in 1777, the boys used to point out, in one part of the building, what was called the *Bailie's Window*, being that through which the fatal shot had been fired.

The Bailie's initials, I. M., are visible over either end of the pediment that surmounts the building, and the close is styled, in all the earlier titles of the property, Macmoran's Close.[4] After passing through several generations of the Macmorans, the house was

[1] Among the List of Subscribers to the first edition of Ramsay's Poems, published in 1721, are the names of James Norrie and John Smibert (the friend of the poet), *Painters*.

[2] Nicol's Diary, p. 4.

[3] "William Sinclair, sone to William Sinclair, Chansler of Caines. . . . . There wes ane number of schollaris, being gentlemen's bairns, made ane muitinie. . . . . Putlie the haill townesmen ran to the schooll, and tuik the said bairns and put yame in the Tolbuith, bot the haill bairns wer letten frie w'out hurte done to yame for ye same, w'in ane short tyme yairafter."—Birrell's Diary, p. 35.

[4] This close affords a very good example of the frequent changes of name, to which nearly the whole of them were subjected; the last occupant of note generally supplying his name to the residence of his successor. It is styled in the various titles, Macmoran's, Sir John Smith's, Royston's, and Riddle's Close.

acquired by Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik. By him it was sold to Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Preston Hall, appointed a senator of the College of Justice in 1702, who resided in the upper part of the house, at the same time that Sir James Mackenzie, Lord Royston, third son of the celebrated Earl of Cromarty, "one of the wittiest and most gifted men of his time," occupied the lower flat. Here, therefore, in all probability, his witty and eccentric daughter, Anne, was born and brought up. This lady, who married Sir William Dick of Prestonfield, carried her humorous pranks to an excess scarcely conceivable in our decorous days; sallying out occasionally in search of adventures, like some of the maids of honour of Charles the Second's Court,[1] dressed in male attire, with her maid for a squire, and outvying them in the extravagance of her proceedings. She seems indeed to have possessed more wit than discretion. Some of her poetical lampoons have been privately printed by C. K. Sharpe, Esq., in a rare, though well-known little volume, entitled, "A Ballad Book," and furnish curious specimens of the notions of delicacy at the period.

Half a dozen more Provosts, Baronets, and Lords of Session, might be mentioned as the old occupants of this aristocratic quarter, but it will probably interest the reader more to learn that "The laigh tenement of land" was "sometime possessed by Jean Straiton, relict of the deceased Mr David Williamson, Minister of the Gospel at the West Kirk,"—the well-known "Daintie Davie" of Scottish song, who, if tradition has not wronged him, had "worn out six wives," ere Jean Straiton, the seventh, contrived to survive him. He was one of the ejected ministers in 1665, and was restored, to the great joy of the parishioners, in 1689, although the Duke of Gordon, then under siege in the Castle, contrived to keep him out of his church for some months thereafter, and left the ancient fabric well-nigh reduced to ruins ere he surrendered the fortress.[2] His grave is still pointed out in the churchyard of St Cuthbert's, though there is no other inscription over it than his initials on the enclosing wall, to mark the spot where he is laid.

The accompanying engraving renders a detailed description of the ancient court unnecessary. One feature, however, is worthy of special notice, viz., the antique carved oak shutters with which the lower half of one of the windows is closed, forming the finest specimen of this obsolete fashion now remaining in Edinburgh.

To the east of this ancient quadrangle, there stood, till within these few years, the old town residence of the Buccleuch family, entering from Fisher's Close, demolished about 1835, to make way for Victoria Terrace; and immediately beyond this, in Brodie's Close, there still remains, in the Roman Eagle Hall, an exceedingly beautiful specimen of a large and highly decorated ancient saloon. This, however, falls to be treated of in another chapter; but the same old close—ere the besom of modern "improvement" swept over it with indiscriminate destruction—contained various dwellings, pleasingly associated with the memories of some of Edinburgh's worthiest citizens in "The Olden Time."

On the east side of an open court, immediately beyond the Roman Eagle Hall, stood the ancient mansion of the Littles of Craigmil'ar, bearing below a large moulded and deeply recessed stone panel, WILLIAME · 1570 · LITIL, and on six shields, underneath as many crow-stepped gables, were the initials, V. L., boldly cut in various forms.

William Little and his brother, Clement, may justly be considered, along with James

[1] Grammont Memoirs.

[2] Hist. of West Kirk, pp. 76–84.

Lawson, the colleague and successor of Knox, the true founders[1] of "King James's College;" that royal pedant having in reality bestowed little more on the University than a charter and his name! In 1580, Clement Little, advocate and commissary of Edinburgh, dedicated all his books, consisting of three hundred volumes, "for the beginning of ane library,"—the undoubted foundation of that magnificent collection which the College now possesses. This generous gift was bestowed during his lifetime, and the volumes "were put up in Mr James Lawson's galery, an part of the lodgings appoynted for the ministry, situated where the Parliament House is now found."[2]

James Lawson is well known for his uncompromising resistance to the schemes of King James for "re-establishing the state of bishops, flatt contrare the determination of the kirk." On the assembly of the Estates for this purpose in 1584, the King sent word to the Magistrates to seize and imprison any of the ministers who should venture to speak against the proceedings of the Parliament. James Lawson, however, with his colleague Walter Balcanquall, nothing daunted, not only preached against these proceedings from the pulpit, but the latter appeared, along with Mr Robert Pont, at the Cross, on the heralds proceeding to proclaim the act, and publicly protested, and took instruments in the name of the Kirk of Scotland against them, in so far as they prejudiced the former liberties of the kirk. "Arran made manie vowes that if Mr James Lawson's head were as great as an hay stacke, he would cause it leap from his hawse!"[3] Both he and his colleague were accordingly compelled to make a precipitate flight to England, where James Lawson died the same year;[4] Walter Balcanquall, however, returned afterwards to his charge. Two years later, in 1586, we find him preaching before the King, "in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh," when "the King, after sermoun, rebooked Mr Walter publiclie from his seat in the loaft, and said he would prove there sould be bishops!" &c. The royal arguments were not altogether thrown away, as it would seem; the young Walter, son of the good man,—having probably listened to this rebuke from "the minister's pew,"—afterwards became the well known Dr Balcanquall, Dean of Durham and Rochester, "special favorite to King James VI. and King Charles I.;" to whom his relative, George Heriot, committed the entire regulation and oversight of his magnificent foundation.[5]

Clement Little also bore his share in the troubles of the period. On the 28th of April 1572, proclamation was made at the Cross, "that Mr Robert Maitland, Dene of Aberdene, ane of the senatouris of the College of Justice, and Mr Clement Littill and Alexander Sim, advocattis, commissaris of Edinburgh, wes present in Leith, partakaris with the King, and rebellis to the Quene and her lieutennentis, thairfoir dischargit thame of thair offices, in that pairt for euver."[6] The proclamation would appear, however, to have led to no consequences of very permanent import.

[1] Bower's Hist. of the University, vol. i. p. 69. [2] Craufurd's Hist., p. 20. [3] Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 65.

[4] The following items from the will of Mr James Lawson, including a bequest to his colleague, are curious:—"*Imprimis*, Yee sall deliver to the Frenche Kirk at London, three angells, to be distributed to their poore. Item, To Maistresse Vannoll, who keeped me in my sicknesse, an angell. Item, I will that my loving brother, Mr James Carmichaell, sall *bow a rose noble* instantlie, and deliver it to my deere brother and loving friend Mr Walter Balcalquall, who hath beene so carefull of me at all times, and cheefelie in time of this my present sicknesse; to remaine with him as a perpetuall tokin and remembrance of my speciall love and thankfull heart towards him."—Calderwood's Hist., vol. iv. p. 206.

[5] Dr Steven's Memoir of G. Heriot, Appendix, p. 148. [6] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 295.

The son and namesake of the first William Little was Provost of Edinburgh in 1591, and helped to complete the work which his generous relatives had so well begun. On the election of a librarian, in the year 1647, we find the Magistrates showing a grateful sense of their obligations to these noble benefactors of the town, by appointing a descendant of theirs to the office. "Many favoured Mr Thomas Speir, son of an honest family, laureat at the Lambas preceeding, especially in regard of his grandfather, William Little, Provost, a most especial friend to the Colledge, and his great grand-uncle, Mr Clement Little, commissary of Edinburgh, who gave the first being to the library."[1]

The house, although occupied towards the close of last century as the Sheriff-clerk's chambers, remained an entailed property in the possession of Clement Little's descendants, until its demolition, and the principal carved stones are now preserved in the garden at Inch House. According to the traditions of last century, as Creech informs us in his "Fugitive Pieces," this interesting old mansion formed the residence of Cromwell during part of the time he resided in Edinburgh,[2] possibly while engaged in the siege of the Castle. This close, which bears, in the earliest titles of property within it, the name of its old residenter, Clement Little, appears in Edgar's map of 1742, as Lord Cullen's Close, so that here also resided that eminent lawyer and judge, Sir Francis Grant of Cullen, who, in 1689, almost singly swayed the whole Scottish nation, when vacillating between the feudal vassallage due to the old line of kings, and their sense of violated rights by its latest representative; and to whose influence was mainly owing the happy consistency of the Scottish Parliament in their declaration that King James had, by his own act, forfeited his throne, and left it vacant. He was raised to the bench in 1709, yet, though thus acute on other people's matters, Lord Cullen was so utterly regardless about his own, that his more shrewd and calculating spouse was accustomed to have all questions relating to his own property represented to him in the form of a "case;" and having obtained his opinion as a lawyer, she took the advice for her direction, without troubling him with further information as to whom it concerned. His friend, Wodrow, has recorded in his history the closing scene of his life,—a scene which we may associate with the ancient alley that bore his name:—"Brother," said he to one who informed him of his mortal illness, "you have brought me the best news ever I heard!" And the historian adds, in figurative depiction, "That day when he died was without a cloud!"

The transition is great from this single-minded and upright judge to the next occupant who gave his name to the close, which it still retains, that of William, or, as he was more generally called, Deacon Brodie. This notorious character, who was executed at the Old Tolbooth on the 1st of October 1788, resided in the same elegant mansion as had previously been the abode of such very different persons,—a suitable enough dwelling for one who stood high in repute as a wealthy and substantial citizen, until the daring robbery of the Excise Office in Chessel's Court, Canongate, brought to light a long-continued system of housebreaking, scarcely ever surpassed in reckless audacity.[3]

The principal apartment in the house was lofty and elegant in its proportions. A large arched window gave light to it from the west, and a painting on the panelling,

[1] Craufurd's Hist., p. 159.

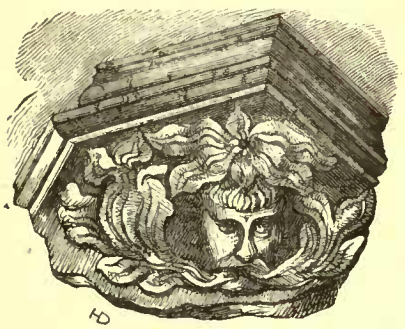
[2] Edinburgh Fugitive Pieces, p. 64.

[3] For a particular account of this worthy, see Kay's Portraits, vol. i. p. 256.

representing the Adoration of the Wise Men, was said to be the work of Alexander Runciman.

We have endeavoured thus far to conduct the reader through this portion of the ancient capital, pointing out the various associations calculated to excite sympathy or interest in connection with its time-honoured scenes. But all other objects of attraction to the local historian, within this district, must yield before those of the Old Bank Close, the site of which was very nearly that of the present paving of Melbourne Place. The antique mansion, that formed the chief building in this close, excited very great and general attention from the time that it was exposed to view in opening up the approach to George IV.'s Bridge, until its demolition in 1834, to make way for the central buildings of Melbourne Place, that now occupy its site. It stood immediately to the east of William Little's Land, already described, in Brodie's Close, from which it was only partially separated by a very narrow gutter that ran between the two houses, leaving them united by a mutual wall at the north end.

This ancient building was curiously connected with a succession of eminent and influential men, and with important historical events of various eras, from the date of its erection until a comparatively recent period. "Gourlay's House," for so it continued to be called nearly to the last, was erected in 1569, as appeared from the date on it, by Robert Gourlay, burgess, on the site, and, partly at least, with the materials of an old religious house. Little further is known of its builder than the fact that he had been a wealthy and influential citizen, who enjoyed the favour of royalty, and made the most of it too, notwithstanding the pious averment sculptured over his door, O LORD IN THE IS AL MY TRAIST.[1] This appears no less from numerous grants of privileges and protections of rights, among the writs and evidents of the property, attested by King James's own signature, than by the very obvious jealousy with which his favour at Court was regarded by his fellow-citizens.



One of these royal mandates, granted by the King at Dumfries, 21st June 1588, sets forth, "Lyke as ye said Robert Gourlay and Helen Cruik, his spouse, has raisit ane new biggin and wark upon ye waste and ground of their lands and houses foresaid, wherein they are quarelled and troubled for enlarging and outputing of ye east gavill and dyke of their said new wark, on with ye bounds of ye auld bigging foundit and edified thereupon, of design, and presumed to have diminished and narrowit ye passage of ye foresaid transe callit Mauchains Close, &c.,[2] We, therefor, ... give and grant special liberty

[1] On the demolition of the building, the words "*O Lord,*" which extended beyond the lintel of the door, were found to be carved on oak, and so ingeniously let into the wall that this had escaped observation. One could almost fancy that the subservient courtier had found his abbreviated motto liable to a more personal construction than was quite agreeable.

[2] In the earlier part of the same writ, the property is styled "ye lands of umq[le] Alexander Mauthane, and now of ye said Robert Gourlay." We learn from Maitland, that in the year 1511, "the Town Council twoards inlarging the said Church of St Giles, bought of *Alexander Mauchanes*, four lands or tenements, in the Booth-raw," or Luckenbooths.—Maitland's Hist., p. 180. This can scarcely be doubted to be the same individual.

VIGNETTE—Carved Stone from Old Bank Close, in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq.

to accomplish the foresaid bigging," &c. This royal mandate not seeming to have produced the ready acquiescence that was doubtless anticipated, King James, in the following August, assumes the imperative mode,—"Whereas the said Robert Gourlay is quarelled and troubled for diminishing of ye breid and largeness of ye passage thereof, by use and wont; albeit ye said vennel be na common nor free passage, lyke as ye same hath not been this long time bygane, being only ane stay hill besouth ye said new wark, and nevir calsayit nor usit as ane oppen and comoun vennall, lyke as na manner of persones has now, nor can justlie plead ony richt or entrie to ye said vennal, q^{lk} be all lawis inviolable observit in tymes bygane has pertainit, and aucht to pertene to US;" and to make sure of the matter this time, his Majesty closes by authorising the building of a dyke across the close, "notwithstanding that ye said transe and vennall have been at ony time of before, repute or halden ane comoun and free passage!"

The result of this mandate of royalty would appear to have been the erection of the house at the foot of the close,—the only other building that had an entrance by it,—apparently as the dwelling for his son, John Gourlay. This ancient edifice possessed a national interest as having been the place where the earliest banking institution in Scotland was established. The Bank of Scotland, or, as it was more generally styled by our ancestors, the Old Bank, continued to carry on all its business there, within the narrow alley that bore its name, until the completion of the extensive erection in Bank Street, whither it removed in 1805. The house bore the date 1588, the same year as that of the royal mandates authorising its erection, and on an upright stone panel, on its north front, a device was sculptured representing several stalks of wheat growing out of bones, with the motto, SPES ALTERA VITÆ. The same ingenious emblem of the resurrection may still be seen on the fine old range of buildings opposite the Canongate Tolbooth.

The only notice of Robert Gourlay we have been able to discover occurs in Calderwood's History, and is worth extracting, for the illustration it affords of the extensive jurisdiction the kirk was disposed to assume to itself in his day:—"About this time, Robert Gourlay, an elder of the Kirk of Edinburgh, was ordeanned to mak his publict repentance in the kirk upon Friday, the 28th May [1574], *for transporting wheate out of the countrie.*" The Regent, however, interfered, and interposed his licence as sufficient security against the threatened discipline of the church.[1]

John Gourlay is styled in some of his titles "customar," that is, one who "taks taxatiounis, custumis, or dewteis;"[2] and his father also, in all probability, occupied a situation of some importance in the royal household; nor is it to be supposed it was altogether "out of mere love and gude will" that King James was so ready to secure to him the absolute control over the close wherein he built his house. It was a building of peculiar strength and massiveness, and singularly intricate in its arrangements, even for that period. Distinct and substantial stone stairs led from nearly the same point to separate parts of the mansion; and on its demolition, a most ingeniously contrived secret chamber was discovered, between the ceiling of the first and the floor of the second story, in which were several chests full of old deeds and other papers.[3] A carved stone, at the side of the highest entrance in the close, bore a shield with a martlet on it,

[1] Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 328.

[2] *Vide* Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary.

[3] Now in the Chambers of the Improvements Commission.

surmounted by the initials R. G.; the arrangement of the interior seemed to have been designed with a view to its occasional subdivision for the separate lodgment of illustrious occupants. A projecting turret, which appears in our engraving, enclosed a spiral stone stair, each of the steps of which was curiously hollowed in front into the segment of a circle. This stair afforded access to a small room in the highest floor of the house, which tradition, as well as the appearance of the apartment, pointed out as the place of durance of the various noble captives that found a prison within its old walls. An adjoining closet was also shown, where the *lockman* was said to have slept, while in waiting to do his last office on such of them as spent there the closing hours of life. Popular rumour even sought to add to the number of these associations, by assigning the former apartment as that in which the Earl of Argyle spent the last night before his execution; where one of his unprincipled and lawless judges was struck with astonishment and remorse on finding his victim in a sweet and tranquil slumber only a few hours before passing to the scaffold.

At the period of Argyle's execution, however, A.D. 1685, this private stronghold of James VI. had passed out of the hands of subservient *customars*, into the possession of the descendants of Sir Thomas Hope,—one of the most resolute opponents of the aggressions of royalty,—who were little likely to suffer their dwelling to be converted into the state prison of the bigoted James VII.; while it is clearly stated by Wodrow, that the unfortunate Argyle was brought directly from the Castle to the *Laigh Council Room*, thence to be conducted to execution.

Very soon after the erection of Gourlay's house, it became the residence of Sir William Durie, governor of Berwick, and commander of the English auxiliaries, during the memorable siege of the Castle in 1573; and thither,—on its surrender, after the courageous defence, of which a brief account has already been given,[1]—the gallant Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, and his brother, with the Lord Hume, Lethington, Pittadrow, the Countess of Argyle, the Lady Lethington, and the Lady Grange, were conducted to await the bloody revenge of the Regent Morton, and the heartlessness of Queen Elizabeth, that consigned Sir William Kirkaldy and his brother to the ignominious death of felons.[2]

David Moyses, who himself held an office in the household of James VI., informs us that on the 27th of May 1581, the very year succeeding that of the royal mandates in favour of Gourlay, the Earls of Arran and Montrose passed from Edinburgh with a body of armed men, to bring the Earl of Morton from Dumbarton Castle, where he was in ward, to take his trial at Edinburgh; and "upon the 29th of May, the said Earl was transported to Edinburgh, and lodged in Robert Gourlay's house, and there keeped by the waged men."[3] The Earl was held there in strict durance, until the 1st of June, and denied all intercourse with his friends. On that day the citizens of the capital were mustered in arms on the

[1] Ante, p. 84.

[2] "The noblemen past to the said lieutennentis lugeing, callit Gourlayes lugeing, thair to remayne quhill farder aduertisement come fra the Quene of Ingland."—Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 333. Calderwood, who furnishes the list of noble captives, mentions the Laird of Grange as brought with others from the Abbey to the Cross for execution. Sir Willism Durie, we may presume, declined to be his gaoler, after his death was determined on.—"When he saw the scaffold prepared at the Croce, the day faire, and the sunne shyning cleere, his countenance was changed," &c. The whole narrative is curious and minute, though too long for inserting here.—Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 284.

[3] Moyses' Memoirs, p. 53.

High Street,—two bands of men of war were placed about the Cross, and two above the Tolbooth. "The first band waited upon the convoy of the Erle of Morton, from the loodging to the Tolbuith."[1] The crime for which he was convicted, was a share in the murder of Darnley, but eighteen other heads of indictment had been drawn up against him. About six in the evening, he was conveyed back to his lodging in the Old Bank Close. He supped cheerfully, and on retiring to rest, slept till three in the morning, when he rose and wrote for some hours, and again returned to his couch. In the morning, he sent the letters he had written, by some of the ministers, to the King, but he refused to look at them or listen to their contents, or indeed do anything, "but ranged up and doun the floore of his chamber, clanking with his finger and his thowme." The Regent had shown little mercy as a ruler, and he had none to hope for from King James. On that same day, he was beheaded at the Cross, by the Maiden, with all the bloody formalities of a traitor's death, and his head exposed on the highest point of the Tolbooth.[2]

In the following year, the same substantial mansion,—alternately prison and palace,[3] —was assigned as a residence for Monsieur de la Motte Fenelon, the French ambassador, who came professedly to mediate between the King and his nobles, and to seek a renewal of the ancient league of amity with France. "He was lodged in Gourlay's house, near the Tolbooth, and had an audience of His Majesty upon the 9th of the said month" of January. He remained till the 10th of February, when "having received a satisfactory answer, with a great banquet, in Archibald Stewart's lodgings, in Edinburgh, he took journey homeward."[4] The banquet was given at the King's request, to the great indignation of the clergy, who had watched with much jealousy "the traffique of Papists,"

[1] Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 557.

[2] Ante, p. 86.—"He was executed about foure houres after noone, upon Fryday, the second of June. Phairnihirst stood in a shott over against the scaffold, with his large ruffes, delyting in this spectacle. The Lord Seton and his two sonnes stood in a staire, south-east from the Croce. His bodie lay upon the scaffold till eight houres at even, and therafter was carried to the Neather Tolbuith, where it was watched. His head was sett upon a prick, on the highest stone of the gavell of the Tolbuith, toward the publict street."—Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 575.

The commou story told by Dr Jamieson and other writers, about the Maiden, is entirely apocryphal. It is said that the Regent Morton borrowed the idea from some foreign country. Halifax, in Yorkshire, has been oftenest assigned as the place of its invention; and the generally received tradition is, that the Regent was himself the first who suffered by it. On the 3d of April 1566, the Maiden was used at the execution of *Thomas Scot*, an accomplice in the murder of Rizzio, when an entry appears in the Town records of 7s. paid for conveying it from Blackfriars to the Cross. The next execution mentioned, is that of *Henry Yair*, on the 10th of August, when Andrew Goffersown, smyth,—who, at the former date, received 5s. for *grinding of y^e^ Maiden*,—obtains a similar fee for *grinding of y^e^ Widow*. We are inclined to infer that the same instrument is spoken of in both cases, and that the fanciful epithet which the old Scottish guillotine still retains, was given to it on the former occasion, in allusion to its then unfleshed and *maiden* axe, vide p. 86. It is at any rate obvious from this, that the Maiden was in use before the Earl of Morton was appointed Regent.

[3] Maitland remarks (p. 181), "The Old Tolbooth, in the Bank Close, in the Landmarket, which was rebuilt in the year 1562, is still standing, on the western side of the said close, with the windows strongly stanchelled; the small dimensions thereof occasioned its being laid aside." We shall show presently the very different character of the original building, although there still remains the intermediate possessor, Alexander Manchane, already mentioned, unless, as is most probable, he occupied the ancient erection as his dwelling. The allusions already quoted, where the Tolbooth is mentioned along with this building, seem sufficient to prove that that name was never applied to it, although it occasionally shared with the Tolbooth the offices of a prison,—a purpose that in reality properly belonged to neither. Moyses styles it *Gourlay's House, near the Tolbooth*,—a true description of it—as it was within a hundred yards of the Old Tolbooth or "Heart of Midlothian."

[4] Moyses' Memoirs, pp. 73–77. Archibald Stewart appears to have been a substantial citizen, who was Provost of the city in the year 1578.

and especially of "one bearing the manifest badge of Antichrist," viz., his badge as a knight of the order of *Saint Esprit!* They accordingly intimated to their congregations a day of fasting and prayer on the occasion, which was duly observed, while the Frenchman was having his farewell repast.

In the year 1588, the King sent Sir James Stewart, brother of the Earl of Arran, to besiege Lord Maxwell, in the Castle of Lochmaben, where he was believed to have collected a force in readiness to co-operate with an expected army from Spain, against the government. The Castle was rendered on the faith of safety promised to the garrison by Sir William Stewart; but the King, who had remained at a prudent distance from danger, now made his appearance, and with characteristic perfidy, hanged the most of them before the Castle gate. He returned to Edinburgh thereafter, bringing with him the Lord Maxwell, "who was warded in Robert Gourlaye's hous, and committed to the custodie of Sir William Stewart." Scarcely a week after this, Sir William quarrelled with the Earl of Bothwell, in the royal presence, where each gave the other the lie, in language sufficiently characteristic of the rudeness of manners then prevailing at the Court of Holyrood. They met a few days afterwards on the High Street, each surrounded by his retainers, when a battle immediately ensued. Sir William was driven down the street by the superior numbers of his opponents, and at length retreated into Blackfriars' Wynd.[1] There he stabbed one of his assailants who was pressing most closely on him, but being unable to recover his sword, he was thrust through the body by Bothwell, and so perished in the affray,—an occurrence that excited little notice at that turbulent period, either from the citizens or the Court, and seems to have involved its perpetrator in no retributive consequences.

The next occupant of note was Colonel Sempill, a cadet of the ancient family of that name, and an active agent of the Catholic party, who "came to this countrie, with the Spanish gold to the Popish Lords." The Earl of Huntly, who had shown himself favourable to the Spanish emissary, was commanded, under pain of treason, to apprehend him; and he also was accordingly warded in Robert Gourlay's house, seemingly at the same time with Lord Maxwell. In this case, it proved an insecure prison, for he "soone after brake waird and escaped, and that by Huntlie's moyen and assistance;"[2] and on the 20th of May of the following year, Huntly was himself a prisoner, "wairded in Robert Gourlay's house,"[3] from whence he was soon afterwards transferred to Borthwick Castle. But not only was this ancient civic mansion the abode or prison of a succession of eminent men, during the troubled years of James the Sixth's residence in Scotland; we find that the King himself, in 1593, took refuge in the same substantial retreat, during one of those daring insurrections of the Earl of Bothwell, that so often put his Majesty's courage to sore trial, and drove him to seek the protection of the burgher force of Edinburgh. "The 3d of Apryle, the

[1] Birrel's Diary, p. 24. [2] Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 678–681. [3] Ibid, vol. v. p. 55.

VIGNETTE—Carved Stone from Old Bank Close, in the collection of A. G. Ellis, Esq.

King being ludgit in Robert Gourlay's ludging, he came to the sermone, and ther, in presence of the haill peipill, he promest to reuenge God's cause, to banische all the papists, and y^r requystet the haill peiple to gang with him against Boduell, quha wes in Leith for the tyme."[1] His Majesty's pathetic exhortation, and promises of pious zeal in the cause of the kirk, soon mustered a force of civic volunteers, who proceeded to Leith, where Bothwell lay with a body of five hundred horse. The King gallantly headed his recruits so long as the Earl retreated before them, first "to the Halkhill, besyde Lesteric,"[2] and then away through Duddingston; but no sooner did Bothwell turn his horsemen to face them, than his Majesty showed "the better part of valour" by a precipitate retreat, and never drew bridle, we may presume, till he found himself once more safely sheltered within the pend of Gourlay's Close, Holyrood Abbey being much too near the recent quarters of the rebellious Earl to be ventured on for the royal abode.

From the various incidents adduced, it appears evident that Robert Gourlay was not only a subservient courtier, but also that he was so far dependent on the King—whatever may have been the nature of his office—as to place his house at his Majesty's free disposal, whenever it suited his convenience.[3] It is well known that King James was very condescending in his favours to his loyal citizens of Edinburgh, making no scruple, when the larder of Holyrood grew lean, and the privy purse was exhausted, to give up housekeeping for a time, and honour one or other of the substantial burghers of his capital with a visit of himself and household; or when the straitened mansions within the closes of old Edinburgh proved insufficient singly to accommodate the hungry train of courtiers, he would very considerately distribute his favours through the whole length of the close! In January 1591, for example, as we learn from Moysie,[4] when "the King and Queen's Majesties lodged themselves in Nicol Edward's house, in Niddry's Wynd," the Chancellor withdrew to Alexander Clark's house, at the same wynd head; and, it is added, "on the 7th of February, the Earl of Huntly, with his friends, to the number of five or six score horse, passed from his Majesty's said house in Edinburgh, intending to pass to a horse race in Leith." We are not quite sure if we are to understand that the whole *six score* were actually lodgers in the wynd, but it is quite obvious, at least, that his Majesty found his quarters there much too comfortable to be likely to quit "his said house" in a hurry. The free use, however, which was made of Gourlay's mansion, lacked such royal condescension to sweeten the sacrifice; it was only when its massive walls gave greater promise of safety in the time of danger that the King made it his abode; and we may presume its owner to have enjoyed some more substantial benefits in return for such varied encroachments on his housekeeping.

In the year 1637, David Gourlay, the grandson of the builder, sold this ancient fabric to Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, the courageous and intrepid adviser of the recusant clergy in 1606, when the politic lawyers of older standing declined risking King James's displeasure by appearing in their behalf. In 1626 he was created King's Advocate by Charles

[1] Birrell's Diary, p. 32. [2] Restalrig.

[3] We are indebted to Mr. R. Chambers for the following interesting note on this subject:—"In the Second Book of Charters in the Canongate Council House, I find Adam, Bishop of Orkney, giving to Robert Gourlay, messenger, our familiar servitor,' the office of messenger, or officer-at-arms, to the Abbey, with a salary of forty pounds and other perquisites."

[4] Moysie's Memoirs, p. 182. Ante, p. 89.

I., who hoped thereby to gain him over from the Presbyterians. In this, however, the King was completely disappointed. At the period of his acquiring Gourlay's house, he was actively engaged in organising the national resistance of the liturgy, and in framing the Covenant, which was subscribed in the following year by nearly the whole of Scotland. He appears, from his Diary,[1] to have taken a minute and affectionate interest in all that concerned the members of his numerous family, long after they had left the parental roof. The ancient mansion seems to have been purchased for his son, Sir Thomas, who, with his elder brother, Sir John Hope of Craighall, both sat on the bench while their father was Lord Advocate; and it being judged by the Court of Session unbecoming that a father should plead uncovered before his children, the privilege of wearing his hat while pleading was granted to him, and we believe still belongs to his successors in the office of King's Advocate, though fallen into disuse.

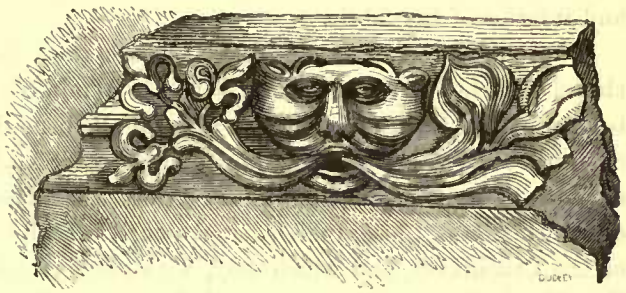
From Sir Thomas Hope the upper part of the old mansion was purchased by Hugh Blair, merchant in Edinburgh, and grandfather, we believe, of the eminent divine that bore his name. From him it came into the possession of Lord Aberuchill, a Senator of the College of Justice; and various other persons of rank and note in their day occupied the ancient dwelling ere it passed to the plebeian tenantry of modern times.

The most interesting of its latter occupants was the celebrated lawyer Sir George Lockhart, the great rival of Sir George Mackenzie, appointed, in the year 1658, Advocate to the Protector during life, and nominated Lord President of the Court of Session in 1685. He continued at the head of the Court till the Revolution, and would undoubtedly have been reappointed to the office, had he not fallen a victim to private revenge. Chiesly of Dalry, an unsuccessful litigant, exasperated, as it appeared, by a decree of the Lord President awarding an aliment of 1700 merks, or £93 sterling, out of his estate, in favour of his wife and ten children, conceived the most deadly hatred against him, and openly declared his resolution to be revenged. On Sir James Stewart, advocate, seeking to divert him from the purpose he avowed, he fiercely replied,—"Let God and me alone; we have many things to reckon betwixt us, and we will reckon this too!" The Lord President was warned of Chiesly's threats, but unfortunately despised them. The assassin loaded his pistols on the morning of Easter Sunday, the 31st March 1689; he went to the New Kirk,—as the choir of St Giles's Church was then styled,—and having dogged the President home from the church, he shot him in the back as he was entering the Old Bank Close, where he resided. Lady Lockhart,—the aunt of the witty Duke of Wharton,—was lying ill in bed. Alarmed at the report of the pistol, she sprang up, and on learning of her husband's murder rushed out into the close in her night-dress, and assisted in raising him from the ground. The assassin, on being told that his victim had expired immediately on being carried into the house, coolly replied,—"He was not used to do things by halves."

The murderer being taken *red-hand*, and the crime having been committed within the city, he was brought to trial on the following day before Sir Magnus Prince, the Lord Provost, as High Sheriff of the city. Although he made no attempt to deny the crime, he was put

[1] The following entry appears in his Diary, "7 January 1641, Payit to David Gourlay, J^{c} merks, quhilk he affirmit to be awin to him of the pryce off his tenement sauld to my son Sir Thomas, and this gevin be him to his sone Thomas Gourlay quhen he was going furth off the country." On 25th December 1644, is the brief entry, "Good David Gourlay departit at his hous in Prestounpaonis, about 8 hours of nycht."—Hope's Diary, Bann. Club, pp. 123, 210.

to the torture, by special authority of the Estates, to discover if he had any accomplices.[1] The very next day he was dragged on a hurdle to the Cross, his right hand struck off while alive, and then hanged, with the pistol about his neck, after which his body was hung in chains on the Gallow-lee, between Leith and Edinburgh, and his hand affixed to the West Port.[2] The Castle being then under siege, and held out by the Duke of Gordon on behalf of King James, a parley was beat by the besiegers, for a cessation of hostilities during the interment of the President in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, which was readily granted.[3]



The house of Dalry belonged latterly to William Kirkpatrick, Esq., of Allisland, whose grandson related to us that the servants were afraid to venture alone into the back kitchen, and would not, on any consideration, approach it after dark, under the belief that Chiesly's bones had been carried off by his relatives and buried there, and that the ghost of the murderer haunted the spot. On his grandfather repairing the garden wall at a later period, an old stone seat, which stood in a recess in the wall, had to be removed, and underneath was found a skeleton, entire, except the bones of the right hand;—without doubt the remains of the assassin, that had been secretly brought thither from the Gallow-lee.

Great exertions were used with the Improvements' Commissioners to induce them to preserve the interesting fabric associated with such various characters and national events, but in vain;—civic rulers are ever the slowest to appreciate such motives. The demolition of this, as well as of several surrounding buildings, brought to light numerous fragments of an earlier erection, evidently of an ecclesiastical character, several of which we have had engraved. These were used simply as building materials, the carved work being built into the wall, and the stones squared on the side exposed. Numerous fragments of shafts, mullions, and the like, also occurred among the ruins; and an inspection of the earliest writs and evidents of the property, serve to show that a building of considerable extent had existed here prior to the Reformation, in connection with Cambuskenneth Abbey. It is styled, in the earliest of these, "all and haill these lands, houses, and stables, biggit and waste, lying within ye tenement sometime pertaining to the Comendator and Convent of Cambuskenneth," and included both William Little's mansion to the west, and a portion, at least, of the buildings in Gosford's Close, to the east. But the most interesting and conclusive evidence on this subject is derived from these sculptured fragments rescued from the ruins of the more recent building; and judging from them, and from the plainer

[1] It is a curious fact connected with the trial, that the Estates of Parliament passed a special act empowering his judges to examine him by the torture, although, only ten days after this trial, they declared King James to have *forfaulted* the Crown, by illegal assumption and exercise of power, and "that the use of torture, without evidence, is contrary to law."

[2] Crim. Registers of Edinburgh. Arnot's Crim. Trials, pp. 168–173.

[3] Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, 1689, Bann. Club, p. 47.

VIGNETTE.—Carved stone from Old Bank Close, in the collection of A. G. Ellis, Esq.

relics that abounded in the latter fabric, the student of mediæval architecture will pronounce, no less confidently, that here there once stood a Gothic structure of an ecclesiastical character, and finished in a highly ornate style, than does the geologist, from the fossil vertebra or pelvis, construct again the mastodon or plesiosaurus of pre-adamite eras. In the three fragments of carved work we have engraved,[1] we have the exterior dripstone and corbel of a pointed window; a highly decorated portion of a deeply splayed string course (not improbably from an oriel window), and a corbel, from which we may infer the ribs of a groined roof to have sprung,—hand specimens, as it were, of both the exterior and interior of the fabric.

The building was, in all likelihood, the town mansion of the abbot, with a beautiful chapel attached to it, and may serve to remind us how little idea we can form of the beauty of the Scottish capital before the Reformation, adorned as it was with so many churches and conventual buildings, the very sites of which are now unknown. Over the doorway of an ancient stone land in Gosford's Close, which stood immediately to the east of the Old Bank Close, there existed a curious sculptured lintel, containing a representation of the Crucifixion, and which may, with every probability, be regarded as another relic of the abbot's house that once occupied its site. We furnish a view of this building as it latterly existed, with numerous additions of various dates and styles that tended to increase the picturesqueness of the whole. In the underground story of the house there was a strongly arched cellar, in the centre of the floor of which a concealed trap-door was discovered, admitting to another still lower down, cut out of the solid rock. Some vague traditions were reported as to its having been a place of torture; there is much greater probability that it was constructed by smugglers as a convenient receptacle for concealing their goods, at a period when the North Loch afforded ready facilities for getting wines and other forbidden articles within the gates, and enabled "an honest man to fetch sae muckle as a bit anker o' brandy frae Leith to the Lawnmarket, without being rubbit o' the very gudes he 'd bought and paid for by an host of idle English gaugers!"[2] Directly over the trap-door an iron ring was fastened into the arch of the upper cellar, apparently for the purpose of letting down weighty articles into the vault below. This vault, we presume, still remains beneath the centre of the roadway leading to George IV. Bridge. On the first floor of this mansion, as Chambers informs us, the last Earl of Loudon, together with his daughter, the present Marchioness of Hastings, used to lodge during their occasional visits to town. In 1794 the Hall and Museum of the Society of Antiquaries[3] were at the bottom of this close, where the accommodations were both ample and elegant, but in an alley so narrow, that it was soon after deserted, owing to the impossibility of reaching the entrance in a sedan chair,—the usual fashionable conveyance at that period. This did not, however, prevent their being succeeded by Dr Farquharson, an eminent physician; indeed, the whole neighbourhood was the favourite resort of the most fashionable and distinguished among the resident citizens, and a perfect nest of advocates and lords of session. On the third floor of the front land, Lady Catherine and Lady Ann Hay, daughters of the Marquis of Tweeddale, resided; and so late as 1773 it was possessed, if not occupied, by their brother, George, Marquis of Tweeddale.

[1] Vide, pp. 172, 176, 179.

[2] Heart of Midlothian, *Plumdamas loquitur.*

[3] Kincaid's Traveller's Companion, 1794.

On the west side of the County Hall there still exists a part of the "transs" of Libberton's Wynd, but all other remains have been swept away by the same "improvement mania," whose work we have already recorded in the neighbouring closes. This wynd formed, at one period, one of the principal thoroughfares for pedestrians from the fashionable district of the Cowgate to the "High Town." Its features did not greatly differ from those of many other of the old closes, with its substantial stone mansions eked out here and there by irregular timber projections, until the narrow stripe of sky overhead had well-nigh been blotted out by their overhanging gables.[1] The most interesting feature in the wynd was Johnie Dowie's Tavern, already alluded to,—the *Mermaid Tavern* of Edinburgh during the last century,—whither the chief wits and men of letters were wont to resort, in accordance with the habits of society at that period. Here Ferguson the poet, David Herd, one of the earliest collectors of Scottish songs, "antiquarian Paton," with others of greater note in their own day than now,—lords of session, and leading advocates, inhabitants of the neighbouring fashionable district,—were wont to congregate. Martin, a celebrated portrait painter of the last century, instituted a club here, which was quaintly named after the host, *Doway College*, and thither his more celebrated pupil, Sir Henry Raeburn, often accompanied him in his younger days. But, above all, this was the favourite resort of Robert Burns, where he spent many jovial hours with Willie Nicol, and Allan Masterton,—the "blithe hearts" of his most popular song,—and with his city friends of all degrees, during his first visit to Edinburgh. On the death of John Dowie (a sober and respected city, who amassed a considerable fortune, and left his only son a Major in the army), the old place of entertainment acquired still greater note under the name of Burns's Tavern. The narrow room was visited by strangers as the scene of the poet's most frequent resort; and at the period of its demolition in 1834, it had taken a prominent place among the *lions* of the Old Town. The house had nothing remarkable about it as a building. It bore the date of its erection, 1728, and in the ancient titles, belonging to a previous building, it is described as bounded on the south by "the King's auld wall." This ancient thoroughfare appears to have retained its original designation, while closes immediately adjoining were receiving new names with accommodating facility on every change of occupants. Libberton's Wynd is mentioned in a charter granted by James III. in the year 1477; and in later years its name occurred in nearly every capital sentence of the criminal court, the last permanent place of public execution, after the demolition of the Old Tolbooth, having been at the head of the wynd. The victims of the law's highest penalty, within the brief period alluded to, offer few attractions to the antiquarian memorialist, unless the pre-eminent infamy of the "West Port murderers," Burke and Hare,—the former of whom was executed on this spot—be regarded as establishing their claim to rank among the celebrated characters of Edinburgh. The sockets of "the fatal tree" were removed, along with objects of greater interest and value, in completing the approach to the new bridge.

Carthrae's, Forrester's, and Beth's Wynds, all once stood between Libberton's Wynd and St Giles's Church, but every relic of them had been swept away years before the latter work of destruction was projected. Forrester's Wynd was evidently a place of note in earlier times, and frequent allusions to it occur in some of the older diaries; *e.g.*, "Vpoun

[1] A very accurate and characteristic view of this wynd, from the Cowgate, is given among Geikie's Etchings.

the nynt day of Aprile, the zeir of God 1566 zeris, Johne Sinclare, be the mercie of God bischope of Brechin and Dean of Restalrig, deceissit in James Mosmanis hous in Frosteris Wynd, ane honest and cunning letterit man, and president of the College of Justice the tyme of his deceiss, &c."[1] Another diarist records, in describing the firing of the town by the garrison of the Castle, under Sir William Kirkaldy, in 1572, "the fyre happit fra hous to hous throw the maisterie of ane grit wynd, and come eist the gait to Bess Wynd at the kirk end of Sanct Geill,"[2] in consequence of which "ther wes ane proclamatioun maid, that all thak houssis suld be tirrit,[3] and all hedder stakis to be transportit at thair awine bounds and brunt; and ilk man in Edinburgh to haue his lumes full of watter in the nycht, wnder the pane of deid;" a very graphic picture of the High Street in the sixteenth century, with the majority of the buildings on either side covered with thatch, and the main street encumbered by piles of heather and other fuel accumulated before each door, for the use of the inhabitants; and, from amid these, we may add the stately ecclesiastical edifices of the period, and the substantial mansions of the nobility, towering with all the more imposing effect, in contrast to their homely neighbourhood.

The venerable alley called Bess or Beth's Wynd, after suffering greatly from the slow dilapidation of time, was nearly destroyed by successive fires in the years 1786 and 1788. On the latter occasion it was proposed to purchase and pull down the whole of its buildings extending from the Lawnmarket to the Cowgate, in order to open up the Parliament House.[4] This was not effected, however, till 1809, when the whole were swept away in preparing the site for the Advocate's Library. "All the houses in Beth's Wynd," says Chambers, "were exceedingly old and crazy; and some mysterious looking cellar doors were shown in it, which the old wives of the wynd believe to have been kept shut since the time of *the plague*." The same superstitious belief was prevalent in regard to some grim and ancient uninhabited dwellings in Mary King's Close, part of which now remain. An old gentleman has often described to us his visits to the latter close, along with his companions, when a schoolboy. The most courageous of them would approach these dread abodes of mystery, and after shouting through the keyhole or broken window-shutter, they would run off with palpitating hearts,—

> "Like one, that on a lonesome road
> Doth walk in fear and dread,
> And having once turned round, walks on
> And turns no more his head;
> Because he knows a frightful fiend
> Doth close behind him tread."

The popular opinion was, that if these houses were opened, the imprisoned pestilence would burst out, spreading disease and death through the land,—a belief that was probably thrown into discredit on the peaceful demolition of the former wynd.

A house at the head of Beth's Wynd, fronting the Old Tolbooth, was the residence of Mr Andrew Maclure, writing-master, one of the civic heroes of 1745. He joined the reluctant corps of volunteers who marched to meet the Highland army on its approach towards Corstorphine; but they had scarcely left the town walls a mile behind, when their

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 98.
[2] Ibid, Part II. p. 326.
[3] *i.e.*, All thatched houses should be unroofed.
[4] *Caledonian Mercury*, 17th January 1788.

courage failed them, and they marched hastily home again without having even seen the enemy. This corps of martial burghers became a favourite butt for the Jacobite wits; and, among other proofs of their self-devoted zeal, it transpired that the gallant penman had secured within his waistcoat the professional breastplate of a quire of paper, and prepared himself for his expected fate by affixing thereon a label, inscribed,—"This is the body of Andrew Maclure, let it be decently interred," in the hope that he might thereby be secure of Christian burial![1]

Before closing the chapter, we may add that the Lawnmarket appears to have been, at all periods, a place of residence for men of note. In 1572 Mr Henry Killigrew, the ambassador of Queen Elizabeth, arrived at Edinburgh to congratulate the Earl of Morton on his accession to the Regency,[2] when he "depairtit to Dauid Forrestaris lugeing abone the tolbuith,"[3] in the same neighbourhood as the mansion in Old Bank Close, soon afterward occupied by Sir William Durie. So long as Edinburgh continued to be the seat of the Scottish Parliament, its vicinity to the Parliament House made the Lawnmarket be selected as a favourite place of residence, as appears from numerous passing allusions to the old nobility, though the particular houses referred to cannot now be traced. Defoe, for example,—who was resident in Edinburgh at the period,—tells us in his history of the Union, that on the 28th October 1706, the Parliament sat late, and the Parliament Close was so full of people waiting the result of their decision, that the members could scarcely get out. On this occasion the Duke of Hamilton, the popular favourite, who was usually conducted in triumph by the mob to his lodgings in the Abbey, "on leaving the house, was carried up to the Lawnmarket, and so to the lodgings of the Duke of Atholl," who was appointed, as Lockhart tells us, in the place of the Duke of Queensberry at the beginning of this session of parliament, the latter wishing to see the course of public affairs before he ventured himself to face the difficulties of that period, "and therefore he sent the Duke of Atholl down as Commissioner, using him as the monkey did the cat in pulling out the hot roasted chestnuts."[4] Here also was the house of Sir Patrick Johnston, the city member,—tradition points out the old land still standing at the head of Johnston's Close,[5]—which was attacked and gutted by the same excited mob, in their indignation at his favouring the unpopular measure of the Union.

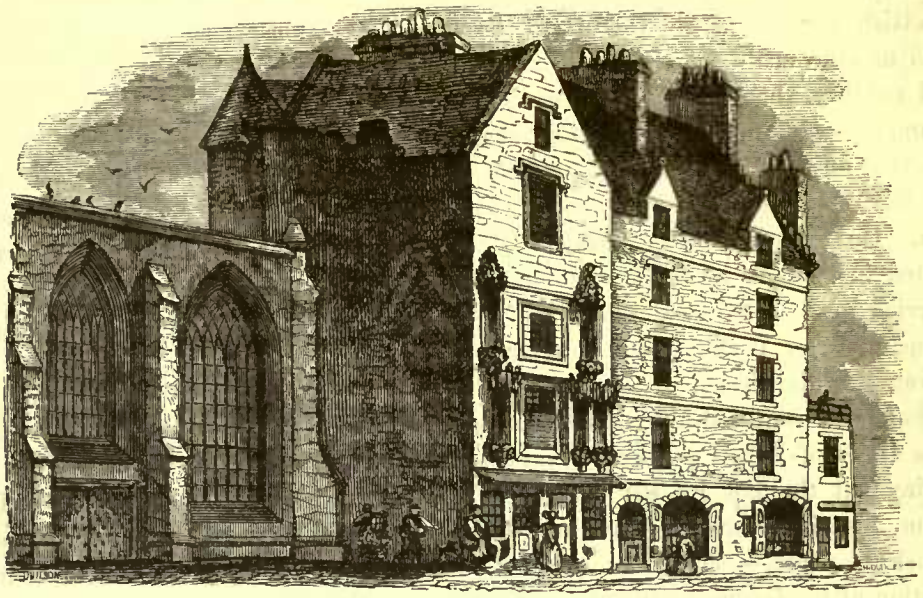
[1] Adjoining Mr Maclure's house was the Baijen Hole, an ancient and once celebrated baker's shop! The origin of this epithet has puzzled our local historians, but it occurs in Crawfurd's History of the University of Edinburgh, as applied to the junior class of Students, whose patronage, above a century ago, of a famed species of rolls manufactured there, under the name of *Souter's Clods*, had doubtless led to this title for the place, which resembled the *laigh shops* still remaining underneath the oldest houses of the High Street.

[2] Craufurd's Memoirs, p. 244. [3] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 313. [4] Lockhart's Mems. p. 139.

[5] This we have on the authority of an old man, a pewterer, who has been an inhabitant of *The Bow* for the last fifty years.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TOLBOOTH, LUCKENBOOTHS, AND PARLIAMENT CLOSE.



THE grim and massive prison of the old Scottish capital, which had degenerated to that base office after having served for the hall of the national parliaments, for the College of Justice founded by James V., and for some of the earliest assemblies of the kirk, has, in our own day, acquired a popular interest, and a notoriety as extensive as the diffusion of English literature, under the name of "The Heart of Midlothian." Such is the power of genius, that the association of this ancient fabric with the assault of the Porteous mob, and the captivity of the "Effie Deans" of the novelist's fancy, has been able to confer on it an interest, even in the minds of strangers, which all the thrilling scenes during the eventful reigns of our own Jameses, the tumults of Mary's brief reign, and the civil commotions of that of her son, had failed to excite in the minds of Scotsmen.

The site of the Tolbooth was in the very heart of the ancient capital, and so placed that it might have occurred to a fanciful mind to suppose, that the antique fabric had been

VIGNETTE.—North side of the Tolbooth.

dropped whole and complete into the midst of the pent-up city. It stood at the north-west corner of St Giles's Church, so close to that ancient building as only to leave a narrow footpath beyond its projecting buttresses; while the tall and gloomy-looking pile extended so far into the main street that a roadway of fourteen feet in breadth was all that intervened between it and the lofty range of buildings on the opposite side. We cannot better describe this interesting building than in the lively narrative of Scott, written about the time of its demolition,—"The prison reared its ancient front in the very middle of the High Street, forming the termination to a huge pile of buildings called the Luckenbooths, which, for some inconceivable reason, our ancestors had jammed into the midst of the principal street of the town, leaving for passage a narrow way on the north; and on the south—into which the prison opens—a crooked lane, winding betwixt the high and sombre walls of the Tolbooth and the adjacent houses on the one side, and the buttresses and projections of the old cathedral upon the other. To give some gaiety to this sombre passage, well known by the name of the Krames, a number of little booths or shops, after the fashion of cobblers' stalls, were plastered, as it were, against the Gothic projections and abutments, so that it seemed as if the traders had occupied every 'buttress and coigne of vantage,' with nests bearing the same proportion to the building as the martlet's did in Macbeth's Castle." The most prominent features in the south front of the Tolbooth,—of which we furnish an engraving,—were two projecting turret staircases. A neatly carved Gothic doorway, surmounted by a niche, gave entrance to the building at the foot of the eastern tower; and this, on its demolition in 1817, was removed by Sir Walter Scott to Abbotsford, and there converted to the humble office of giving access to his kitchen court.[1]

Some account has already been given, in our brief sketch of the period of Queen Mary,[2] of the mandate issued by her in 1561, requiring the rebuilding of the Tolbooth, and the many difficulties that the city had to encounter in satisfying this royal command. The letter sets forth, that "The Queiny's Majestie, understanding that the Tolbuith of the Burgh of Edinburgh is ruinous and abill haistielie to dekay and fall doun, quhilk will be warray dampnable and skaythfull to the pepill dwelland thairabout . . . without heistie remeid be providit thairin. Thairfor hir Heines ordinis ane masser to pass and charge the Provest, Baillies, and Counsale, to caus put workmen to the taking doun of the said Tolbuith, with all possible deligence." "In obedience to the Queen's command," says Maitland, "the Tolbooth was taken down."[3] It has already been shown, however, in the earlier allusions to the subject, that this is an error. The new building was erected entirely apart from it, adjoining the south-west corner of St Giles's Church, and the eastern portion of the Old Tolbooth bore incontestible evidence of being the work of a much earlier period than the date of Queen Mary's mandate.

[1] Sir Walter Scott remarks, in a note to the edition of his works issued in 1830,—"Last year, to complete the change, a tom-tit was pleased to build her nest within the lock of the Tolbooth,—a strong temptation to have committed a sonnet." The nest we must presume to have occupied the place of the lock, the key-hole of which, when deprived of the scutcheon, would readily admit the tom-tit. The original lock and key, which were made immediately after the Porteous mob, were in the possession of Messrs Cormack & Son, Leith Street, and formed the most substantial productions of the Locksmith's art we ever saw. The lock measured two feet long by one broad; and the key, which was about a foot long, looked more like a huge iron mace.

[2] Ante, p. 71.

[3] Maitland, p. 21.

The ancient prison of Edinburgh had its EAST and WEST ENDS, known to the last by these same distinctive appellations, that mark the patrician and plebeian districts of the British metropolis. The line of division is apparent in our engraved view, showing the western and larger portion of the building constructed of coarse rubble work, while the earlier edifice, at the east end, was built of polished stone. This distinction was still more apparent on the north side, which, though much more ornamental, could only be viewed in detail, owing to the narrowness of the street, and has not, as far as we are aware, been represented in any engraving.[1] It had, on the first floor, a large and deeply splayed square window, decorated on either side with richly carved Gothic niches, surmounted with ornamental canopies of varied designs. A smaller window on the floor above was flanked with similar decorations, the whole of which were, in all probability, originally filled with statues. Maitland mentions, and attempts to refute, a tradition that this had been the mansion of the Provost of St Giles's Church, but there seems little reason to doubt that it had been originally erected as some such appendage to the church. The style of ornament was entirely that of a collegiate building attached to an ecclesiastical edifice; and its situation and architectural adornments suggest the idea of its having been the residence of the Provost or Dean, while the prebends and other members of the college were accommodated in the buildings on the south side of the church, removed in the year 1632 to make way for the Parliament House. If this idea is correct, the edifice was, in all probability, built shortly after the year 1466, when a charter was granted by King James III., erecting St Giles's into a collegiate church; and it may further have included a chapter-house for the college, whose convenient dimensions would lead to its adoption as a place of meeting for the Scottish Parliaments. The date thus assigned to the most ancient portion of the "Heart of Midlothian," receives considerable confirmation from the style of the building; but Parliaments had assembled in Edinburgh long before that period; three, at least, were held there during the reign of James I., and when his assassination at Perth, in 1437, led to the abandonment of the Fair City as the chief residence of the Court, and the capital of the kingdom, the first general council of the new reign took place in the Castle of Edinburgh. We have already described the remains of the Old Parliament Hall still existing there; and this, it is probable, was the scene of all such assemblies as were held at Edinburgh in earlier reigns.

The next Parliament of James II. was summoned to meet at Stirling, the following year, in the month of March; but another was held that same year in the month of November, "in *pretorio* burgi de Edinburgh." The same Latin term for the Tolbooth is repeated in the minutes of another Assembly of the Estates held there in 1449; and, in 1451, the old Scottish name appears for the first time in "the parleament of ane richt hie and excellent prince, and our soverane lorde, James the Secunde, be the grace of Gode, King of Scotts, haldyn at Edinburgh the begunyn in the Tolbuth of the samyn."[2] A much older, and probably larger, erection must therefore have existed on the site of the

[1] We have drawn the view at the head of the Chapter from a slight sketch taken shortly before its demolition, by Mr D. Somerville; with the assistance of a most ingenious model of St Giles's Church and the surrounding buildings, made by the Rev. John Sime, about the year 1805, to which we were also partly indebted for the south view of the same building.

[2] Acts of Scottish Parliaments, folio, vol. ii.

western portion of the Tolbooth, the ruinous state of which at length led to the royal command for its demolition in 1561,—not a century after the date we are disposed to assign to the oldest portion of the building that remained till 1817,—and which, though decayed and time-worn, was so far from being ruinous even then, that it proved a work of great labour to demolish its solid masonry.

In a charter granted to the town by James III. in 1477, the market for corn and grain is ordered to be held "fra the Tolbuth up to Libertones Wynde,"[1] and we learn from the Diurnal of Occurrents, that "the tour of the Auld Tolbuyth wes tane doun in 1571."[2] The first allusion indicates the same site for the Tolbooth at that early period, as it occupied to the last, and seems to confirm the idea suggested as to the earlier fabric. The name *Tolbooth* literally signifies tax-house,[3] and the existence of a building in Edinburgh, erected for this purpose, might be referred, with every probability, to even an earlier period than the reign of David I., who bestowed considerable grants on his monastery of the Holy Cross, derivable from the revenues of the town.[4] From the anxiety of the magistrates to retain the rents of their "laigh buthis" in this ancient building, another site was chosen in 1561 for the New Tolbooth, a little to the south of the old one; and some ten years later, as appears from the old diarist, the tower was at length demolished, and also probably the whole of the most ancient edifice. One of the carved stones from the modern portion of the building,—apparently the centre crow-step that crowned the gable,—was preserved, among other relics of similar character, in the nursery of Messrs Eagle and Henderson, Leith Walk. It bore on it the city arms, sculptured in high relief, and surmounted by an ornamental device with the date 1641. The style of the new building, though plain and of rude workmanship, entirely corresponded with this date, being that which prevailed towards the close of Charles I.'s reign. The unsettled state of the country at that period, and the heavy exactions to which Edinburgh had been exposed, both by the King and the covenanting leaders, abundantly account for the plain character of the latter building. The only ornaments on the north side consisted of two dormer windows, rising above the roof, with plain string-courses marking the several stories.

The ornamental north gable of the most ancient portion of the building, appears to have been the place of exposure for the heads and dismembered limbs of the numerous victims of the sanguinary laws of Scotland in early times. In the year 1581, the head of the Earl of Morton "was sett upon a prick, on the highest stone of the gavell of the Tolbuith, toward the publict street," and the same point,—after doing the like ignominious service to many of inferior note,—received, in 1650, the head of the gallant Marquis of Montrose, which remained exposed there throughout the whole period of the Commonwealth, and was taken down at length, shortly after the Restoration, with every demonstra-

[1] Maitland, p. 8.

[2] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 252.

[3] "Mr George Ramsay, minister at Laswaid, teaching in Edinburgh [1593], charged the Lords of the Colledge of Justice with selling of justice. He said they sold in the Tolbuith, and tooke payment at home, in their chambers: that the place of their judgement was justlie called *Tol-buith*, becaus there they tooke toll of the subjects."—Calderwood's Hist. vol. v. p. 290. For this he was summoued before the judges, but was dismissed, after some contention.

[4] It is perhaps worthy of notice in regard to this subject, that the site of the Weigh-house, which, like the Tolbooth, encroached on the main street, "was granted to the Edinburghers by King David II., in the 23d year of his reign, anno 1352."—Maitland, p. 181.

tion of national honour and triumph, and committed, along with the other portions of his body, to the tomb of his ancestors, in the south transept of St Giles's Church. The north gable was not, however, long suffered to remain unoccupied. On the 27th of May 1661,—little more than four months after the tardy honours paid to the Marquis of Montrose,—the Marquis of Argyle was beheaded at the Cross, and "his heid affixt upone the heid of the Tolbuith, quhair the Marques of Montrois wes affixit of befoir."[1] The ground floor of this ancient part of the Tolbooth was known by the name of the Purses, by which it is often alluded to in early writings. In the ancient titles of a house on the north side of the High Street, it is described as "that Lodging or Timber Land, lying in the burgh of Edinburgh, forgainst the place of the Tolbooth, commonly called the poor folks' Purses." In the trial of William Maclauchlane, a servant of the Countess of Wemyss, who was apprehended almost immediately after the Porteous mob, one of the witnesses states, that "having come up Beth's Wynd, he tried to pass by the Purses on the north side of the prison; but there perceiving the backs of a row of armed men, some with staves, others with guns and Lochaber axes, standing across the street, who, he was told, were drawn up as a guard there, he retired again." The crime sought to be proved against Maclauchlane, was his having been seen taking a part with this guard, armed with a Lochaber axe. Another witness describes having seen some of the magistrates going up from the head of Mary King's Close, towards the Purses on the north side of the Tolbooth, where they were stopped by the mob, and compelled to make a precipitate retreat. This important pass thus carefully guarded on the memorable occasion of the Porteous riot, derived its name from having been the place where the ancient fraternity of *Blue Gowns*, the King's faithful bedemen, received the royal bounty presented to them on each King's birthday, in a leathern purse, after having attended service in St Giles's Church. For many years previous to the destruction of the Old Tolbooth, this distribution was transferred to the Canongate Kirk aisle, where it took place annually on the morning of the Sovereign's birthday, at eight o'clock. After a sermon, preached by the royal almoner, or his deputy, each of the bedemen received a roll of bread, a tankard of ale, and a web of blue cloth sufficient to make him a new gown, along with a leathern purse, of curious and somewhat complicated workmanship, which only the initiated could open. This purse contained his annual alms or pension, consisting of as many pence as the years of the King's age.

The origin of this fraternity is undoubtedly of great antiquity. Bedemen appointed to pray for the souls of the King's ancestors and successors, were attached to royal foundations. They are mentioned about the year 1226, in the Chartulary of Moray,[2] and many curious entries occurred with reference to them, in the Treasurers' accounts, previous to the Reformation. The number of these bedemen is increased by one every royal birthday, as a penny is added to the pension of each; an arrangement evidently devised to stimulate their prayers for long life to the reigning sovereign, no less than for peace to the souls of those departed.[3]

[1] Nicoll's Diary, p. 335.

[2] Statist. Acc. xiii. 412.

[3] The following items appear in the Account of Sir Robert Melvill, Treasurer-Depute of King James VI. "Junij 1590. Item, to Mr Peter Young, Elimosinar, twentie four gownis of blew clayth, to be gevin to xxiiij auld men, according to the yeiris of his hienes age. . . . Item, twentie four pursis, and in ilk purse twentie four schiling." Again in "Junij 1617, To James Murray, merchant, for fyftene scoir sex elnis and ane half elne of blew claith, to be gownis to fyftie ane aigeit men, according to the yeiris of his majesteis age. Item, to the workmen for careing of the gownis fra

It used to be a very interesting sight, on a fine summer morning,[1] between seven and eight o'clock, before the Canongate Kirk bell began to ring for the appointed service, to see the strange groups of *Blue Gowns* of all ages, from forty-five to ninety and upwards, assembling in front of the kirk. Venerable looking men, bent with the weight of years; some lame, others blind, led by a boy or a wife, whose tartan or hodden-grey told of the remote districts from whence they had come, or perhaps by a rough Highland dog, looking equally strange on the streets of the ancient burgh; while all the old bedemen were clad in their monastic-looking habits, and with large badges on their breasts. It was curious thus to see pilgrims from the remotest parts of Scotland and the Isles,—the men of another generation,—annually returning to the capital, and each contriving to arrive there on the very day of the King's birth and bounty. The reverend almoner, however, could scarcely have had a more inattentive congregation,—a fact probably in some degree to be accounted for by many of them understanding nothing but Gaelic. At the close of the sermon the bread and ale were distributed, along with their other perquisites, and thereafter the usual benediction closed the services of the day, though generally before that point was reached the bedemen had disappeared, each one off to wend his way homeward, and to "pass and repass," as his large badge expressly bore, until the return of the annual rendezvous.

Shortly after the accession of her present Majesty, whose youth must have had such an economic effect on the royal bounty, this curious relic of ancient alms-giving was shorn of nearly all its most interesting features. Certain members of the Canongate kirk-session, it is said, were scandalised at the exhibition of the butt of ale at the kirk vestry door, and possibly also at its exciting so much greater interest with the Queen's bedemen than any other portion of the established procedure. Whatever be the reason, the annual church service has been abandoned; the royal almoner's name no longer appears in the list of her Majesty's Scottish household; and the whole business is now managed in the most matter-of-fact and commonplace style at the Exchequer Chambers in the Parliament Square, not far from the ancient scene of this annual distribution of the royal bounty.

At the west end of the Tolbooth a modern addition existed, as appears in our engraving, rising only to the height of two stories. This was occupied by shops, while the flat roof formed a platform whereon all public executions took place, after the abandonment of the Grassmarket in the year 1785. The west gable of the old building bore the appearance of rude and hasty construction; it was without windows, notwithstanding that it afforded the openest and most suitable aspect for light, and seemed as if it had been so left for the purpose of future extension. The apartments on the ground floor of the main building were vaulted with stone, and the greater part of them latterly fitted up for shops,[2] until the demolition of the citadel of the old guard in 1785, soon after which those on the north side were converted into a guard-house for the accommodation of that veteran corps.

James Aikman, tailyeour, heis hous, to the palace of Halyrude hous," &c. From this last entry, the distribution would appear to have been anciently made at the palace.

[1] For many years the 4th of June, the Birthday of George III.

[2] In one of these Mr Horner, father of the eloquent and gifted Francis Horner, M.P., one of the originators of the *Edinburgh Review*, carried on business as a silk mercer.

Previous to the extension or rebuilding of the west portion of the Tolbooth, it had furnished accommodation for the wealthiest traders of the city, and there also some of the most imposing displays took place on Charles I. visiting his northern capital in 1633. "Upon the west wall of the Tolbooth," says an old writer,[1] "where the Goldsmiths' shops do stand, there stood ane vast pageant, arched above, on ane large mab the pourtraits of a hundred and nine kings of Scotland. In the cavity of the arch, Mercury was represented bringing up Fergus the first King of Scotland in ane convenient habit, who delivered to his Majesty a very grave speech, containing many precious advices to his royal successor;" a representation, not altogether in caricature, of the drama often enacted on the same spot, at a later period, when Jock Heigh,—the Edinburgh *Jack Ketch* for above forty years,—played the part of Mercury, *bringing up one in ane convenient habit*, to hear *a very grave speech*, preparatory to treatment not unlike that which the unfortunate monarch received, in addition to the *precious advices* bestowed on him in 1633. The goldsmiths' shops were latterly removed into the Parliament Close; but George Heriot's booth existed at the west end of St Giles's Church till the year 1809, when Beth's Wynd and the adjoining buildings were demolished, as already described. A narrow passage led between the church and an ancient three-storied tenement adjoining the New Tolbooth, or Laigh Council House, as it was latterly called, and the centre one of the three booths into which it was divided, measuring about seven feet square, was pointed out by tradition as the workshop of the founder of Heriot's Hospital, where both King James and his Queen paid frequent visits to the royal goldsmith. On the demolition of this ancient fabric, the tradition was completely confirmed by the discovery of George Heriot's name boldly carved on the stone lintel of the door. The forge and bellows, as well as a stone crucible and lid, supposed to have belonged to its celebrated possessor, were discovered in clearing away the ruins of the old building, and are now carefully preserved in the Hospital Museum.

The associations connected with the ancient building we have described, are almost entirely those relating to the occupants whom it held in durance in its latter capacity as a prison. The eastern portion, indeed, had in all probability been the scene of stormy debates in the earlier Scottish Parliaments, and of deeds even ruder than the words of the turbulent barons. There also the College of Justice, founded by James V. in 1532, held its first sederunt; the earliest statutes of the Court requiring that "all the lordis sall entre in the Tolbuth and counsal-houss at viij howris in the mornyng, dayly, and sall sit quhill xi howris be strikin." All these, however, had ceased to be thought of for centuries previous to the demolition of the tall and gloomy prison; though even in its degradation it was connected with historical characters of no mean note, having been the final place of captivity of the Marquises of Montrose and Argyll,[2] and others of the later victims of factious rivalry, who fell a sacrifice to the triumph of their opponents. The main floor of the more ancient building, in its latter days, formed the common hall for all prisoners, except those in irons, or incarcerated in the condemned cells. It had an old oak pulpit of curious construction for the use of any one who took upon him the duties of prison chaplain, and which tradition,—as usual with most old Scottish pulpits,—affirmed to have been

[1] *Vide* Campbell's Journey, vol. ii. p. 122.

[2] Nicoll's Diary, p. 334.

occupied by John Knox. Here also there was inscribed on a board, the rhymes preserved by Scott in the "Heart of Midlothian," which have been traced to an English poet of the seventeenth century:—

A prison is a house of care,
A place where none can thrive,
A touchstone true to try a friend,
A grave for men alive.
Sometimes a place of right,
Sometimes a place of wrong,
Sometimes a place for jades and thieves,
And honest men among.

The room immediately above the common hall may be presumed to have been "the upper chamber of the Tolbooth,"[1] in which James V. held his first council, after escaping, in 1528, from his durance at Falkland Palace in the hands of the Douglas faction; its latter use was as a dungeon for the worst felons, whose better security was insured by an iron bar placed along the floor. Here also the condemned criminal generally spent the last wretched hours of life, often chained to the same iron bar, and surrounded with the reckless and depraved, whose presence forbade a serious thought. It was indeed among the worst features of this miserable abode of crime, that its dimensions entirely precluded all classification. It had no open area attached to it, to which the prisoner might escape for fresh air, or even a glimpse of the light of day, and no solitary cell whither he might withdraw to indulge in the luxury of solitude and quiet reflection. Dante's memorable inscription for the gates of hell might have found no inappropriate place over its gloomy portal:—

All hope abandon, ye who enter here!

We must refer the reader to Chambers's "Traditions," for much that is curious and amusing among the legends of the Tolbooth, gathered from the tales of its old inmates, or the recollections of aged citizens. One of its most distinguishing traits, which it might be supposed to retain as an heirloom of its former more dignified duties, was a total suspension of its retentive capabilities whenever any prisoner of rank was committed to the custody of its walls.[2] A golden key, doubtless, was sometimes effectual in unlocking its ponderous bars; but when this was provided against, other means were discovered for eliciting the convenient facility of "knowing those who ought to be respected on account of their rank." It is no less worthy of note, that occasions occurred in which the Tolbooth proved the only effectual road to freedom for some of the most notorious offenders, when seeking to elude the emissaries of justice. An old lady, to whose retentive memory we owe some interesting recollections of former times,—when, as she was wont to say, she used to gather gowans on the banks of the Nor' Loch, and take a day's ramble in Bearford's Parks,[3]—related the following as a tradition she had heard in early youth:—When Mitchell, the fanatic preacher, who

[1] Chambers's Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 614.

[2] "The Viscount of Frendracht (of the surname of Creightoun), his brother being prissoner in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh for murther, and once pannelt befoir the Criminall Judge, escapit, being clothed in ane womanes apperell, upone the ellevint day of Junij [1664], being Settirday, about sex houris at evin, in fair day licht."—Nicoll's Diary, p. 414.

[3] The site of George Street, and the adjoining parts of the New Town.

shot the Bishop of Orkney in 1668, at the head of Blackfriars Wynd, in an attempt to assassinate Archbishop Sharpe, so strangely eluded the strict search made for him; he effected his escape by taking refuge in the Tolbooth, to which ingress, in latter times at least, was never very difficult. The city gates were shut at the time, and none allowed to go out without a passport signed by one of the magistrates, but it will readily be believed that the Tolbooth might be overlooked in the most vigilant pursuit after one who was to be consigned to it the instant he was taken. It may be, however, that this interesting tradition is only a confused version of a later occurrence in the same reign, when Robert Ferguson, a notorious character, known by the name of "the Plotter," was searched for in Edinburgh under somewhat similar circumstances, as one of the conspirators implicated in the Rye-House Plot. It was almost certainly known that he was in the town, and the gates were accordingly closed, but he also availed himself of the same ingenious hiding-place, and quietly withdrew after the whole town had been searched for him in vain. Another similar escape is mentioned in the "Minor Antiquities," where the Highlands were scoured by the agents of government in search for a gentleman concerned in the rebellion of 1745, while he was quietly taking his ease in "the King's Auld Tolbooth."

Of the numerous female inmates of this "house of care," we shall only mention two, who contrast with one another no less strikingly in their crimes than in their fate. In the year 1726 great interest was excited by a trial for forgery, in which Mr George Henderson, a wealthy merchant in Edinburgh, was accused of forging a bill upon the Duchess of Gordon for £58, which he had endorsed to Mrs Macleod, the wife of a wig-maker in Leith. Respectable citizens declared on oath that they had been present when Henderson signed the bill, and had affixed their names to it in his presence as witnesses; others had seen him on the same evening, a little above the Canongate Cross, in company with Mrs Macleod, and dressed in "dark coloured clothes, and a black wig." So conclusive did the whole evidence appear, that the Lord Advocate, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, presented himself before the Court on the last day of the summer Session, and demanded the prisoner's conviction by a decree of the Judges. By the most strenuous exertions of council and friends, the cause was delayed till the winter Session, and meanwhile the Lord Advocate, when going north to Culloden, stopped at Kilravoch to inspect a new house that a friend was having built. One of the carpenters employed on the house, an intelligent and expert workman named David Household, could nowhere be found on the proprietor inquiring for him to furnish some information; this casual incident led to inquiries, and at length to the discovery of a most ingenious and complicated system of fraud practised by Mrs Macleod with the aid of Household, whom she had dressed up in her own husband's black coat and wig, and bribed to personate the merchant who so narrowly escaped conviction and execution. So deeply was the Lord Advocate impressed with the striking nature of the case, that he often afterwards declared, had Henderson been executed in accordance with his official desire, "he would have looked upon himself as guilty of murder."

On Household being shown to the witnesses, attired in his former disguise, they at once detected the fraud. Henderson was released, and Mrs Macleod put on trial in his stead. From the evidence produced, it appeared that this ingenious plot had been concocted for the pious purpose of raising, on the credit of the bill, a small sum to release her husband

from prison; but the detection of its forgery involved her more deeply in crime. She was found guilty, and executed on the 8th of March following. If Mrs Macleod had shown art in contriving and executing this fraud, she displayed no less fortitude in meeting her fate. She went to the place of execution dressed in a black robe and petticoat with a large hoop, a white fan in her hand, and a white sarsenet hood on her head, according to the fashion of the times. When she came upon the scaffold, she put off the ornamental parts of her attire, pinned a handkerchief over her breast, and put the fatal cord about her neck with her own hands. She maintained the same courageous deportment to the last, and died denying her guilt.[1]

No prisoner incarcerated within the Old Tolbooth ever excited a greater degree of interest in the minds of contemporaries than the one whom we present in contrast to the last,—Katharine Nairn, the daughter of Sir Robert Nairn, Bart., of Dunsinnane, who was brought to trial on the 5th of August 1765. She was accused and convicted of poisoning her husband, with the aid of his own brother, her associate in other crimes. The marriage appears to have been one of those unequal matches by which the happiness of woman is so often sacrificed to schemes of worldly policy. The victim, to whom she had been married in her nineteenth year, was a man of property, and advanced in life. Popular indignation was so strongly excited at the report of the deeds she had perpetrated, that she was with difficulty rescued from the mob on being first brought to Edinburgh; yet her presence so wrought on the fickle populace, that her guilt was soon forgot in the sympathy excited by her youthful appearance. Both she and her paramour, who was an officer in the army, were condemned; and the latter was executed in the Grassmarket, in accordance with his sentence, after he had been three times respited through the interest of his friends. Meanwhile the fair partner of his guilt obtained a reprieve in consequence of her pregnancy; and only two days after her accouchement, she composedly walked out of the Tolbooth, disguised in the garments of Mrs Shields, the well-known midwife who had attended on her during her confinement, and added to her other favours this extra-professional delivery. In her confusion she knocked at Lord Alva's door in James's Court, mistaking it for that of her father's agent; but the footboy, who opened the door with a candle in his hand, had been present at the trial, and immediately raised the hue and cry, while she took to her heels down a neighbouring close. She was concealed for some time in the immediate neighbourhood of the prison, in a cellar about half-way down the old back stairs of the Parliament Close, attached to the house of her uncle, who was afterwards promoted to the Bench under the title of Lord Dunsinnane. Our informant, an elderly gentleman, added, when relating it, that he was himself indebted to Mrs Shields for his first entrance on "the stage of life;" and the old lady when narrating her successful jail delivery, used to hint, with a very knowing look, "that there were other folk besides her could tell the same tale," meaning, as was surmised, that neither the turnkey nor the Lord Advocate were quite ignorant of the exchange of midwives at the time. Katharine Nairn at length effected a safe flight to the Continent, disguised in an officer's uniform;[2] from thence she escaped to America, where she is said

[1] Arnot's Criminal Trials, 8vo, p. 317.

[2] She was conducted to Dover in a post-chaise, under care of one of her uncle's clerks. This person was kept in constant dread of discovery during the journey from the extreme frivolity of her conduct.

to have married again, and died at an advanced age surrounded by a numerous and attached family,—a striking contrast in love and fortune to the too faithful wife of the poor wig-maker of Leith.

The hero, however, of the Tolbooth, to modern readers, is Captain Porteous.[1] The mob that thundered at its ancient portal on the eventful night of the 7th September 1736, and dashed through its blazing embers to drag forth the victim of their indignant revenge, has cast into the shade all former acts of *Lynch Law*, for which the Edinburgh populace were once so notorious. The skill with which the great novelist has interwoven the leading acts of this striking act of popular vengeance, with the thrilling scenes of his beautiful fiction, has done much to extend its fame, yet all the main features of the Porteous mob, as related in the "Heart of Midlothian," are strictly true, and owe their influence on the mind of the reader less to the daring character of the act, than to the moderation and singleness of purpose with which it was accomplished. This has tended to confirm the belief that the leaders of the mob were men of rank and influence, and although any evidence since obtained seems rather to suggest a different opinion,[2] most of the older citizens, who have conversed in their youth with those who had witnessed that memorable tumult, adhere to the idea then generally entertained, that the execution of Porteous was the act of men moving in the higher ranks of society. We have been informed by a gentleman to whom

[1] The following curious account of the attempt at escape by Robertson and Wilson, whose proceedings formed the first act in the drama of the Porteous Mob, is given in the *Caledonian Mercury* for April 12, 1736:—"Friday morning last, about two o'clock, the felons in the city jail made a grand attempt to escape; for which purpose Ratcliff and Stewart, horse-stealers, some time brought over from Aberbrothock, had dropt a pack-thread out of a window, to the end of which their accomplices tied spring saws and some other accoutrements, wherewith Ratcliff and Stewart cut through the great iron bars that secure a very thick window on the inside, and afterwards the cross grate in the window; they then cut a large hole in the floor of their apartment, which is immediately over that whereiu Robertson and Wilson (condemned to suffer Wednesday next) lie; which last, in return for this friendly office, contributed in the following manner to bring about their mutual escape, viz., Ratcliff and Stewart lay every night nailed to the floor by a long iron bar fifteen inches round, the supporters whereof detain prisoners at the middle of the bar, and are fastened with smaller iron bars passing through the floor to the apartment below, fixed there with wedges through eyes, which wedges being struck out by Robertson and Wilson, Ratcliff and Stewart had access to shift themselves to the end of the bar and unlock it. Being thus disengaged, they hauled Robertson and Wilson up through the hole, and then proceeded to break out at a window fronting the north; and, lest the sentinel on duty at the Purses should mar the design, their associates in woman-dress had knocked him down. Stewart accordingly came down the three storeys by a rope, in his shirt, and escaped; Wilson essayed it next, but being a squat round man, stuck in the grate, and before he could be disentangled, the guard was alarmed. Nor was it possible for the keepers to hear them at work; for whenever those in the upper apartment fell a sawing, they below sung psalms. When they had done, Millar of Balmeroy, his wife, and daughter, tuned up another in their apartment, and so forth.

"Yesterday forenoon Robertson and Wilson were carried from prison to the Tolbooth Kirk, to hear their last sermon, but were not well settled there when Wilson boldly attempted to break out, by wrenching himself out of the hands of four armed soldiers. Finding himself disappointed here, his next care was to employ the soldiers till Robertson should escape; this he effected by securing two of them in his arms; and, after calling out, *Geordie, do for thy life!* snatched hold of a third with his teeth. Hereupon Robertson, after tripping up the fourth, jumped out of the seat, and run over the tops of the pews with incredible agility, the audience opening a way for him sufficient to receive them both; and in hurrying out at the south gate of the church, he tumbled over the collection-money. Thence he reeled and staggered through the Parliament Close, and got down to the New Stairs, and often tripped by the way, but had not time to fall, some of the guard being close after him. Passing down the Cowgate, he ran up the Horse Wynd, and out at the Potterrow Port, the crowd all the way covering his retreat, who, by this time were become so numerous, that it was dangerous for the guard to look after him. In the wynd he made up to a saddled horse, and would have mounted him, but the gentleman to whom the horse belonged prevented him. Passing the Crosscauseway, he got into the King's Park, and took the Duddingston Road. Upon Robertson's getting out of the church door, Wilson was immediately carried out, without getting sermon, and put in close custody to prevent his escape, which the audience seemed much inclined to favour. So that he must pay for all Wednesday next."

[2] Ante, p. 109.

we are indebted for other curious traditions, that his great-grandfather, Lord Alva, had often assured his grandfather of this, and stated, in corroboration, that Lord Haddington was known to have taken a prominent share in the proceedings, disguised in his own cook-maid's dress. There is little reason to anticipate that the mystery in which this deed of popular justice is involved will ever be further cleared up, now that nearly a century and a half has elapsed since its occurrence. The absence, however, of all acts of violence or private injury, seems rather to prove the unanimity of feeling that prevailed on the occasion, than the presence of actors from the upper ranks of society; since, however much the latter might desire to accomplish their purpose with the calm severity of a judicial act, their inclinations could have had little effect in securing the moderation of the rabble, to whom, on any other occasion, such an event would have proved so favourable an opportunity for excess. We shall conclude our notice of this memorable deed, with the very circumstantial narrative furnished in the evidence of George Wilson, a workman in Edinburgh, as confirmed and extended by other witnesses examined on the trial of William Maclauchlane, already alluded to. Their account is divested of the usual legal formality, and otherwise somewhat abridged, but the substance is as follows:—Wilson stated that he arrived about eleven o'clock at night at the Tolbooth, where he saw faggots of broom brought by some of the mob, with which they set fire to the door. He waited till he saw Captain Porteous brought down; and after that the mob carried him up the Lawnmarket until they came to Stewart's sign-post, near the Bow head, over which some of them proposed to hang him, but others were against it. He was stopped a second time at the Weigh-house. By this time Wilson contrived to get near Porteous, and heard some of the rioters propose to hang him over the Weigh-house stair, but here the witness was recognised as an intruder, and knocked down by one of the ringleaders in female attire. After being run over by a number of the mob, Wilson recovered himself, and followed them to the Grassmarket, where he saw Porteous dragged to the dyer's tree, whereon he was hanged. There he saw the wretched captive give his purse to a wealthy citizen who was near, to be delivered to his brother, a fact afterwards confirmed by the evidence of the citizen himself. The account this witness gives of the mode in which the final object of all this procedure was accomplished, fully confirms the resolute composure with which the rioters are said to have acted throughout. He saw the rope put about Porteous's neck, but he was not drawn up until it was reported that the military were coming from the Canongate by the Hospital port, at the foot of Leith Wynd. Even after Porteous was hung up, he was twice let down again. The first time the rope was not right about his neck; and when he had been a second time drawn up he was again let down, and his shirt drawn over his face. Others of the mob, however, were more violent in their proceedings, striking him on the face with their Lochaber-axes, and shouting to cut off his ears, and otherwise to wreak their vengeance on him. William Turner, another witness, mentions having observed Porteous, after he was hung up, struggling to take hold of the rope, but the rioters struck at him with their weapons, and compelled him to quit his hold. When they were satisfied that their object was accomplished, they nailed the end of the rope to the pole, flung away their weapons, and rapidly dispersed.

Such is the narrative, as related by eye-witnesses, immediately after the occurrence of

this memorable event. The newspapers for some time afterwards abound with notices of the precautions taken, when too late, to prevent the recurrence of an act, the idea of which can hardly have appeared otherwise than ridiculous even at the time. The gates of the Nether Bow Port were fastened back to preserve the free access of the military to the city; guards were established there; the trained bands were called out; grenadier companies quartered in the town and suburbs; and most effectual means taken to prevent the hanging of a second Porteous, if any such had existed.[1] On the second day after his execution, the body of Porteous was interred in the Greyfriars Churchyard,[2] but the exact spot has long since ceased to be remembered.[3]

The Tolbooth of Edinburgh was visited by Howard in the year 1782, and again in 1787, and on the last occasion he strongly expressed his dissatisfaction, declaring that he had expected to have found a new one in its stead.[4] It was not, however, till the year 1817 that the huge pile of antique masonry was doomed to destruction. Its materials were sold in the month of September, and its demolition took place almost immediately afterwards. The following extract from a periodical of that period, while it shows with how little grief the demolition of the ancient fabric was witnessed, also points out the GRAVE OF THE OLD TOLBOOTH. It seems to have been buried with a sort of pauper's funeral, on the extreme outskirts of the new city that was rising up beyond those ancient boundaries of which it had so long formed the heart. "Now," says the writer, "that the Luckenbooths have been safely carted to Leith Wynd (would that it had been done some dozen years ago!) and the Tolbooth,—to the unutterable delight of the inhabitants,—is journeying quickly to Fettes Row, there to be transferred into common sewers and drains, the irregular and grim visage of the Cathedral has been in a great measure unveiled."[5] The *unveiling* of the Cathedral had formed the grand object of all civic committees of taste for well-nigh half a century before; the renovation of the ancient fabric thereby exposed to vulgar gaze became the next subject of discussion, until this also was at length accomplished in 1829, at the cost not only of much money, but of nearly all its ancient and characteristic features. Added to all these radical changes, the assistance rendered by the Great Fire of 1824, unexpectedly removed a whole range of eyesores to such reformers, in the destruction of the ancient tenements between St Giles's and the Tron Church.

As the only means of giving width and uniformity to the street, all this comes fairly within the category of civic improvements; how far it tended to increase the picturesque beauty of the old thoroughfare is a very different question. Taylor, the Water Poet, in the amusing narrative of his "Pennylesse Pilgrimage" from London to Edinburgh, published in 1618, describes the High Street as "the fairest and goodliest street that ever mine eyes beheld, for I did never see or hear of a street of that length, which is half an English mile from the Castle to a faire port, which they calle the Neather

[1] *Caledonian Mercury*, September 23, 1736. [2] Ibid, September 9.

[3] "No less than seventeen criminals escaped from the city jail on this occasion, among whom are the dragoon who was indicted for the murder of the butcher's wife in Dunse, the two Newhaven men lately brought in from Blackness Castle for smuggling, seven sentinels of the city guard, &c."—Ibid, September 9th.

[4] Arnot, who never minces matters when disposed to censure, furnishes a very graphic picture of the horrors of the old jail of Edinburgh.—Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 298.

[5] Edin. Mag. Nov. 1817, p. 322.

Bow, . . . the buildings on each side of the way being all of squared stone, five, six, and seven stories high." "When I came first into the High Street," says another traveller, writing more than a century after him, "I thought I had never seen anything of the kind more magnificent."[1] Gradually, however, the traveller learned, from his civic entertainers, to mingle suggestions of improvement with his admiration. "You have seen," says Topham, writing from Edinburgh in 1776, "the famous street at Lisle, la Rue Royale, leading to the port of Tournay, which is said to be the finest in Europe, but which, I can assure you, is not to be compared either in length or breadth to the High Street at Edinburgh." He adds, however, "would they be at the expense of removing some buildings which obstruct the view, nothing could be conceived more magnificent."[2] Similar remarks might be quoted from later travellers; we shall only add that of our greatest living landscape painter, Turner, expressed since the removal of the Luckenbooths, that "the *old* High Street of Edinburgh was only surpassed in Europe by that of Oxford." Imposing as the effect of the High Street still is,—although scarcely a year passes without the loss of some one or other of its ancient and characteristic features,—we doubt if its broad and unencumbered thoroughfare will ever again meet with the praise that it received from travellers who had to pass through the narrow defile of the *Purses*, or thread their way along by the still more straitened *Krames* that clung on to the old church walls. So far as picturesque effect is concerned, this improvement very much resembles a reform effected of late years in Salisbury Cathedral. An ancient screen which divided the Lady Chapel from the choir had long been an eyesore to certain men of taste, who found in the glimpses of the little chapel that they caught beyond, far too much left to their imagination. It was accordingly demolished, under the direction of Mr James Wyatt, when, to their surprise, much of the rich effect of the chapel vanished along with the screen, and they began to think that it might have been a part of the original designer's intention to conceal the plain shafts of the pillars, while their capitals, and the rich groinings of the roof, alone appeared. We strongly suspect our city reformers fancied that every bit of the old church which the Luckenbooths concealed was to disclose features as rich as the fine Gothic crown they saw towering over the chimney-tops.[3]

The ancient buildings that occupied the middle of the High Street, between the Tolbooth and the Cross, formed a range of irregular and picturesque lands, nearly all with timber fronts and lofty peaked gables projecting into the street. Through one of these, an alley, sometimes called the Old-Kirk Style, led from the head of Advocates' Close to the old north porch of St Giles's Church, obliterated in the remodelling of that venerable edifice. This ancient alley is alluded to by the name it generally received to the last in Dunbar's Address to the Merchants of Edinburgh, written about the year

[1] Letters from the North of Scotland, 1754.

[2] Topham's Letters, p. 8. There is an amusing tendency in many minds to regard every near object as *obstructing the view*, without the least consideration of what lies beyond it. We heard lately of an English lady, who, on her arrival in Edinburgh, took up her abode in fashionable lodgings at the west end of Princes Street. On a friend inquiring how she liked the prospect from her window, she replied, that the view would really be very fine, were it not for that great castle standing in the way!

[3] "The chief ornament of Edinburgh is St Giles's Church, a magnificent Gothic pile, the beauties of which are almost wholly concealed by the houses in its near neighbourhood, particularly the Luckenbooths, which, it is expected, will shortly be pulled down."—Campbell's Journey, 1802, vol. ii. p. 125.

1490;[1] and in the following century it was the scene of the assassination of M'Lellan of Bombie, who in the year 1525, was waylaid and slain there in open day, with perfect impunity, by the lairds of Lochinvar and Drumlanrig, during the turbulent sway of the Douglases, in the minority of James V. Numerous personal encounters occurred at the same place in early times, consequent on its vicinity to the Parliament House and courts of law; and even after the fruits of many revolutions had put an end to such scenes of violence, this dark alley maintained somewhat of its old character, as a favourite resort of the thief and pickpocket,—degenerate successors of the cateran and moss-trooper!

The buildings of the middle row were extremely irregular in character. The timber land immediately in front of St Giles's steeple was only three stories high, and with a very low-pitched roof, so as to admit of the clock being seen by passers in the High Street; while the one adjoining it to the west, after rising to the height of five stories and finishing with two very steep overhanging gables in front, had a sixth reared above these, with a flat lead roof,—like a crow's nest stuck between the battlements of some ancient peel tower.[2] The two most easterly lands in the Luckenbooths differed from the rest in being tall and substantial erections of polished ashlar work. The first of these was surmounted with stone gables of unequal size, somewhat in the style of "Gladstone's land," at the head of Lady Stair's Close, and apparently built not later than the reign of Charles I. The other building, which presented its main front down the High Street, though evidently a more recent erection, yielded in interest to none of the private buildings of Edinburgh. "Creech's Land," as it was termed, according to the fashion of the burgh, after one of its latest and most worthy occupants, formed the peculiar haunt of the muses during the last century. Thither Allan Ramsay removed in 1725,—immediately after publishing the first complete edition of his great pastoral poem,—from the sign of the Mercury's Head, opposite Niddry's Wynd, and there,—on the first floor, which had formerly been the London Coffee House,—he substituted for his former celestial sign, the heads of Ben Jonson and Drummond of Hawthornden, and greatly extended his business with the profits of his successful devotion to the Muses. It was on his removal to this central locality that he established his circulating library,—the first institution of the kind known in Scotland, not without both censure and interference from some of the stricter leaders of society at that period. "Profaneness," says Wodrow, "is come to a great height; all the villanous, profane, and obscene books of plays, printed at London by Curle and others, are got down from London by Allan Ramsay, and lent out for an easy price to young boys, servant women of the better sort, and gentlemen; and vice and obscenity dreadfully propagated." Ramsay's fame and fortune progressed with unabating vigour after this period; and his shop became the daily resort of the leading wits and literati, as well as of every traveller of note that visited the Scottish capital.

[1] Ante, p. 28.

[2] Maitland informs us (p. 181) that the Krames were first erected against St Giles's Church in 1555. The Boothraw, or Luckenbooths, however, we have shown (ante, p. 172) was in existence 150 years before that, and probably much earlier. Maitland derives its latter name from a species of woollen cloth called *Laken*, brought from the Low Countries; but Dr Jamieson assigns the more probable source in the old Scotch word *Lucken*, closed, or shut up; signifying booths closed in, and admitting of being locked, in contradistinction to the open stands, which many still living can remember to have seen displayed in the Lawnmarket every market day.

Gay, the poet,—who, during the latter years of his life, seems to have been as regularly installed into the household of the Duchess of Queensberry as ever any court-minstrel was in a palace of old,—accompanied his patroness to Edinburgh, and resided for some time in the Canongate, at Queensberry House. He became, as was to be anticipated, a frequent visitor of the Scottish poet, and is said to have derived great amusement from Ramsay's humorous descriptions of the leading citizens as they daily assembled at the Cross, within sight of his windows. That central spot "where merchants most do congregate," was then adorned with the ancient structure demolished in 1756, and formed the daily promenade for the ruffled and powdered exquisite to display his finery, no less than for the trader bent only on business. The wits of Edinburgh used to meet there, at the poet's shop, to amuse themselves with the intelligence of the day, and the most recent news in the world of letters. The late William Tytler, Esq., of Woodhouselee, had frequently seen Gay among these literary gossips, and described him as a pleasant-looking little man with a tye-wig. He recollected overhearing him desire Ramsay to explain many of the Scottish words and allusions to national customs that occur in the Gentle Shepherd, and which he engaged on his return to England to communicate to Pope, who was already an admirer of the beauties of that admirable pastoral.[1] The prospect, however, from Allan Ramsay's window, possessed other attractions for the poet besides the grave and humorous glimpses of human nature it afforded; for, owing to the singular site of the Scottish capital, it commanded, although in the very heart of the town, a view for many miles into the country, looking across Preston Bay to the fertile landscape of East Lothian, and the heights that skirt the German Ocean.

Allan Ramsay's library and business were transferred by his successor, Mr James Macewan, to the shop below; and from him they passed into the hands of Mr Alexander Kincaid, an eminent bookseller and publisher, and a man of highly cultivated mind, who took an active share in the management of civic affairs, and died while filling the office of Lord Provost, January 21st, 1777. He was interred with all the honours due to his rank, and his funeral appears to have excited an universal sensation at the period.[2] During his time the old land acquired an additional interest as a favourite lounge of Smollett, who visited Edinburgh in 1776, and resided for some time at his sister's house in the Canongate. He appears to have derived the same amusement as Gay from watching the curious groups that daily assembled in front of this ancient tenement. In the lively account of his visit given in Humphrey Clinker, he remarks—"All the people of business at Edinburgh, and even the genteel company, may be seen standing in crowds every day, from one to two in the afternoon, in the open street, at a place where formerly stood a market-cross, a curious piece of Gothic architecture, still to be seen in Lord Somerville's garden in this neighbourhood." Kincaid was succeeded in the shop and business by Mr William Creech, in whose hands this haunt of the Muses suffered no diminution of its attractions. He received a liberal education in early life; added to which, an inexhaustible fund of amusing anecdote, and great conversational powers, served through life to make his society be courted by the most eminent men of his time, notwithstanding the acquirement latterly of penurious habits, and such a miserly keenness for money, as precluded not benevolence

[1] Scot. Mag., July 1802.

[2] A particular account of the funeral is given by Arnot, Appendix, No. XI.

alone, but even, it is said, the honest discharge of commercial obligations.[1] For forty years Mr Creech carried on the most extensive publishing concern in Scotland, and during the whole of this long period nearly all the valuable literary productions of the time passed through his hands. He published the writings of the celebrated judge and philosopher, Lord Kames, who appears to have regarded him with friendship and esteem. He was also the publisher of the works of Drs Blair, Beattie, Campbell (the opponent of Hume), Cullen, Gregory, Adam Smith, Henry Mackenzie (the Man of Feeling), Lord Woodhouselee, Dugald Stewart, and Burns, besides many others of inferior note; all of whom resorted to the old land in the Luckenbooths, or to the more select assemblies that frequently took place at his breakfast table, designated by the wits *Creech's levees.* The old bibliopolist is the subject of Burns' amusing poem, "*Willie's awa,*" written on the occasion of a long visit he paid to London in 1787, and forwarded to him by the poet at the time. One or two of its stanzas are very lively and characteristic:—

O Willie was a witty wight,
And had o' things an unco slight;
Auld Reekie aye he keepit tight,
And trig and braw;
But now they 'll busk her like a fright,
Willie 's awa.

Nae mair we see his levee door,
Philosophers and poets pour,
And toothy critics by the score
In bloody raw;
The adjutant of a' the core,
Willie 's awa.

From the same classic haunt the Mirror and Lounger were originally issued, the appearance of which formed a new era in the literature of Edinburgh. The first paper of the Mirror appeared on Saturday, 23d January 1779, and created quite a sensation among the *blue-stocking* coteries of the capital. The succeeding numbers were delivered at Mr Creech's shop every Wednesday and Saturday, and afforded a general source of interest and literary amusement. Mr Mackenzie was the conductor and principal writer, but the chief contributors latterly formed themselves into the "Mirror Club," which consisted of Henry Mackenzie, Lord Craig, Lord Abercromby, Lord Bannatyne, Lord Cullen, George Home of Wedderburn, William Gordon of Newhall, and George Ogilvie, advocates.[2] Mr Creech, like his predecessor, bore his share in the civic government, and twice filled the office of Lord Provost. His reputation is still preserved by his "Fugitive Pieces," a work of considerable local celebrity, although affording a very imperfect idea of the wit

[1] Some curious illustrations, both of the wit and penuriousness of this old city bookseller, will be found scattered through the pages of "Kay's Portraits."

[2] Lord Craig, then an advocate, was the originator, and, next to Mackenzie, the greatest contributor to the *Mirror.* The Club previously existed under the name of the *Tabernacle,* but assumed that which had been adopted for their periodical. The names of the writers were carefully concealed, and in order to avoid observation, the Club held its weekly meetings in no fixed place. "Sometimes in Clerihugh's, in Writer's Court, sometimes in Somer's, opposite the Guard House, in the High Street, sometimes in Stewart's Oyster House, in the Old Fishmarket Close," &c., when one of the most interesting occupations of the evening was the examination of the contents of the Contributors' box, which stood open for all correspondents, at Mr Creech's door.—*Vide* Scot. Biog. Dictionary,—Article "Craig"

and humour that led Burns to style him "a birkie weel worth gowd," and made him a favourite among the large circle of eminent men who adorned the Scottish capital in the eighteenth century. He died in 1815, only two years before the interesting old land, which bore his name for nearly half a century, was levelled with the ground.

A carefully engraved view of Creech's Land is attached to the edition of his "Fugitive Pieces," published by his successor soon after his death. An outside stair at the north corner, which formerly gave access, according to the usual style of the older houses, to Allan Ramsay's library, on the first floor, had been removed about ten years before, but the top of the doorway appears in the view as a small window. The *laigh shop*, which occupied the subterranean portion of this curious building, is worthy of mention here. Although such a dungeon as would barely suffice for the cellarage of a modern tradesman, it was for many years the button warehouse of Messrs T. & A. Hutcheson, extensive and wealthy traders, who, in the bad state of the copper coinage,—when even George III. halfpennies would not pass current in Scotland,—produced a coinage of Edinburgh halfpennies that were universally received. They were of excellent workmanship; bearing on one side the city arms, boldly struck, and on the other the figure of St Andrew. They continued in common use until the close of the last century, when a new copper coinage was introduced from the Mint. Since then they have gradually disappeared, and are now rarely to be met with except in the cabinets of the curious.

At the entrance to the narrow passage on the south side of this old land,—called the Krames, from the range of little booths stuck against the walls and buttresses of St Giles's Church,—there formerly existed a flight of steps known by the name of "Our Lady Steps," from a statue of the Virgin that had once occupied a plain Gothic niche in the north-east angle of the church. An old gentlewoman is mentioned in the "Traditions of Edinburgh," who died about 1802, at the age of ninety, and who remembered having seen both the statue and steps in her early days. The existence of the statue at so recent a period, we suspect, must be regarded as an error of memory. It is scarcely conceivable that *an image* of the Virgin, occupying so prominent a position, could escape the fury of the Reforming mobs of 1559.[1] The niche, however, remained, an interesting memorial of other times, till it fell a sacrifice to the tasteless uniformity of modern *beautifiers* in 1829.

The New Tolbooth, or Council House, has already been frequently alluded to, and its site described in the course of the work.[2] It was attached to the west wall of St Giles's Church, and at some early period there had existed a means of communication with it from the upper floors, as appeared by an arch that remained built up in the party wall.[3] A covered passage led through it into the Parliament Close, forming the only access to the latter from the west. From the period of the erection of this building in the reign of Queen

[1] "The poore made havocke of all goods moveable in the Blacke and Gray friers, and left nothing but bare walls; yea, not so muche as doore or window, so that the Lords had the lesse to doe when they came. After their coming, all monuments of idolatrie within the toun, and in places adjacent, were suppressed and removed."—29th June 1559. Calderwood's Hist. vol. i. p. 475.

[2] Ante, p. 72. The previous statement is scarcely correct; however, the old Council House stood immediately to the north of the lobby of the Signet Library, but without occupying any part of its site; the old building continued standing until the other was built to some height.

[3] This also appears from the notice of the meeting of Parliament, 17th January 1572, ante, p. 84.

Mary, the Scottish Parliaments and the College of Justice assembled there, until their sitting were transferred to the fine hall which still remains in Parliament Square, though so strangely disguised externally by its modern facing. On the desertion of the New Tolbooth by the Scottish Estates and Courts of Law, it was exclusivly devoted to the deliberations of the civic counsellors, until the erection of the Royal Exchange provided enlarged accommodation for the Council. The Laigh Hall, where Assemblies both of the Kirk and Estates had often been held, was a large and handsome room. Its ceiling was beautifully wrought in various panels, with rich pendants from their centres, and finished with emblazonry and gilding. On its demolition some interesting and valuable relics of early decorations were brought to light. The walls had been originally panelled with oak, and when at a later period this came to be regarded as old-fashioned and inelegant, the antique panelling was concealed, without removal, behind a modern coating of lath and plaster. There is reason to believe that the compartments of the walls when first completed had been filled with a series of portraits, but unfortunately, little attention was paid to the old building at the period of its destruction, and we are only aware of one of the paintings that has been preserved. There is much probability in favour of this being an original portrait of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise. It is well painted on an oak panel, and in fine condition, and was at first believed to represent Queen Anne, the consort of James VI., having been almost completely obscured by smoke and dirt at the time of its discovery. It was then thought that it must have been accompanied by a portrait of James; and it is exceedingly probable that others of equal value to the one thus accidentally preserved may have been thrown aside and destroyed with the discarded panelling. This curious portrait is now in the possession of Alexander Mackay, Esq. of Blackcastle. It represents the Queen in a high-bordered lace cap and ruff, such as both she and her daughter are usually painted with. The details of the lacework are elaborately rendered, and the expression of countenance is dignified and very pleasing. On the painting being cleaned, an ingenious monogram was brought to light, burned into the back of the panel, composing the word MARIA, and leaving, we think, little doubt of the genuineness of the portrait, which was thus found by accident, and has passed through no picture-dealer's hands.

To this ancient building belong many of the later historical associations that have been referred by some of our local historians to its predecessor. It was from one of its windows that the affrighted monarch James VI. attempted in vain to appease the enraged citizens in 1596, when, "had they not been restrained by that worthy citizen, John Watt, the deacon-convener,—who at this dangerous juncture assembled the crafts,—they would undoubtedly have forced the door, and probably have destroyed the King and all that were with him."[1] The whole tumult appears to have resulted in mutual distrust, which was taken advantage of by some designing meddlers to set the Court and citizens at variance. The Kirk and King were at the time nearly at open strife, and Mr Robert Bruce was preaching to a select audience in St Giles's Church, preparatory to framing "certain articles for redresse of the wrongs done to the Kirk," while the King was sitting in the neighbouring Tolbooth, "in the seate of Justice, among the Lords of the Sessioun," seemingly thinking of nothing less than the granting of any such requests. While the Commissioners went to the Tolbooth to make their wishes known to the King, "Mr

[1] Maitland, p. 48.

Michaell Cranstoun, then a verie fordward minister," profitably employed the leisure of the congregation by reading to them "the Historie of Haman and Mordecai, *and suche other places of Scripture.* . . . In the mean tyme, there ariseth a rumour in the toun, that the King had givin no good answere to the Kirk; and in the Tolbuith, that the toun was in armes, before there was anie suche thing. But it fell furth so immediatelie; for a messinger of Satan, suborned by some of the cubicular courteours, came to the kirk doore, and cried, 'Fly! save yourselves;' and ranne to the streets, crying, 'Armour! armour!'"[1] The consequences are readily conceivable, friends and enemies rushed together to the Tolbooth, and so thoroughly terrified the King, that he speedily after forsook the capital, and vowed in his wrath that he would erase it from the face of the earth! a proposition which he really seriously entertained.[2]

The last Parliament at which royalty presided was held in the same New Tolbooth, immediately after the coronation of Charles I., July 1633, and this was in all probability the latest occasion on which the Scottish Estates assembled in the ancient edifice, as the more modern Parliament House that still exists was then in course of erection.

From this period the New Tolbooth was used exclusively for the meetings of the Town Council, by whom it had been erected, and it was latterly known only by the name of the Council Chambers. Thither the unfortunate Earl of Argyle was brought from the Castle preparatory to his execution on the 30th June 1685, and from thence his farewell letter to his wife is dated. Fountainhall tells us, "Argile came in coach to the Toune Counsell, and from that on foot to the scaffold with his hat on, betuixt Mr Annand, Dean of Edinburgh, on his right hand,—to whom he gave his paper on the scaffold,—and Mr Laurence Charteris, late Professor of Divinity in the College of Edinburgh. He was somewhat appaled at the sight of the Maiden,—present death will danton the most resolute courage,—therfor he caused bind the napkin upon his face ere he approached, and then was led to it."[3] Notwithstanding this incident mentioned by Fountainhall, who in all probability witnessed the execution, it is well known that Argyle exhibited unusual composure and self-possession on the occasion. The Maiden was erected, according to ancient custom in cases of treason, at the Cross, so that the Earl would have only a few paces to walk across the Parliament Close from the Council Chambers, to reach the fatal spot. As a more recent association with both the earlier and later uses of this building, Maitland mentions —in addition to an armoury and wardrobe which it contained—that there also was the repository wherein were kept the sumptuous robes anciently worn by the City representatives in Parliament, together with the rich trappings and accoutrements for their horses, which were used in the pompous cavalcade at the opening of the Scottish Legislature, styled "The riding of Parliament."[4]

The Parliament Close, which lies to the south of St Giles's Church, has passed through a series of stranger and more remarkable vicissitudes than any other portion of the Old Town. Could an accurate narrative now be given of all the circumstances accompanying these successive changes, it would suffice to associate this narrow spot with many of the most memorable events in Scottish history, till the adjournment of its last Parliament there on the 22d of April 1707, never again to assemble. While St Giles's was the

[1] Calderwood's Hist., vol. v. p. 513.
[2] Ante, p. 88.
[3] Fountainhall's Historical Observes, p. 193.
[4] Maitland, p. 180.

small and solitary parish church of the ancient unwalled town, there was the burial-place for "the rude forefathers of the hamlet," and so it continued to the very end of the sixteenth century. Down to that period the site of the present courts was occupied in part by the collegiate building, for the residence of the prebendaries and other clergy that officiated at the numerous altars founded at different times in St Giles's Church. The whole of the remaining portion lay open towards the south, extending in successive terraces to the Cowgate, and the greater part of it appears to have remained in this condition till the latter end of the seventeenth century. In the nether kirkyard, between St Giles's Church and the Cowgate, stood the ancient chapel of the Holy Rood till the Reformation, when it appears to have been demolished, and its materials used in building the New Tolbooth. Doubtless the erection of the latter building, where all the great civic and national assemblies of the period took place, must have had considerable influence in leading to the abandonment of the old churchyard of St Giles as a place of burial. While its area continued enclosed with ecclesiastical buildings, and stood apart from the great thoroughfares of the town, it must have been a peculiarly solemn and fitting place of sepulture. But when the readiest access to the New Tolbooth was through the open churchyard, and instead of the old monk or priest treading among its grassy hillocks, it became the lounge of grooms and lackeys waiting on their masters during the meetings of Parliament, or of quarrelsome litigants, and the usual retainers of the law, during the sessions of the College of Justice, all idea of sacredness must have been lost. Such appears to have been the case, from the fact that no record exists to show any formal abandonment of it as a churchyard. Queen Mary granted the gardens of the Greyfriars' monastery to the citizens in the year 1566, to be used as a cemetery, and from that period the old burial-place seems to have been gradually forsaken, until the neglected sepulchres of the dead were at length paved over, and the citizens forgot that their Exchange was built over their fathers' graves.

One of the latest notices we have discovered of the ancient churchyard occurs in Calderwood's narrative of the memorable tumult of 1596, described above, though the name probably remained long after it had ceased to be used as such. On that occasion "the noblemen, barons, and gentlemen that were in the kirk, went forth at the alarum, and were likewise in their armes. The Earl of Mar, and the Lord Halyrudhous, went out to the barons and ministrie, conveenned in the kirkyard. Some hote speeches passt betuixt the Erle of Mar and the Lord Lindsey, so that they could not be pacified for a long tyme."[1] Skirmishes and tumults of a like nature were doubtless common occurrences there; exasperated litigants frequently took matters into their own hands, and made a speedy end to "the law's delay," while the judges were gravely pondering their case within. In like manner the craftsmen and apprentices dealt with their civic rulers; club law was the speediest arbiter in every difficulty, and the transference of the Tolbooth to the west end of the old kirkyard, transferred also the arena of such tumults to the same sacred spot. Yet with all this to account for the desertion of the ancient burial-place, it cannot but excite the surprise of every thoughtful observer, who reflects that within this consecrated ground, on the 24th November 1572, the assembled nobles and citizens committed John Knox,—"the Apostle of the Scots," as Beza styles him,—

[1] Calderwood's Hist., vol. v. p. 513.

to the grave,[1] the Regent Morton pronouncing over him his brief, but just and memorable requiem, and before the generation had passed away that witnessed and joined in his funeral service, the churchyard in which they laid him had been converted into a public thoroughfare. We fear this want of veneration must be regarded as a national characteristic, which Knox assisted to call into existence, and to which we owe much of the reckless demolition of time-honoured monuments of the past, which it is now thought a weakness to deplore.[2]

It is mentioned in the "Traditions,"[3] on the authority of "the then Recorder of Edinburgh, that many of the tombstones were removed from St Giles's to the Greyfriars, where they still exist;" but we do not know of a single inscription remaining that gives probability to this assertion. All the monuments in the Greyfriars' Churchyard are of a later date than Queen Mary's gift of the gardens of the ancient monastery, though even were it otherwise, it would not be conclusive, as the royal grant was in all probability only an extension of an ancient burial-ground attached to the monastery in the Grassmarket. It is mentioned almost immediately thereafter as a place of burial during the dreadful plague of 1568, when a huge pit is ordered to be dug in the "Greyfriars' Kirkzaird."[4] Bailie Macmorran's monument is, we believe, the only one in the old cemetery which dates so early as the sixteenth century; we are therefore forced to conclude that, in the same spirit that led to the abandonment of St Giles's burial-ground, its ancient monuments were converted to a similar purpose with the old chapel of the Holy Rood, that stood in the lower yard.

A few of the most important changes that have taken place on this interesting spot, in the heart of the ancient capital, arranged in the order of their occurrence, will best illustrate the rapidity with which it passed through successive transitions. In the year 1496, the provost of St Giles's Church granted to the citizens the northern part of his manse, with the glebe, for augmenting the cemetery. In 1528 Walter Chepman, the celebrated printer, founded and endowed a chaplainry in the chapel of the Holy Rood, in the nether kirkyard; in 1559 the chapel was demolished and left in ruins; and in 1562 its materials helped to build a new Tolbooth at the north-west corner of the churchyard. On the Protestant clergy being finally established in the stead of their Catholic predecessors, the prebendal buildings became the residence of the town ministers, and thither, in the year 1580, the nucleus of the present University Library was removed, until a suitable building should be procured for it. From this clerical college the ministers were ejected in 1597 by the incensed King, who trusted thereby to weaken their power and influence, by compelling them to live apart from one another. The substantial forfeit thus wrung from the reclaiming clergy seems to have been regarded by him as a peculiarly acceptable trophy; no doubt, in part at least, from the evidence it furnished of his having come off victorious in a contest with those who, until then, had always proved his most untractable opponents.

[1] Ante, p. 83.

[2] Probably the annals of no other town could exhibit the same indifference to its ancient cemeteries, which even the rude Indian holds sacred. Before the Reformation there were the Blackfriars kirkyard, where the Surgical Hospital or old High School stands; the Kirk of Field,—now occupied by the College,—Trinity College, Holyrood Abbey, St Roque's and St Leonard's kirkyards. In all these places human bones are still found on digging to any depth. In this respect Edinburgh exhibits a striking contrast to the more crowded English capital.

[3] Chambers's Traditions, vol. ii. p. 196.

[4] "Statuts for the Pest.," Maitland, p. 32.

He particularly manifested his satisfaction during the following year, when the ejected ministers had been allowed to return to their pulpits. "All this winter the King and Queen remained in the Abbey, and came up to the toun sindrie tymes; dynned and supped in the ministers' houses behind the kirk. For the King keeped their houses in his owne hand, howbeit they were restored to their generall ministrie in Edinburgh."[1] To resume our chronological sketch: in the year 1617, on the return of King James to his Scottish capital, the old churchyard had so entirely lost all traces of its original character that it was selected as the scene of a magnificent civic banquet, with which the magistrates welcomed him back to his native city. The ministers appear to have been restored after a time to their manses in the kirkyard, but this was only by sufferance, and during the royal will; for in 1632 the ancient collegiate buildings were at length entirely demolished, to make way for the Parliament House, which occupies their site. On the 14th of August 1656 General Monck was feasted in the great hall, along with Lord Broghall, President of the Council, and all the councillors of state, and officers of the army. "This feast," says Nicoll, "wes gevin by the toun of Edinburgh, with great solempnitie, within the Parliament Hous, ritchlie hung for that end. The haill pryme men, and such of thair followeris as wer in respect, wer all resavit burgessis, and thair burges tickettis delyverit to thame."[2] The Duke of York, afterwards James VII., was feasted by the city within the same old hall, on his arrival in Edinburgh in the year 1680, along with his Duchess, and the Lady Anne, who afterwards succeeded to the throne. In 1685 the equestrian statue of King Charles was erected, almost above the grave of John Knox; and without extending too minutely these more striking data, we may remind the reader, that the same hall in which the Duke of York was entertained in 1680, was the scene of the magnificent banquet with which the next royal visitor was welcomed in 1822.[3] The open area was at length enclosed with buildings, at first only low booths, but these were soon after succeeded by the loftiest private buildings ever reared in this, or probably any other town. In 1676, a considerable portion of the new buildings were destroyed by fire. Another conflagration succeeded this in 1700, known by the name of the "Great Fire," which swept the whole magnificent range of buildings to the ground, and these were only re-erected to experience a third time the same fate in the year 1824. On the last destruction of the eastern and larger half of the old Parliament Close, the statue of King Charles was carted off to the Calton Jail, where his Majesty lay incarcerated for several years, until the complete remodelling of the whole locality, when he was elevated anew on a handsome pedestal, in which two marble tablets have been inserted, found amoug some lumber in the rooms below the Parliament House, and containing an inscription evidently prepared for the former

[1] Calderwood's Hist., vol. v. p. 673.

[2] Nicoll's Diary, p. 183.

[3] The following curious remarks appear in a communication to the *Caledonian Mercury*, December 22d, 1788:—"It is somewhat remarkable that the last public dinner that was given in the Parliament House here was to King James VII., then Duke of York, at which was present the Lady Anne, afterwards Queen Anne; and that the next dinner that should be given in the same place—viz., this day—should be by the Revolution Club, in commemoration of his expulsion from the throne! The dinner was given by the Magistrates of Edinburgh. The whole Court of Scotland, and a numerous train of noblemen, with the Duke, were present. And the outer hall of the Parliament House was thrown into one room upon the occasion. This dinner cost the city above £1400 sterling. Sir James Dick, the then Lord Provost, presided (as the present will do this day). The Duke of York, and all the noblemen who were with him, were presented with the freedom of the city. The drink-money to the Duke's servants amounted to £220 sterling."

pedestal. Its panegyric we suspect had proved too fulsome even for the sycophantish period in which the statue was erected; but it now forms the most interesting, and we may add amusing, feature of this old monument of civic royalty.[1]

A view is given of the new Parliament House at page 99, as it appeared when first erected, standing disengaged from all other buildings, with an open area to the east and south. The same isolated position is shown in the bird's-eye view in Gordon's map of 1648, where the ground slopes down in open terraces from the Parliament Close to the Cowgate; but the value of this central spot through which the nobles, judges, and magistrates, and all their numerous attendants and solicitors, were daily passing, soon led to its selection as a convenient site for building. So early as 1628 the southern side of the church walls had been concealed by krames and booths stuck on between every buttress and angle; and about the year 1663 the open ground was let out by the magistrates for the purpose of erecting small shops. These were succeeded, in 1685, as appeared from the date on one of the lands, by the loftiest buildings existing in the Old Town, which towered in their southern elevation to the height of fifteen stories, and converted the once solitary churchyard into the busiest and most populous nook of the ancient capital.

We have examined a set of original documents,[2] relating to a judicial sale of the property in the Parliament Close, drawn up in the year 1698, which furnish some curious and minute information as to the extent and occupation of the old lands, and introduce the names of citizens of note and influence at the period, as concerned in the various transactions. "My Lord Fountainhall, George Warrender, ane of the present bailies," ancestor of the Baronets of that name, "George Home, merchant, and now Provost," and others, appear as creditors and trustees.[3] A few extracts will furnish a peep into the domestic arrangements of the fashionable residenters in the Parliament Close towards the close of the seventeenth century. Sir George Campbell of Cessnock, ancestor of the Earls of Marchmont, occupied a lodging on the fourth story above the close, "entering by the scale stair from the Parliament Close and Kirk-heugh," at a yearly rent of five hundred and fifty merks Scots, and "consisting of seven fire rooms, and a closet with ane fire!" and above him was Sir William Binning of Wallyford, in the fifth story, with equal accommodation, at a somewhat lower rental.

In the next scale stair entering from the close, "The Lord Mersington" is mentioned as occupying a house of eight fire rooms and a cellar on the fifth floor, at the rent of two hundred pounds Scots. Alexander Swinton, who assumed this title on his elevation to the Bench in 1688, is a character of some note among our older citizens. So zealous

[1] A correspondent of the *Caledonian Mercury*, Nov. 10th, 1788, who dates from St Bernard's (Walter Ross, Esq., we presume), supplies some interesting facts regarding this monument:—"The statue of Charles II., placed on the spot intended for that of Cromwell, and superior to everything of the kind in Britain, is said by Maitland to have been erected at the expense of the citizens. If he means that it was by a contribution for the purpose, it is a mistake. The statue was placed by the Magistrates and Council. In the accounts of George Drummond, the town treasurer, in 1684-5, he charges £2580 Scots (£215 sterling), the contents of a bill of exchange drawn by 'James Smith upon him, for the price of King Charles II., his statue.' The bill seems to have come from Rotterdam."

[2] In the possession of David Laing, Esq., Signet Library.

[3] The property is thus described:—"All and haill these great lodgings, duelling-houses, shops, vaults, sellars, and pertinents of the same, lying within the brugh of Edinburgh, betwixt the King's High Street therein, called the Cowgate, on the south, the Vennel commonly called the Kirk-heugh, and the tenement of land belonging to me, the said Thomas Robertson, on the east; the Parliament Closs on the north, and the Parliament House, and little yard belonging to the same, and the void commonly called the Leather Mercatt on the west parts," &c.

was he in his attachment to Presbyterianism, that he relinquished his profession as an advocate in 1681 rather than take the Test. Nevertheless, he learned soon after to hold the favour of royalty in greater esteem. By a special dispensation from the King he was restored to his rank as an advocate; and on the removal of Lord Edmonston from the Bench, in consequence of his opposition to the royal inclinations in one of his votes as a judge, Swinton, the once resolute declaimer against the encroachments of royalty, was selected as the most pliant successor that could be found. The poor King, James VII., displayed at all times little judgment in the choice of his friends, and in this case his selection appears to have been peculiarly unfortunate. The Revolution ensued immediately after Swinton's elevation to the Bench, and if Lord Balcarras's account is to be believed, the new judge took a leading share in some of the strangest proceedings that followed. The mob signalised the dethronement of the King by an assault on the Abbey Chapel, in which several of them were killed and wounded by the guard who were stationed to defend it. On the following day Lord Mersington headed a rabble, accompanied by the Provost and Magistrates, and renewed the attack on Captain Wallace and his men. The guards were speedily put to flight, and my lord and the rest of the rioters completely gutted the chapel, which had been fitted up in the most gorgeous and costly style. Balcarras styles Lord Mersington "the fanatical judge," and, according to his description, he figures on the occasion girt with a broad buff-belt, with "a halbert in his hand, and as drunk as ale and brandy could make him."[1] He was the only judge on the Bench at the Revolution that was reappointed by the new government.

On the third floor in the eastern turnpike of the back land, Sir David Home, Lord Crossrig, resided,—one of the first judges nominated after the Revolution, and shortly afterwards knighted by King William. The judicial report of tenants and valuations exhibits a curious assemblage of occupants, from the renters of garrets, and laigh houses "beneath the grund," at the annual rate of twelve pound Scots, to my Lord Crossrig, who pays three hundred pounds Scots for his flat, and share of the common stair! The Laird of Merchistoun, Lady Hartfield, Sir James Mackenzie, Sir Patrick Aikenhead, Commissar Clerk, Lady Harviston, Lady Colston, with Bailies, Merchants, and humble craftsmen, all figure in the impartial articles of sale; sharing together at their several elevations, above and below ground, the numerous lodgings of this populous neighbourhood.

While the sale of this property was going on, the "Great Fire" suddenly took place, and made a settlement of all valuations and purchases by reducing the whole lofty range to a heap of ruins. "The fire broke out in the lodgeing immediately under the Lord Crossrig's lodgeing, in the Meal Mercat of Edinburgh, while part of his family were in bed, and his Lordship going to bed; and the allarum was so sudden, that he was forced to retire in his night cloaths, with his children half naked; and that when people were sent into his closet to help out with his cabinet and papers, the smoke was

[1] Brunton & Haig's Senators of the College of Justice, p. 432. In contrast to this account, we may add the notice of his death, by Sir James Stewart, Lord Advocate, in a letter to Carstairs. "On Tuesday last the Lord Mersington dined well with a friend in the Merse, and went well to bed, but was found dead before four in the morning, his lady in bed with him, who knew nothing of his dying. A warning stroke. He was a good man, and is much regretted."

so thick that they only got out a small cabinet with great difficulty. But albeit, his papers were lying on the floor, or hung about the walls of his closet in pocks, yet they durst not stay to gather them up, or take them, though they were desired to do it, so that that cabinet, and Alexander Christie, his servant's lettron, which stood near the door of his lodging, with some few other things, was all that was got saved, and the rest, even to his Lordship's wearing cloths, were burnt."[1] A very lively and graphic account of this conflagration or "epitome of dissolution," as it is there styled, is furnished in a letter written at the time of its occurrence by the celebrated Duncan Forbes of Culloden, to his brother Colonel Forbes, wherein Lord Crossrig figures in a special manner. It is dated "Edinburgh, 6th February 1700," and thus describes the event:— "Upon Saturday's night, by ten a clock, a fyre burst out in Mr John Buchan's closet window, towards the Meall Mercate. It continued whill eleven a clock of the day, with the greatest frayor and vehemency that ever I saw fyre do, notwithstanding that I saw London burne. Ther are burnt, by the easiest computation, betwixt 3 and 400 familys; all the pryde of Eden^{r} is sunk; from the Cowgate to the High Street all is burnt, and hardly one stone left upon another. The Commissioner, President of the Parl^{t}, Pres^{t} of the Session, the Bank, most of the Lords, Lawyers, and Clerks, were all burnt, and many good and great familys. It is said just now, by S^{r} John Cochran, and Jordanhill, that ther is more rent burnt in this fyre than the whole city of Glasgow will amount to. The Parliament House very hardly escapt; all Registers confounded; Clerks Chambers, and processes, in such a confusion, that the Lords and Officers of State are just now mett at Rosse's Taverne, in order to adjourneing of the Sessione by reason of the dissorder. Few people are lost, if any att all; but ther was neither heart nor hand left amongst them for saveing from the fyre, nor a drop of water in the cisternes; twenty thousand hands flitting ther trash they know not wher, and hardly twenty at work. These babells, of ten and fourteen story high, are down to the ground, and ther fall 's very terrible. Many rueful spectacles, such as Corserig naked, with a child under his oxter, happing for his lyffe; the Fish Mercate, and all from the Cow Gate to Pett Street's Close, burnt; The Exchange, waults, and coal cellars under the Parliament Close, are still burneing."[2]

Among other renters of the numerous lodgings into which the lofty old lands were divided, the Faculty of Advocates are named as occupying one in "the Exchange Stairs" for their library, at the yearly rent of two hundred and forty pounds Scots. Within this the nucleus of the valuable library now possessed by them had been formed, on the scheme suggested by its founder, Sir George Mackenzie, "that noble wit of Scotland," as Dryden terms him, whose name, while it wins the respect of the learned, is still coupled among the Scottish peasantry with that of "the bluidy Clavers'," and mentioned only with execrations, for the share he took, as Lord Advocate, in the persecution of the Covenanters, during the reign of Charles II. Under his direction and influence the fines

[1] Act. Parl. vol. x. p. 284.

[2] Culloden Papers, p. 27. In a pasquinade in Wodrow's Collections, purporting to be "A Letter from the Ghost of Sir William Anstruther of that ilk, once senatour of the Colledge of Justice," to his former colleagues, and dated, "*Elysian Fields*, 27 January 1711," the Lord Crossrig and E. Lauderdale are the only Lords of Session he meets with "in the agreeable aboads," a compliment to the former somewhat marred by the known character of his associate.

of recusant members were set apart for the formation of a library, and a few years afterwards their collection was greatly augmented by a gift of rare and costly books from William, first Duke of Queensberry.

The Great Fire which we have described scattered and nearly destroyed the accumulation of twenty years, and had it not been for the strenuous exertions of the keeper, Mr John Stevenson, advocate, not one of the books would have been saved. The result, however, was the removal of the library to safer and more permanent quarters below the Parliament House, where it has ever since continued, though with extensive additions, corresponding both in dimensions and style to its increasing importance. These lower apartments, dark and gloomy as they now look, when contrasted with the magnificent libraries that have been erected above, are associated with names of no mean note in Scottish literature. There Thomas Ruddiman and David Hume successively presided in the office of keeper, which post was also filled by Dr Irvine, the biographer of Buchanan, and author of the "Lives of Scottish Poets;" and within the same hall Dr Johnson was received by some of the most eminent men of the last century, during his visit to Edinburgh in 1773.

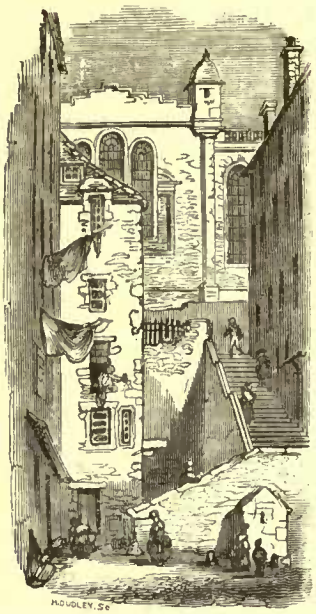
The creditors, who were baulked of their expected returns in the very midst of their exertions, appear, from the documents already referred to, to have proceeded immediately after the fire to dispose of the sites. In the accounts consequent on these latter transactions, new characters appear, and among the rest Robert Mylne, the royal Master Mason, who is due, "for the area of the houses in the Parliament Closs," a sum thus imposingly rendered in Scots money, £00,600, 00s. 0d. No time appears to have been lost in rebuilding the houses unexpectedly demolished. The Royal Exchange, which bore its name cut in bold relief over the doorway, had on it the date 1700, and the adjacent buildings towered again to an altitude of twelve stories towards the south, maintaining their preeminence as the loftiest lands in Edinburgh. On the east side an open piazza, decorated with pilasters and a Doric entablature, formed a covered walk for pedestrians, and the whole produced a stately and imposing effect. The aristocratic denizens of the former buildings returned again to the accommodation provided for them in the Parliament Close, and with them, too, came the renters of *laigh* stories and garrets, to complete the motley population of the *lands*, as they were then subdivided in the Old Town of Edinburgh. An amusing illustration of this is furnished in the trial, to which we have already frequently referred, of William Maclauchlane, for his share in the Porteous mob. He was footman to the Countess of Wemyss, who resided in a fashionable flat in the Parliament Close, and on the forenoon of the eventful 7th of September 1736, he was despatched on an errand to Craigiehall, from whence he did not return till the evening. The libel of his Majesty's Advocate sets forth, that having delivered his message, "the pannel went from my Lady Wemyss' house to John Lamb's alehouse in the same stair," from whence he issued shortly after in a jovial state, attracting everybody's notice by his showy livery during the stirring scenes of that busy night, in which he mingled, perfectly oblivious of all that was being enacted around him, and running a very narrow risk of being made the scapegoat of the imbecile magistracy, who only wanted a decent pretext for sacrificing a score of blackguards to the *manes* of Porteous, and the wrath of Queen Caroline.

The close connection into which the noble family of Wemyss were thus brought with the Porteous mob, as well as their near vicinity to the chief scene of action, naturally produced a strong impression on the younger members of the family. They had probably been aroused from their beds by the shouts of the rioters assembling beneath their windows, and the din of their sledge-hammers thundering on the old Tolbooth door, and, when the rest of the town were settling down again into their ordinary habits after the recent commotion, they were anew alarmed by the apprehension of William, to all appearance an honest enough serving-man according to the fashion of the times, whose worst fault was his relish for John Lamb's ale that lay so temptingly at hand, but who suddenly found the unenviable honour thrust upon him of being accused as the arch-conspirator against the good city and its liege lady. The event was like to have proved fatal to the family in more ways than one, for not long after, the Earl of Wemyss,[1] then a boy, proceeded along with his sisters to get up a representation of the stirring scenes of the Porteous mob, and having duly broken into his prison, and carried off the supposed culprit, the young romps got so thoroughly into the spirit of their dramatic sports, that they actually hung up their brother over a door, and had well-nigh finished their play in real tragedy.

During the greater part of last century, and down to the destruction of the old buildings in 1824, the north-east corner of the Parliament Close was occupied as John's Coffee-house, where, as Defoe tells us, the opponents of the Union used to meet to discuss the proceedings that were going on in the neighbouring Parliament House, and to concoct fresh means of opposition to that odious measure. It was also the favourite resort of the lawyers and judges of last century for professional consultations, as well as for their *meridian*, or *twall' hours*, as the mid-day glass of whisky was called, which formed the indispensable refreshment of all classes at that period. In a note to Allan Ramsay's familiar epistle, he illustrates his remark, "frae the gill-bells to the drum," by this characteristic explanation, "From half an hour before twelve at noon, when the music bells begin to play, frequently called the gill-bells, from people's taking a wheting dram at that time, to ten o'clock at night, when the drum goes round to warn sober folks to call for a bill." Such were the habits of "sober folks," during the last century, when every citizen had his chosen *howff* for daily resort, and when lawyers and clients, merchants, traders, and men of all degrees, transacted business and spent many of their leisure hours at the club or in the tavern. The more usual places of resort, however, even among the most reputable citizens, were to be found,—like John Dowie's tavern, already mentioned—down the wynds and closes off the High Street. One or two of these old haunts of bygone generations still exist, and keep alive some of their favourite customs, known only to a few survivors of last century, or to the favoured *protégés* whom they have initiated into the mysteries practised by their forefathers! Currie's tavern in Craig's Close, once the scene of meeting of various clubs, and a favourite resort of the merchants in the neighbourhood of the Cross, still retains a reputation among certain antiquarian bibbers, for an old-fashioned luxury known by the name of *pap-in*, a strange compound of small beer and whisky, *curried*, as the phrase is, with a little oat-meal!

[1] Chambers's Traditions, vol. ii. p. 204.

On the south side of the Parliament Close, near to John's Coffeehouse, was the banking-house established by Sir William Forbes, the well-known author of the "Life of Dr Beattie," as well as of other works, and one of the most benevolent and public-spirited citizens of whom Edinburgh ever had to boast. Though descended from the ancient Lords Pitsligo, attainted for their fidelity to the Stuarts, he commenced life as an apprentice with the noted bankers, Messrs Coutts, and on their final establishment in London, he founded the banking company so long known by his name.[1] So successful was he in life, that he accomplished his long-cherished purpose of recovering the attainted estates of the Barony of Pitsligo, which are now possessed by his descendants. Adjoining the banking-house of this eminent citizen, Kay, the ingenious delineator of the "Edinburgh Characters," kept the small print-shop where he vended his portraits and caricatures during nearly the whole of his career as an artist. His windows were always filled with his newest etchings, and formed a centre of attraction to the numerous loungers of the close, some of the most noted among whom—both lawyers and clients—were the frequent subjects of his pencil. An ancient thoroughfare led from the centre of this range of buildings to the Cowgate by a broad flight of steps, latterly called the Back Stairs, of which we furnish a view, showing the original state of the great south window of the Parliament Hall. It is occasionally called by writers of last century the New Stairs, but a passage of some kind undoubtedly led through the nether kirkyard to the Cowgate at an early period, affording ready access from that fashionable suburb, to the collegiate church of St Giles's, and the centre of the High Town. For this the Parliament Stairs were probably substituted about 1636, and continued from that time to form a convenient communication between the High Street and the Cowgate, until their recent demolition to make way for the new Court Houses.



The booths which disfigured the old cathedral front, forming the north side of the close, have already been mentioned; these were almost exclusively occupied by the goldsmiths, whose hall was attached to the Parliament House, where the lobby of the Signet Library now stands. Chambers furnishes in his "Traditions" an amusing picture of the expectant rustic bridegroom's visit to the Parliament Close, on the eve of his marriage, in order to provide those indispensable household gear, the *silver-spunes*. On such occasions it was usual for the goldsmith to adjourn with his customer to John's Coffeehouse, to receive the order over a *caup* of ale or a dram, when the goldsmith was perhaps let into the whole secret counsels of the rustic, including a history of his courtship,—in return for which he sought to astonish his customer with the most recent marvels of city news. The *spunes*, however, we rather think, form, according to old-established

[1] Now incorporated with other banking companies under the name of the Union Bank of Scotland.

custom, part of the bride's plenishing;[1] but the brooch and wedding-ring no doubt demanded a similar errand to the goldsmiths' booths, and would form a still readier introduction to the whole secrets of courtship. On such occasions the customer paid for the refreshments when giving the order, and the trader returned the compliment on his second visit to receive and pay for the goods, which were then rarely to be found on hand ready for sale.

The external appearance of the old Parliament House has been rendered familiar to thousands who never saw it in its original state by the view of it on the notes of Sir William Forbes and Co.'s Bank. Tradition pointed to Inigo Jones as the designer, not without some confirmation from its general style. It was no model of architectural beauty certainly, yet it presented a highly picturesque appearance and individuality of character, which, with its thorough accordance with the age in which it was erected, ought to have secured the careful preservation of its antique turrets and sculptures, as a national monument associated with great historical events. There was a quaint stateliness about its irregular pinnacles and towers, and the rude elaborateness of its decorations, that seemed to link it with the courtiers of Holyrood, in the times of the Charleses, and its last gala days under the Duke of York's vice-regency. Nothing can possibly be conceived more meaningless and utterly absurd than the thing that superseded it. The demolition of the adjoining buildings, and the extension of the Court Houses, so as to make the older part form only a subsidiary wing of the whole, have given some consistency to what is, at best, a very commonplace design; but the original screen of stone, now forming the west wing of the Court Houses, which was built to hide the antique façade of 1636, had neither relation to the building it was attached to, nor meaning of its own.

Over the main entrance of the old fabric were the royal arms of Scotland, boldly sculptured, supported on the right by Mercy holding a crown wreathed with laurel, and on the left by Justice having the balance in one hand, and a palm-branch in the other, with the appropriate inscription, *Stant his felicia regna*, and immediately underneath the national arms this motto, *Uni unionum.* This entrance, which stood facing the east, is now completely blocked up. Over the smaller doorway which forms the present main access to the Parliament Hall, the city arms occupied an ornamental tablet, placed between two sculptured obelisks, and underneath this inscription, on a festooned scroll,—*Dominus custodit introitum nostrum.* The general effect of the whole will be best understood by a reference to the view on page 99.

An amusing anecdote is told of one of the old frequenters of the Parliament Close, regarding the ancient doorway we have described. James Robertson, Esq. of Kincraigie, an insane Jacobite laird, on being pressed on one occasion by the Honourable Henry Erskine to accompany him into the Parliament House, somewhat abruptly declined the invitation,—"But I'll tell you what, Harry," added he, pointing to the statue that stood over the porch, "tak' in Justice wi' ye, for she has stood lang at the door, and

[1] We have the authority of an experienced matron for the following as a complete inventory of the bride's plenishing, according to old Scottish notions, and which is often still regarded as indispensable:—1. A chest of drawers, "split new," and ordered for the occasion; 2. Bed and table linen,—or *naiprie*, as it is styled,—with a supply of blankets; 3. The silver spoons; and, in some districts, 4. An eight-day clock. But the *sine quâ non* of all was—5. A LADLE!

it wad be a treat for her to see the inside like other strangers!" The renovators of the old hall seem to have taken the *daft laird's* hint,—Justice has vanished from the porch, to reappear in a most gaudy and tasteless fashion in the painted glass of the great window.[1] An incident, however, in connection with the fate of these ancient warders of the Parliament porch, will best illustrate the taste of its beautifiers. Shortly after the modernisation of the old front, the late Bailie Henderson observed a cart conveying along the South Bridge a load of carved stones, among which the statues of Justice and Mercy formed the most prominent objects. On inquiring at the carter as to their destination, he learned that one of the Professors, who kept a Polar bear, had applied to the Magistrates for stones to erect a bear's house within the College quadrangle, and he accordingly obtained a gift of these *old rubbish* for the purpose. The Bailie gave the carter a fee to turn his horse's head, and deposit them at his own villa near Trinity, from whence he sent him back with his cart full of stones equally well adapted for the Professor's bear's house. On the death of Bailie Henderson, the statues, along with other ornamental portions of the old building, were procured by A. G. Ellis, Esq., in whose possession they now are.

The great hall measures 122 feet long, by 40 broad, and although its windows have recently been altered, its curious, open-timbered oak roof remains, springing from a series of grotesquely sculptured corbels of various designs. Long after it had been forsaken by the Scottish Estates it retained the high throne at its southern end, where the Sovereign, or his Commissioner, was wont to preside over their deliberations, and on either side a range of benches for the nobles and barons, with lower ones in the centre for the Commissioners of Burghs, the Scottish Estates having formed to the last only one deliberative assembly. Without this area a pulpit was erected for sermons to the Parliament,—the same, we believe, that is now preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries under the name of "John Knox's pulpit." Along the walls there hung a series of portraits of sovereigns and eminent statesmen, including paintings by Sir Godfrey Kneller; but some of these were the first of its decorations that disappeared, having, it is said, been bestowed by Queen Anne on her Secretary, the Earl of Mar.[2] Others, however, of these paintings adorned the walls, and are now, we believe, among the miscellaneous collection at Holyrood House. Portions also of early decorations, including fragments of ancient tapestry, were only removed in the latter end of last century,—the same hangings, in all probability, as were put up during the Protectorate. Nicoll tells us, "The Preses and the remanent memberis of the great counsall did caus alter much of the Parliament Hous, and did caus hing the Over hous with riche hingeris, in September 1655, and removit these roumes thairintill appoyntit for passing of the billis, and signeting of letters. So wes also the Lower Hous, diligatlie hung."[3] Nor should we omit to mention the Creed and Ten Commandments, once so

[1] In 1868, this wiudow was replaced by a magnificent stained one, representing the inauguration of the College of Justice, or the Supreme Court of Scotland, by King James V., in 1532.

[2] Minor Antiquities, p. 187. The following are mentioned in Brown's "Stranger's Guide," for 1820:—"The outer hall is ornamented by full length portraits of King William III., Queen Mary, his consort, and Queen Anne, all done by Sir Godfrey Kneller; also of George I., John Duke of Argyle, and Archibald Duke of Argyle, by Mr Aikman of Carney.

[3] Nicoll's Diary, p. 216.

appropriately suspended on the walls, and mentioned in a MS. volume of last century, as "taken down when the Court was repaired."[1] These ancient decorations have since been replaced by statues of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President Blair, son of the poet, Lord Melville, Lord Chief Baron Dundas, Lord Jeffrey, Lord President Boyle, Lord Cockburn, &c.; and by portraits of Lord Abercromby, Professor Bell, Lord Brougham, Lord Justice-Clerk Hope, Lord Colonsay, &c. There are also specimens by the celebrated Jamesone, the earliest Scottish painter, who studied under Rubens at Antwerp. This great hall is now used as a waiting-room and promenade by the advocates and the various other practitioners connected with the Supreme Courts, and during the sitting of the courts presents a very attractive and animated scene.

To a stranger visiting the Scottish capital, no one of its public buildings is so calculated to excite a lively interest as the scene of its latest legislative assemblies; for while it shares with the deserted palace, and the degraded mansions of the Old Town, in many grand and stirring associations, it still forms the Hall of the College of Justice, founded by James V.,—at once the arena of the leading Scottish nobles and statesmen of the last two centuries, and the scene of action of many of the most eminent men of our own day.

Beneath the old roof, thus consecrated by sacred historic memories, the first great movements of the civil war took place, and the successive steps in that eventful crisis were debated with a zeal commensurate to the important results involved in them, and with as fiery ardour as characterised the bloody struggles which they heralded. Here Montrose united with Rothes, Lindsay, Loudon, and others of the Covenanting leaders, in maturing the bold measures that formed the basis of our national liberties; and within the same hall, only a few years later, he sat with the calmness of despair, to receive from the lips of his old compatriot, Loudon, the barbarous sentence which was executed with such savage rigour.

When the fatal overthrow of the Scottish army at Dunbar at length laid the capital at the mercy of Cromwell, new scenes were enacted within the Parliament House—"witness sindry Englisch trouperis quha oppinlie taught there."[2] If Pinkerton[3] is to be believed, even the General, Cromwell himself, occasionally laid aside the temporal for the spiritual sword, within the same august arena, to the great scandal of the Presbyterian citizens, who were horrified to find that "men war not aschamed to tak upone thame the functione of the ministrie, without a lauchfull calling." But while such novelties were being enacted in the great hall, "the laich Parliament Hous" was crowded with Scottish prisoners, and the building strictly guarded by bands of the same English troopers, equally ready to relieve guard on the outer parade, or to take their turn within, where

> Pulpit drum Ecclesiastic
> Was beat with fist instead of a stick.

The Scottish strongholds, however, proved insufficient for the detention of their old masters, under the care of foreign jailers. On the 17th of May 1654, the whole number of prisoners in the "laich Parliament House," effected their escape by cutting a hole in the floor of the great hall above, and all but two got clear off. Only ten days afterwards,

[1] Supplement to Court of Session Garland, p. 4. [2] Nicoll's Diary, p. 94. [3] Ante, p. 96.

Lord Kinnoull and several other prisoners were equally successful in getting out of the castle, by letting themselves down over the rock with their sheets and blankets cut into strips; and others confined in the Canongate Tolbooth effected, by like means, a similar jail delivery for themselves.[1] When a better understanding had been established between the Protector and his Scottish subjects, the old hall was restored to more legitimate uses. There, in the following year, General Monck and the leaders of the Commonwealth were feasted with lavish hospitality, and the courts of law resumed their sittings, with an honest regard for justice scarcely known in Scotland before.

Then came the "glorious Restoration," under the auspices of the once republican general; and the vice-regent and royal commissioner, the Duke of York, was feasted with his fair princess and daughter, attended by the beauty and chivalry of Scotland, anxious to efface all memory of former doing in the same place. But sad as was the scene of Scotland's children held captive in her own capital by English jailers, darker times were heralded by this vice-regal banquet, when the Duke presided, along with Dalziell and Claverhouse, in the same place, to try by torture the passive heroism of the confessors of the Covenant, and the astute lawyer, Sir George Mackenzie, played the part of king's advocate with such zeal, as has won him the popular title which still survives all others, of "Bluidy Mackenzie." The lower rooms, that have so long been dedicated to the calm seclusion of literary study, are the same that witnessed the noble, the enthusiastic, and despairing, alike prostrate at the feet of tyrants, or subjected to cruel tortures by their merciless award. There Guthrie and Argyll received the barbarous sentence of their personal enemies without form of trial, and hundreds of less note courageously endured the fury of their persecutors, while *Mercy* and *Justice* tarried at the door.

A glimpse at the procedure of this Scottish Star Chamber,—furnished by Fountainhall, in his account of the trial of six men in October 1681, "on account of their religion and fanaticism,"—may suffice for a key to the justice administered there. Garnock, one of the prisoners, having railed at Dalziell in violent terms, "the General in a passion struck him with the pomel of his shable on the face, till the blood sprung."[2] With such men for judges, and *thumbekins*, *boots*, and other instruments of torture as the means of eliciting the evidence they desired, imagination will find it hard to exceed the horrors of this infamous tribunal.

An interesting trial is mentioned by Fountainhall as having occurred in 1685.[3] Richard Rumbold, one of Cromwell's old Ironsides, was brought up, accused of being implicated in the Rye House Plot. He had defended himself so stoutly against great odds that he was

[1] The Scottish prisoners would seem to have been better acquainted with the secrets of their own strongholds than their English jailers. Nicoll remarks, "It was a thing admirable to considder how that the Scottis prissoneris being so closlie keepit heir within the Castle of Edinburgh, and in the laich Parliament Hous, and within the Tolbuith of the Cannogait, and daylie and nychtlie attendit with a gaird of sodgeris, sould sa oft escaip imprissonment. And now laitlie, upone the 27 day of Maij 1654, being Settirday at midnicht, the Lord Kynnoull, the Laird of Lugtoun, ane callit Marschell, and another callit Hay, by the moyen of one of the Inglische centrie escapit furth of the Castell of Edinburgh, being lat doun be thair awin bedscheittis and blankettis, hardlie knut. All these four, with ane of the Inglische centrie, escapit. Thair was ane uther prettie gentill man, and a brave sodger, essaying to do the lyke, he, in his doungoing, fell and brak his neck, the knotis of the scheittis being maid waik by the former persoues wecht that past doun before him." —Nicoll's Diary, p. 128.

[2] Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 159. Ibid, vol. i. p. 365.

only taken when completely disabled by wounds, and the court was hastily summoned to sit on the following morning, "that he might not preveen the public execution by his death." The evidence was found insufficient to convict him of a share in the Rye House Plot, and the king's advocate proceeded accordingly to lead other accusations of treason against him, among which he charged him as having been one of the masked executioners who beheaded Charles I. He appears to have been a man of most resolute courage, and a determined republican; he denied having been the king's executioner, but readily admitted that he was on guard at the scaffold as one of Cromwell's troopers, and that he had served as a lieutenant in his army at Dunbar, Worcester, and Dundee. "Being asked if he owned the present king's authority, he craved leave to be excused, seeing he need neither offend them nor grate his own conscience." He was executed the same afternoon, with peculiar barbarity, and his quarters sent to be exposed in some of the chief towns of Scotland, his head being reserved to grace the West Port of Edinburgh. But the day of retribution came at last; the Prince of Orange landed in England, and the feeble representative of the Stuarts was the foremost to desert his own failing cause. From the close of 1688 till March 1689, when a Convention of the Scottish Estates was summoned to meet, Edinburgh was almost left to the government of the rabble. The sack of Holyrood, already described, completely established the superiority of the Presbyterian party, and they signalised their triumph by assaulting the houses of the wealthy Catholics who resided chiefly in the Canongate, which they "*rabbled*," as the phrase was, gutting and sometimes setting them on fire. When at length the Convention met, the adherents of the exiled king crowded to the capital in hopes of yet securing a majority in his favour. Dundee openly marched into the town with a train of sixty horse, while the Whigs with equal promptitude, but secretly, gathered an armed body of the persecuted Presbyterians, whom they concealed in garrets and cellars, ready to sally out at a concerted signal, and turn the scales in favour of their cause. The sumptuous old oaken roof of the Parliament Hall then witnessed as stirring scenes as ever occurred in the turbulent minorities of the Jameses within the more ancient Tolbooth. Dundee[1] arose in his place in the Convention, and demanded that all strangers should be commanded to quit the town, declaring his own life and those of others of the king's friends to be endangered by the presence of banded assassins. On his demand being rejected, he indignantly left the assembly; and the Convention, with locked doors and the keys on the table before them, proceeded to judge the government of King James, and to pronounce his crown forfeited and his throne vacant, beneath the same roof where he had so often sat in judgment on the oppressed. Meanwhile Dundee was mustering his dragoons for the rising of the North; the affrighted citizens were beating to arms to pursue him, and the armed Covenanters sallying from their hiding-places to strike for liberty against the oppressor, on the same streets where they had not openly been seen for years, unless when dragged to torture and execution; while the Convention sternly bent themselves to the great question at issue, expecting every moment that the Duke of Gordon would open a fire on them from the Castle guns, and compel

[1] A sort of compromise would seem to have been tacitly entered into with regard to this brave "persecutor." Dalziel and Mackenzie have been delivered up to unmitigated popular infamy, while the same censors still speak of the *Bluidy Clavers* and the *Gallant Dundee*, as though they had contrived to divorce his evil from his good qualities in order innocently to indulge their pride in the hero of Scottish song!

them to adjourn. It must be regarded as proving how thoroughly the cruel wrongs which the Scottish Covenanters had suffered at the hands of their persecutors during the reign of Charles II. were laid to the charge of the active agents in their execution, that the statue of that "Monarch of Misrule" survived the *rabblements* of this period, and still graces the area of the Parliament Close.

The Old Parliament House witnessed thenceforth more legitimate scenes. The name that still survives all other memorials of the Scottish hierarchy, recalls the time when "the honours" of the kingdom were laid on the table, and the Lord High Commissioner occupied the throne as the representative of majesty, while the eloquent Belhaven, the astute and wary Lockhart, and the nervous Fletcher, pleaded for the ancient privileges of their country, and denounced the measure that was to close its Legislative Hall for ever. Many an ardent patriotic heart throbbed amid the dense crowd that daily assembled in the Parliament Close, to watch the decision of the Scottish Estates on the detested scheme of Union with England. Again and again its fate trembled in the balance, but, happily for Scotland, English bribes outweighed the mistaken zeal of Scottish patriotism and Jacobitism united against the measure. On the 25th March 1707, the Treaty of Union was ratified by the Estates, and on the 22d April following, the Parliament of Scotland adjourned, never again to assemble. The Lord Chancellor Seafield, the chief agent in this closing scene of our national legislature, exclaimed on its accomplishment, with heartless levity, "There is an end of an auld sang;" but the people brooded over the act as a national indignity and wrong; and the legitimate line of their old Scottish kings anew found favour in their eyes, and became the centre of hope to many who mourned over Scotland as a degraded province of her old southern rival.

Since then the ancient hall retains only such associations as belong to men eminent for learning, or high in reputation among the members of the College of Justice. Duncan Forbes, Lord Kames, Monboddo, Hume, Erskine, Mackenzie, and indeed nearly all the men of note in Scottish literature,—if we except her divines,—have formed a part of the busy throng that gave life and interest to Scotland's Westminster Hall. Our own generation has witnessed there Cockburn, Brougham, Horner, Jeffrey, and Scott, sharing in the grave offices of the Court, or taking a part in the broad humour and wit for which the members of "the Faculty" are so celebrated; and still the visitor to this learned and literary lounge cannot fail to be gratified in a high degree, while watching the different groups who gather in the Hall, and noting the lines of thought or humour, and the infinite variety of physiognomy, for which the wigged and gowned loiterers of the Law Courts are peculiarly famed.

Among the more homely associations of the Old Parliament Close, the festivities of the King's birthday demand a special notice, as perhaps the most popular among the long-cherished customs of our ancestors, which the present generation has beheld gradually expire. It was usual on this annual festival to have a public repast in the Parliament Hall, where tables were laid out at the expense of the city, covered with wine and confections, and the magistrates, judges, and nearly all the chief citizens, assembled for what was styled "the drinking of the King's health." On the morning of this joyous holiday the statue of King Charles was gaily decorated with flowers by the "*Auld Callants*," as the *élèves* of Heriot's

Hospital are still termed, who claimed this office by long prescription, and their acknowledged skill in the art of loyal decoration, acquired in the annual custom of decking their own founder's statue.[1] This formed one of the chief attractions to the citizens throughout the day, as well as to their numerous rustic visitors who crowded into the capital on the occasion, to witness or share in the *fun*. Towards the afternoon the veteran corps of the city guard were called out to man the eastern entrance into the Parliament Close while the guests were assembling for the civic entertainment, and thereafter to draw up in front of the great hall, and announce with a volley to the capital at large each loyal toast of its assembled rulers. Never did forlorn hope undertake a more desperate duty! The first volley of these unpopular guardians of civic order was the signal for a frenzied assault on them by the whole rabble of the town, commemorated in Ferguson's lively Address to the Muse on the "King's birthday." Dead dogs and cats, and every offensive missile that could be procured for the occasion, were now hurled at their devoted heads; and when at last they received orders to march back again to their old citadel in the High Street, the strife became furious; the rough old veterans dealt their blows right and left with musket and Lochaber axe wielded by no gentle hand, but their efforts were hopeless against the spirit and numbers of their enemies, and the retreat generally ended in an ignominious rout of the whole civic guard. All law, excepting *mob law*, was suspended during the rest of the evening, the windows of obnoxious citizens were broken, the effigies of the most unpopular public men frequently burnt, and for more than half a century, the notorious "Johnny Wilkes," the editor of the *North Briton*, and the favourite of the London apprentices, was annually burnt in effigy at the Cross and other prominent parts of the town—an incremation which has lately altogether fallen into desuetude.

Previous to the remodelling of the Parliament House, while yet the lofty lands of the old close reared their huge and massy piles of stone high above the neighbouring buildings, and the ancient church retained its venerable though somewhat dilapidated walls, the aspect of this quadrangle must have been peculiarly grand and imposing, and such as we shall look for in vain among the modern erections of the capital. It would be folly, however, after recording so many changes that have passed over it at successive periods, to indulge in useless regrets that our own day has witnessed others as sweeping as any that preceded them, obliterating every feature of the past, and resigning it anew to the slow work of time to restore for other generations the hues of age that best comport with its august and venerable associations. We shall close our notice with the following extract from a local poem referring to the same interesting nook of the old Scottish capital:—

A scene of grave yet busy life
Within the ancient city's very heart,
Teeming with old historic memories, rife
With a departed glory, stood apart.
High o'er it rose St Giles's ancient tower
Of curious fret work, whence the shadow falls,—
As the pale moonbeams through its arches pour,—
Tracing a shadowy crown upon the walls

[1] One of the graceful and innocent customs of earlier times, which was for sometime in abeyance, but is now happily again revived.

Where Scotland's nobles sate, as if in scorn
Or vain regret, o'er the deserted pile.
For centuries its paving had been worn
By courtiers, once unmatched in crafty guile,
By many a baron bold, and lovely dame,
And scions, too, of Scotland's royal line ;
While, from beneath, preferred a worthier claim
Names that with stern historic scenes entwine,
And some whose memory time has failed to keep,
Oblivious of the trust. Knox slumbers there,
Mingling with border chiefs that stilly sleep;
And churl, and burgher bold, and haughty peer,
With those a people wept for, sharing now
The common lot, unhonoured and unknown.
Strange wreck, o'er ruins in the dust below!
Thrice desecrated burial-place! The stone—
Where once were held in trust the noble dead
'Neath grassy hillock and memorial urn,—
With requiem graven only by their tread,
Whose steps forgotten generations spurn.
But civic sycophants,—a courtly tool,—
Bartered stone Cromwell for a Charles of lead,—
Ignoble meed for tyranny's misrule,
To rear above the great dishonoured dead!
Fire, time, and modern taste,—the worst of all,—
Have swept in ruthless zeal across the scene
And the lead king and shadow on the wall,
Alone survive of all that once has been.

CHAPTER V.

THE HIGH STREET.

OWING to the peculiar site of the Scottish capital, no extension of the Old Town beyond its early limits has in any degree detracted from the importance of its most ancient thoroughfare, which extends under different names from the Palace to the Castle, and may be regarded as of antiquity coeval with the earliest fortifications of the citadel to which it leads. Alongside of this roadway, on the summit of the sloping ridge, the rude huts of the early Caledonians were constructed, and the first parish church of St Giles reared, so early, it is believed, as the ninth century.[1] Fynes Moryson, an English traveller, who visited Edinburgh in the year 1598, thus describes it:—"From the King's Pallace at the east, the city still riseth higher and higher towards the west, and consists especially of one broad and very faire street,—which is the greatest part and sole ornament thereof,—the rest of the side streetes and allies being of poore building, and inhabited with very poore people."[2] We may add, however, to his concluding remark, the more accurate observation of the eccentric traveller, Taylor, the water-poet, who visited the Scottish capital a few years later, and shows his greater familiarity with its internal features by describing "many by-lanes and closes on each side of the way, wherein are gentlemen's houses, much fairer than the buildings in the High Street, for in the High Street the merchants and tradesmen do well, but the gentlemen's mansions, and goodliest houses, are obscurely founded in the aforesaid lanes."

The preceding chapter is chiefly devoted to some of the more ancient and peculiar features of this street. Yet strictly speaking, while every public thoroughfare is styled in older writs and charters "the King's High Street," the name was only exclusively applied

[1] Arnot, p. 268.

[2] Itinerary, London, 1617. Bann. Mis. vol. ii. p. 393.

VIGNETTE.—Common Seal of the City of Edinburgh, from a charter dated A.D. 1565. *Vide* p. 73, for the Counter Seal.

to that portion extending from the Nether Bow to Creech's Land, until the demolition of the middle row, when the Luckenbooths, and even a portion of the Lawnmarket, were assumed as part of it, and designated by the same name.

Here was the battlefield of Scotland for centuries, whereon private and party feuds, the jealousies of the nobles and burghers, and not a few of the contests between the Crown and the people, were settled at the point of the sword. In the year 1515 it was the scene of the bloody fray known by the name of "Cleanse the Causey," which did not terminate until the narrow field of contest was strewn with the dead bodies of the combatants, and the Earl of Arran and Cardinal Beaton narrowly escaped with their lives.[1] Other and scarcely less bloody affrays occurred during the reign of James V. on the same spot, while in that of his hapless daughter it was for years the chief scene of civil strife, where rival factions fought for mastery. In 1571 the King's Parliament, summoned by the Regent Lennox, assembled at the head of the Canongate, above St John's Cross, which bounded "the freedome of Edinburgh," while the Queen's Parliament sat in the Tolbooth, countenanced in their assumption of the Royal name by the presence of the ancient Scottish Regalia, *the honours* of the kingdom; and the battle for Scotland's crown and liberties fiercely raged in the narrow space that intervened between these rival assemblies.

But the private feuds of the Scottish nobles and chiefs were the most frequent subjects of conflict on the High Street of the capital, and during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries many a bold baron and hardy retainer perished there, adding fresh fuel to the deadly animosity of rival clans, but otherwise exciting no more notice at the time than an ordinary street squabble would now do. It was in one of these *tulzies*, alluded to in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," that Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh was slain, in the year 1551,[2]

> When the streets of High Dunedin,
> Saw lances gleam and falchions redden,
> And heard the slogan's deadly yell.

Neither the accession of James VI., nor the attainment of his majority, exercised much influence in checking those encounters on the streets of the capital. "Many enormities were committed," says Calderwood, "as if there had beene no King in Israell." The following may suffice as a sample:—"Upon the seventh of Januar 1591, the King comming doun the street of Edinburgh from the Tolbuith, the Duke of Lennox, accompanied with the Lord Hume, following a little space behind, pulled out their swords, and invaded the Laird of Logie. The King fled into a closse-head, and incontinent retired to a Skinner's booth, where it is said he shook for feare."[3] The sole consequence of this lawless act of violence was the exclusion of the chief actors from court for a short time; and only six days thereafter the Earl of Bothwell deliberately took by force out of the Tolbooth the chief witness in a case then pending before the court, at the very time that the King was

[1] Ante, p. 37.

[2] "In this zeir all wes at guid rest, exceptand the Laird of Cesfurde and Fernyhirst with thair complices slew Schir Walter Scott, laird of Balclewche, in Edinburgh, quha was ane valzeaud guid knycht."—Diurnal of Occurrents, 1551, p. 51.

[3] *Vide* Calderwood, vol. v. p. 116, for a more particular account of royal mishaps in the close-head on this occasion.

sitting in the same building along with the Lords of Session.[1] The unfortunate witness was dragged by his captors to Crichton Castle, and there schooled into a more satisfactory opinion of the case in question, under the terror of the gallows.

The ancient Cross which stood in the High Street has been frequently alluded to, and some of the most remarkable events described of which it was the scene. It was alike the theatre of festivals and executions; garnished at one period with rich hangings, and flowing with wine for the free use of the populace, and at another overshadowed by the Maiden, and hung only with the reversed armorial bearings of some noble victim of law or tyranny.[2] In the year 1617 it was rebuilt on a new site in the High Street, apparently with the view of widening the approach preparatory to the arrival of King James, in fulfilment of his long-promised visit to his native city. The King sent word at that time of "his naturall and salmon-like affection, and earnest desire," as he quaintly but very graphically expresses it, "to see his native and ancient kingdome of Scotland." Accordingly, as Calderwood tells us in the very next sentence, "Upon the 26th of Februar, the Crosse of Edinburgh was taken doun; the old long stone, about fortie foots or therby in length, was translated, by the devise of certane mariners in Leith, from the place where it stoode past memorie of man, to a place beneath in the Highe Streete, without anie harme to the stone; and the bodie of the old Crosse was demolished and another buildit, whereupon the long stone or obelisk was erected and sett upon the 25th of Marche."[3] The long stone must have suffered injury since, but the fine Gothic capital, of which we have already given a view, is without doubt a relic of the most ancient Cross demolished at this period. Among the older customs of which this interesting fabric was the scene, no one is more curious than the exposure of dyvours or bankrupts, a class of *criminals* at all times regarded with special indignation by their more fortunate fellow-citizens. The origin of this singular mode of protecting commercial credit is thus related in the Acts of Sederunt of the Court of Session for 1604:—"The Lordis ordaine the Provest, Bailleis, and Counsale of Edinburgh, to cause big ane pillery of hewn stane, neir to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, upon the heid thereof ane sait and place to be maid, quhairupon, in tyme cuming, sall be set all dyvoris, wha sall sit thairon ane mercat day, from 10 hours in the morning

[1] "Anent walpynnis in Buithis. Item, it is statute and ordanit be the Provest, Bailies, and Counsall of this burgh, because of the greit slauchteris and utheris cummeris and tulzeis done in tyme bygane within the burgh, and apperendlie to be done gif na remeid be provydit thairto; and for eschewing thairof;—that ilk manner of persone, merchandis, craftismen, and all utheris occupyaris of buthis, or chalmeris in the hiegait, outher heych or laych, that thay have lang valpynnis thairin, sic as hand ex, Jedburgh staif, hawart jawalyng, and siclyk lang valpynnis, with knaipschawis and jakkis; and that thay cum thairwith to the hie-gait incontinent efter the commoun bell rynging."—Burgh Records, Mar. 4, 1552.

[2] "Upone Tysday the nyntene day of Junij 1660, eftir sermond endit, the Magistrates and Counsell of Edinburgh, all in thair best robis, with a great number of the citizens, went to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, quhair a great long boord wes covered with all soirtes of sweit meittis, and thair drank the kinges helth, and his brether; thè spoutes of the Croce rynnand all that tyme with abundance of clareyt wyne. Ther wer thrie hundreth dosane of glassis all brokin and cassin throw the streitis, with sweit meitis in abundance," &c.—Nicoll's Diary, p. 293.

"Upone the 13 day of Maij 1661, Sir Archibald Johnnestoun of Warystoun, lait Clerk Register, being forfalt in this Parliament, and being fugitive fra the lawis of this Kingdome, for his treasonable actis, he was first oppinlie declairit traitour in face of Parliament, thaireftir, the Lord Lyon king at airmes, with four heraldis and sex trumpetteris, went to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, and thair maid publict intimation of his forfaltrie and treason, rave asunder his airmes, and trampled thame under thair feet, and kuist a number of thame over the Croce, and affixt ane of thame upone the height of the great stane, to remayne thair to the publict view of all beholderis. Thir airmes were croced bakward, his heid being put dounmest and his feet upmest."—Ibid, p. 332.

[3] Calderwood, vol. vii. p. 243.

quhill ane hour efter dinner; and the saidis dyvoris, before thair libertie and cuming furth of the tolbuith, upon thair awn chairges, to cause mak and buy ane hat or bonnet of yellow colour, to be worn be thame all the tyme of their sitting on the said pillery, and in all tyme thairefter, swa lang as they remane and abide dyvoris."[1] Sundry modifications of this singular act were afterwards adopted. In 1669 "The Lords declare that the habite is to be a coat and upper garment, which is to cover their cloaths, body and arms, whereof, the one half is to be of yellow, and the other half of a brown colour, and a cap or hood, which they are to wear on their head, party colonred, as said is,"[2] coloured, as is enacted at a subsequent period, "conform to a pattern delivered to the magistrates of Edinburgh to be keeped in their Tolbooth."[3] The effect of such a custom, if revived in our day, amid the bustle and fever of railway schemes, and "bubble speculations" of all kinds, could not fail to exercise a very pleasing influence in diversifying the monotony of our unpicturesque modern attire, and giving some variety to our assemblies and promenades! How far commercial solvency would be promoted by the frequenters of the Stock Exchange being thus compelled to wear their credit on their sleeve, we must leave these shrewd speculators to determine at their leisure. Cowper, in his "Epistle to Joseph Hill, Esq.," discusses a somewhat analogous device, adopted by an Eastern sage, for distinguishing honest men from knaves, and which consisted in the convicted defaulter wearing only half a coat thereafter; but he adds for the comfort of all contemporaries:—

> O happy Britain! we have not to fear
> Such hard and arbitrary measures here;
> Else could a law, like that which I relate,
> Once have the sanction of our triple state,
> Some few, that I have known in days of old,
> Would run most dreadful risk of catching cold![4]

In the steep and narrow closes that diverge on each side of the High Street, were once the dwellings of the old Scottish nobility, and still they retain interesting traces of faded grandeur, awaking many curious associations which well repay the investigator of their intricate purlieus. Dunbar's Close, of which we furnish a view, has already been mentioned as the place pointed out by early tradition where Cromwell's "Ironsides" were lodged, and its whole appearance is both unique and singularly picturesque. Over the entrance to the Rose and Thistle Tap,—the traditional guard-room of the victors of Dunbar,—there is a beautifully carved inscription, bearing one of the oldest dates now left on any private building in Edinburgh. The stone is rebuilt into a new portion of the house, but is still nearly as sharp as when fresh from the chisel; the inscription is:—

FAITH · IN · CRIST · ONLIE · SAVIT · 1567.

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[1] Acts of Sederunt, 17th May 1606. [2] Ibid, 26th February 1669. [3] Ibid, 18th July 1688.

[4] The following Act of Sederunt, for 13th December 1785, describes the latest version of the Edinburgh Cross, if we except the radiated pavement that marks its site:—"The Lords having considered the representation of the Lord Provost and Magistrates of the city of Edinburgh, setting forth, that when the Cross was taken away in the year 1756, a stone was erected on the side of a well on the High Street, adjacent to the place where the Cross stood, which, by Act of Sederunt, was declared to be the Market Cross of Edinburgh from that period. That since removing the city guard, the aforesaid well was a great obstruction to the free passage upon the High Street, which therefore they intended to remove, and instead thereof to erect a stone pillar, a few feet distant from the said well, on the same side of the High Street, opposite to the head of the Old Assembly Close. Of which the Lords approve, and declare the new pillar to be the Market Cross." We suppose the more economical marking of the pavement was the only result.

On another part of the building the initials I · D ·, and K · T ·, appear attached to some curiously-formed marks, and are doubtless those of the original owners; but unfortunately all the early titles are lost, so that no clue now remains to the history of this singular dwelling. The lower story, which is believed to have formed the black-hole or dungeon of the English troopers, is vaulted with stone, and around the massive walls iron rings are affixed, as if for the purpose of securing the prisoners once confined in these vaults. The east wall of the main room above is curiously constructed of eliptic arches, resting on plain circular pillars, and such portions of the outer wall as are not concealed by the wooden appendages of early times, exhibit polished ashlar work, finished with neat mouldings and string courses. [1]

Immediately to the north of this ancient mansion, there is a large land entering from the foot of Sellar's Close, which has two flat terraced roofs at different elevations, and forms a prominent and somewhat graceful feature of the Old Town as seen from Princes Street. This is known by the name of "The Cromwell Bartizan," [2] and is pointed out, on the same traditional authority, as having been occupied by the General, owing to its vicinity to his guards, and the commanding prospect which its terraced roof afforded of the English fleet at anchor in the Firth. Over a doorway, which divides the upper from the lower part of this close, a carved lintel bears this variation of the common legend:—THE . LORD . BE . BLEIST . FOR . AL . HIS . GIFTIS .[3] A building on the west side, finished in the style prevalent about the period of James VI., has the following inscription over a window on the third floor:—

☞ THE LORD IS THE PORTION OF MINE INHERITANCE AND OF MY CUP; THOU MAINTAINEST MY LOT. PSAL. XVI. VERSE 5.

In the house which stood opposite, a very large and handsome Gothic fire-place remained, in the same style as those already described in the Guise Palace. In Brown's Close adjoining this, Arnot informs us that there existed in his time "a private oratory," containing a "baptismal font," or sculptured stone niche; but every relic of antiquity has now disappeared; and nearly the same may be said of Byres' Close, though it contained only a few years since the town mansion built by Sir John Byres of Coates, the carved lintel of which was removed by the late Sir Patrick Walker, to Coates House, the ancient mansion of that family, near Edinburgh. It bears the inscription, "Blissit be God in al His giftis," with the initials I · B ·, and M · B ·, and the date 1611.[4]

[1] Dunbar's, Brown's, and Sellar's closes, mentioned in this chapter, are now obliterated by recent city improvements.

[2] *Vide* p. 95, some confusion exists in the different attempts to fix the exact house, but these discrepancies tend to confirm the general probability of the tradition; the name *Bartizan*, however, would seem to determine the building now assigned in the text.

[3] In that amusing collection "Satan's Invisible World Discovered," written for the purpose of confounding atheists, the following is given as an East Lothian grace, "in the time of ignorance and superstition:"

Lord be bless'd for all His gifts,
Defy the Devil and all his shifts.
God send me mair siller. Amen.

[4] The front land to the west of Byres' Close, was long the residence, Post Office, and miscellaneous establishment of the noted Peter Williamson, who advertised himself as "from the other world!" and published an ingenious narrative of his Adventures in America, and Captivity among the Red Indians.—*Vide* Kay's Portraits, vol. i. p. 137.

At the foot of this close, however, we again meet with valuable associations connected with more than one remarkable period in Scottish history. A door-way on the east side of the close affords access to a handsome, though now ruinous stone stair, guarded by a neatly carved balustrade and leading to a garden terrace, on which stands a very beautiful old mansion, that yields in interest to none of the ancient private buildings of the capital. It presents a semi-hexagonal front to the north, each of the sides of which is surmounted by a richly carved dormar window, bearing inscriptions boldly cut in large Roman letters, though now partly defaced. That over the north window is :—

NIHIL · EST · EX · OMNI · PARTE · BEATUM ·

The windows along the east side appear to have been originally similarly adorned; two of their carved tops are built into an outhouse below, on one of which is the inscription, LAUS . UBIQUE . DEO . and on the other, FELICITER . INFELIX. In the title-deeds of this ancient building,[1] it is described as "that tenement of land, of old belonging to Adam, Bishop of Orkney, Commendator of Holyroodhouse, thereafter to John, Commendator of Holyroodhouse," his son, who in 1603, accompanied James to England, receiving on the journey the keys of the town of Berwick, in his Majesty's name. Only three years afterwards, "the temporalities and spiritualitie" of Holyrood were erected into a barony in his behalf, and himself created a Peer by the title of Lord Holyroodhouse. Here, then, is the mansion of the celebrated Adam Bothwell, who, on the 15th May 1567, officiated at the ominous marriage-service in the Chapel of Holyrood Palace,[2] that gave Bothwell legitimate possession of the unfortunate Queen Mary, whom he had already so completely secured within his toils. That same night the distich of Ovid was affixed to the Palace gate :—

Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait;[3]

and from the infamy that popularly attached to this fatal union, is traced the vulgar prejudice that still regards it as unlucky to wed in the month of May. The character of the old Bishop of Orkney is not one peculiarly meriting admiration. He married the poor Queen according to the *new forms*, in despite of the protest of their framers, and he proved equally pliable where his own interests were concerned. He was one of the first to desert his royal mistress's party; and only two months after celebrating her marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, he placed the crown on the head of her infant son. The following year he humbled himself to the Kirk, and engaged "to make a sermoun in the kirk of Halierudehous, and in the end therof to confesse the offence in marieng the Queine with the Erle of Bothwell."[4]

The interior of this ancient building has been so entirely remodelled to adapt it to the very different uses of later times, that no relic of its early grandeur or of the manners of its original occupants remain; but one cannot help regarding its chambers with a

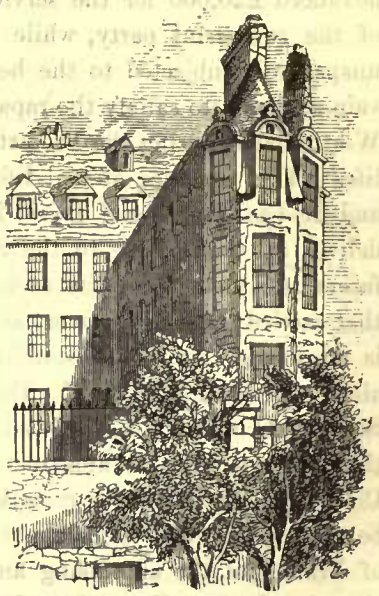
[1] Now the property of Messrs Clapperton and Co., by whom it is occupied as a warehouse.

[2] "Within the auld chappel, not with the mess, both with preachings."—Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 111. Keith and other historians, however, say, "within the great hall, where the council usually met."

[3] Ovid's Fasti, Book v.

[4] Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, p. 131.

melancholy interest, disguised though they are by the changes of modern taste and manners. The name of the Bishop of Orkney appears at the bond granted by the nobility to the Earl of Bothwell, immediately before he put in practice his ambitious scheme against Queen Mary; so that here, in all probability, the rude Earl, and many of the leading nobles of that eventful period, have met to discuss their daring plans, and to mature the designs that involved so many in their consequences. Here, too, we may believe both Mary and James to have been entertained as guests, by father and son, while at the same board there sat another lovely woman, whose wrongs are so touchingly recorded in the beautiful old ballad of "Lady Anu Bothwell's Lament." She was the sister of the first Lord Holyroodhouse, and is said to have possessed great personal beauty. She was betrayed into a disgraceful connection with the Honourable Sir Alexander Erskine, a son of the Earl of Mar, of whom a portrait still exists by Jamieson. He is there represented in military dress, with a cuirass and scarf; but the splendour of his warlike attire is evidently unnecesary to set off his noble and expressive countenance. The desertion of the frail beauty by this gay deceiver was believed by his contemporaries to have exposed him to the signal vengeance of heaven, on his being blown up, along with the Earl of Haddington, and many others of noble birth, in the Castle of Dunglass in 1640, the powder magazine having been ignited by a servant boy out of revenge against his master.[1] Adam Bothwell lies buried in the ruined Chapel of Holyrood, where his monument is still to be seen, attached to the second pillar from the great east window that once overlooked the high altar at which Mary gave her hand to the imbecile Darnley, and not far from the spot—if we are to believe the contemporary annalist—where she yielded it to her infamous ravisher.



The fore part of the ancient building in the High Street has been almost entirely modernised, and faced with a new stone front, but many citizens still living remember when an ancient timber façade projected its lofty gables into the street, with tier above tier, each thrusting out beyond the lower story, while below were the covered piazza and darkened entrances to the gloomy "laigh shops,"[2] such as may still be seen in the few examples of old timber lands that have escaped demolition. But this ancient fabric is associated with another citizen of no less note in his day—"The glorious days of auld,

[1] A rude version of this beautiful ballad was printed in 1606, and others have since been given of it by Percy, Jamieson, Kinloch, &c.; Mr R. Chambers, however, was the first to publish the true history of the heroine, in his "Scottish Ballads." A slight confusion occurs in his account, where she is styled the daughter of Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, &c. The dates seem to leave no doubt that the father was John, his son, the first who obtained the title of Lord Holyroodhouse.

[2] In a Sasine of part of this property, it is styled, "that western laigh booth, or shop, lying within the fore tenement of Mr Adam Bothwell, under the laigh stair thairof . . . as also that merchant shop entering from the High Street," &c.

VIGNETTE.—Adam Bothwell's house, from the north.

worthy, faithfu' Provost Dick,"—than ever was either the Bishop of Orkney, or my Lord Holyroodhouse. Sir William Dick of Braid, an eminent merchant of Edinburgh, and provost of the city in the years 1638 and 1639, presents, in his strangely chequered history, one of the most striking examples of the instability of fortune on record. He was reputed the wealthiest man of his time in Scotland, and was generally believed by his contemporaries to have discovered the philosophers' stone![1] Being a zealous Covenanter, he advanced at one time to the Scottish Convention of Estates, in the memorable year 1641, the sum of one hundred thousand merks, to save them from the necessity of disbanding their army; and, in the following year, the customs were sett to him, "for 202,000 merks, and 5000 merks of girsoum."[2] On the triumph of Cromwell and the Independents, however, his horror of "the Sectaries" was greater even than his opposition to the Stuarts, and he advanced £20,000 for the service of King Charles. By this step he provoked the wrath of the successful party, while squandering his treasures on a failing cause. He was unsparingly subjected to the heaviest penalties, until his vast resources dwindled away in vain attempts to satisfy the rapacity of legal extortion, and he died miserably in prison, at Westminster, during the Protectorate, in want, it is said, of even the common necessaries of life.[3] This romance of real life, was familiar to all during Sir Walter Scott's early years, and he has represented David Deans exultingly exclaiming:—"Then folk might see men deliver up their silver to the State's use, as if it had been as muckle sclate stanes. My father saw them toom the sacks of dollars out o' Provost Dick's window, intill the carts that carried them to the army at Dunse Law; and if ye winna believe his testimony, there is the window itsell still standing in the Luckenbooths,—at the airn stanchells, five doors abune Advocate's Close."[4] The old timber gable and the stanchelled window of this Scottish Crœsus, have vanished, like his own dollars, beyond recall, but there is no doubt that the modern and unattractive stone front, extending between Byres' and Advocate's Closes only disguises the remarkable building to which such striking historical associations belong. The titles include not only a disposition of the property to Sir William Dick of Braid, but the appraising and disposition of it by his creditors after his death; and its situation is casually confirmed by a contemporary notice that indicates its importance at the period. In the classification of the city into companies, by order of Charles I., the third division extends "from Gladstone's Land, down the northern side of the High Street, to Sir William Dick's Land."[5] The house was afterwards occupied by the Earl of Kintore, an early patron of Allan Ramsay, whose name was given to a small court still remaining behind the front building, although the public mode of access to it has disappeared since the remodelling of the old timber land.

[1] Archæologia Scottica, vol. i. p. 336.

[2] Sir Thomas Hope's Diary, Bann. Club, p. 158. *Gersome*, or *entresse siller*, now pronounced *Grassum*.

[3] These changes of fortune are commemorated in a folio pamphlet, entitled "The lamentable state of the deceased Sir William Dick." It contains several copperplates, one representing Sir William on horseback, and attended with guards, as Lord Provost of Edinburgh, superintending the unloading of one of his rich argosies at Leith. A second exhibits him as arrested, and in the hands of the bailiffs, and a third presents him dead in prison. The tract is greatly valued by collectors. Sir Walter Scott mentions, in a note to the Heart of Midlothian, that the only copy he ever saw for sale was valued at £30.

[4] Scott says *Gosford's* Close, but it is obviously a mistake, as, independent of the direct evidence we have of the true site of Sir William Dick's house, that close was not in the Luckenbooths, the locality he correctly mentions.

[5] Maitland, p. 285.

Advocate's Close, which bounds the ancient tenement we have been describing on the east, derives its name from Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees,[1] who returned from exile on the landing of the Prince of Orange, and took an active part in the Revolution. He was an object of extreme dislike to the Jacobite party, who vented their spleen against him in their bitterest lampoons, some of which are preserved in the Scottish Pasquils; and to them he was indebted for the sobriquet of *Jamie Wylie.* Sir James filled the office of Lord Advocate from 1692 until his death in 1713, one year excepted, and had a prominent share in all the public transactions of that important period. Being so long in the enjoyment of his official title, the close in which he resided received the name of "the Advocate's Close." The house in which he lived and died is at the foot of the Close, on the west side, immediately before descending a flight of steps that somewhat lessen the abruptness of the steep descent.[2] In 1769, Sir James Stewart, grandson of the Lord Advocate, sold the house to David Dalrymple of Westhall, Esq., who, when afterwards raised to the Bench, assumed the title of Lord Westhall, and continued to reside in this old mansion till his death.[3] This ancient alley retains, nearly unaltered, the same picturesque overhanging gables and timber projections which have, without doubt, characterised it for centuries, and may be taken as a very good sample of a fashionable close in the palmy days of Queen Anne. It continued till a comparatively recent period to be a favourite locality for gentlemen of the law, and has been pointed out to us, by an old citizen, as the early residence of Andrew Crosbie, the celebrated original of "Councillor Pleydell," who forms so prominent a character among the *dramatis personæ* of "Guy Mannering." The same house already mentioned as that of Sir James Stewart, would answer in most points to the description of the novelist, entering as it does, from a dark and steep alley, and commanding a magnificent prospect towards the north, though now partially obstructed by the buildings of the New Town. It is no mean praise to the old lawyer that he was almost the only one who had the courage to stand his ground against Dr Johnson, during his visit to Edinburgh. Mr Crosbie afterwards removed to the splendid mansion erected by him in St Andrew Square, ornamented with engaged pillars and a highly decorated attic story, which stands to the north of the Royal Bank;[4] but he was involved, with many others, in the failure of the Ayr Bank, and died in such poverty, in 1785, that his widow owed her sole support to an annuity of £50 granted by the Faculty of Advocates.

The lowest house on the east side, directly opposite to that of the Lord Advocate, was the residence of an artist of some note in the seventeenth century. It has been pointed out to us by an old citizen recently dead[5] as the house of his "grandmother's grandfather," the celebrated John Scougal,[6] painter of the portrait of George Heriot which now hangs in

[1] Now called "Moredun" in the parish of Libberton. The house was built by Sir James soon after the Revolution.

[2] Sir James Stewart, Provost of Edinburgh in 1648-9, when Cromwell paid his first visit to Edinburgh, and again in 1658-9, at the close of the Protectorate,—purchased the ancient tenement which occupied this site, and after the Revolution, his son, the Lord Advocate, rebuilt it, and died there in 1713, when, "so great was the crowd," as Wodrow tells in his Analecta, "that the magistrates were at the grave in the Greyfriars' Churchyard before the corpse was taken out of the house at the foot of the Advocate's Close."—Coltness Collections, Maitland Club, p. 17.

[3] The house appears from the titles to have been sold by Lord Westhall, in 1784, within a few weeks of his death.

[4] Now occupied as Douglas's Hotel.

[5] Mr Andrew Greig, carpet manufacturer.

[6] John Scougal, younger of that name, was a cousin of Patrick Scougal, consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen in 1664. He added the upper story to the old land in Advocate's Close, and fitted up one of the floors as a picture gallery; some

the Council-room of the Hospital; so that here was the fashionable lounge of the dilettanti of the seventeenth century, and the resort of rank and beauty, careful to preserve unbroken the links of the old line of family portraiture; though a modern fine lady would be seized with a nervous fit at the very prospect of descending the slippery abyss.

Following our course eastward we arrive at Roxburgh Close, which is believed to derive its name from having been the residence of the Earls of Roxburgh. It has, however, suffered a very different fate from the adjoining close. Few of its ancient features have escaped alteration, and only one doorway remains—now built up—of the mansion reputed to have been that in which the ancestors of the noble earls lived in state. We have engraved a fac-simile of the quaint and pious legend that adorns the old lintel. If this account be true (for which, however, there is only the authority of tradition), the date carries us back to the year 1586, in which their ancestor, Sir Walter Ker, of Cessford, died, one of the leaders in the affray already alluded to, in which Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh was slain on the High Street of Edinburgh.

Warriston's Close is another of the ancient alleys of the Old Town which still remains nearly in its pristine state,[1] exhibiting the substantial relics of former grandeur, like the faded gentility of a reduced dowager. Handsome and lofty polished ashlar fronts are decorated with richly moulded and sculptured doorways, surmounted by architraves adorned with inscriptions and armorial bearings, still ornamental, though broken and defaced. Timber projections of an early date jut out here and there, and give variety to the irregular architecture, while far up, and almost beyond the point of sight that the straitened thoroughfare admits of, dormer windows of an ornate character rise into the roof, and the gables are finished with crow-steps, and, in one case at least, with armorial bearings. Over the first doorway on the west side is the inscription and date:

. . . . QUE · ERIT · ILLE · MIHI · SEMPER · DEUS · 1583 ·

The front of this building, facing the High Street, is of polished ashlar work, surmounted with handsome though dilapidated dormer windows, and is further adorned with a curious monogram; but like most other similar ingenious devices, it is undecipherable without the key. We have failed to trace the builders or occupants at this early period; but the third floor of the old land was occupied in the following century by James Murray,

of his finest works were possessed by the late Andrew Bell, engraver, the originator of the Encyclopædia Britannica, who married his grand-daughter. Pinkerton remarks of him:—"For some years after the Revolution he was the only painter in Scotland, and had a very great run of business. This brought him into a hasty and incorrect manner." This is very observable in the portrait of Heriot, copied in 1698, from the original by Paul Vansomer,—now lost. The head is well painted, but the drapery and background are so slovenly and harshly executed, that they appear more like the work of an inexperienced pupil. Scougal died at Prestonpans about the year 1730, aged 85, having witnessed a series of as remarkable political changes as ever occurred during a single lifetime. He is named *George* in the *Weekly Magazine* (vol. xv. p. 66) and elsewhere, but this appears to be an error, as several of his descendants were named after him, *John*.

[1] Since the First Edition of these "Memorials" appeared, Warriston's and other closes in this part of the city have been so much altered as now to present little of their characteristics as memorials of the past.

Lord Philiphaugh, one of the judges appointed after the Revolution. He sat in the Convention of Estates which assembled at Edinburgh, 26th June 1678, and was again chosen to represent the county of Selkirk in Parliament in the year 1681, when he became a special object of jealousy to the government. He was imprisoned in 1684; and under the terror of threatened torture with the boots, he yielded to give evidence against those implicated in the Rye House Plot. He had the character of an upright and independent judge, but his contemporaries never forgot "that unhappy step of being an evidence to save his life,"[1] a weakness that most of those who remembered it against him would probably have shown in like circumstances.

A little further down the close another doorway appears, adorned with an inscription and armorial bearings. At the one end of the lintel is a shield bearing the arms of Bruce of Binning, boldly cut in high relief, and at the other end the same, impaled with those of Preston, while between them is this inscription, in large ornamental characters,

GRACIA · DEI · ROBERTUS · BRUISS ·

In the earlier titles of property in this close, it is styled Bruce's Close, and the family have evidently been of note and influence in their day. We were not without hope of being able to trace their connection with the celebrated Robert Bruce, who, as one of the ministers of Edinburgh, became an object of such special animosity to James VI.; and the vicinity of the old mansion to the ancient church where he officiated renders it not improbable in the absence of all evidence.[2]

Still farther down, another doorway, ornamented with inscriptions and armorial bearings,[3] gives access to a large and handsome dwelling on the first floor, adorned at its entrance with a niche or recess, formed of a pointed arch, somewhat plainer than the "fonts" described in Blyth's Close. Here was the residence of the celebrated Sir Thomas Craig, who won the character of an upright judge, and a man of eminent learning and true nobleness of character, during the long period of forty years that he practised as a lawyer, in the reign of Queen Mary and James VI. One of his earliest duties as a justice-depute was the trial and condemnation of Thomas Scott, sheriff-depute of Perth, and Henry Yair a priest, for having kept the gates of Holyrood Palace during the assassination of Rizzio. He appears to have been a man of extreme modesty, and little inclined from his natural disposition to take a prominent part in public affairs. Whether from timidity or diffidence, he left Sir Thomas Hope to fulfil the duties which rightly devolved on him, as advocate for the Church, at the famous trial of the six ministers. He was of a studious turn, and readier in the use of his pen than his tongue. His legal treatises are still esteemed for their great learning; and several of his Latin poems are to be found in the "Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum," containing, according to his biographer Mr Tytler, many passages eminently poetical. It is a curious fact, that although repeatedly offered by King James the honour of knighthood, he constantly refused it; and he is only styled "Sir Thomas Craig," in consequence

[1] Mackay's Memoirs.

[2] In the Book of Retours, vol. ii., Nos. 26 and 30, in the year 1600, Robert Bruce, heir male of Robert Bruce of Binning, his father, appears as owner of various lands in Linlithgow, anciently belonging to the Prioress and Convent of the B. V. Mary of Elcho, with the church lands of the vicarage of Byning.

[3] The inscription, now greatly defaced, is, *Gracia Dei, Thomas T . . . .*

of a royal order that every one should give him that title. He was succeeded in the old mansion by his son, Sir Lewis Craig, and had the satisfaction of pleading as advocate while he presided on the bench under the title of Lord Wrightslands. The house in Warriston's Close was subsequently occupied by Sir George Urquhart, of Cromarty, and still later by Sir Robert Baird, of Sauchton Hall. But the most celebrated residenter in this ancient alley is the eminent lawyer and statesman, Sir Archibald Johnston, of Warriston, the nephew of its older inhabitant, Sir Thomas Craig. He appears from the titles to have purchased from his cousin, Sir Lewis Craig, the house adjoining his own, and which is entered by a plain doorway on the west side of the close, immediately below the one last described. Johnston of Warriston took an early and very prominent share in the resistance offered to the schemes of Charles I., and in 1638, on the royal edict being proclaimed from the Cross of Edinburgh, which set at defiance the popular opposition to the hated Service Book, he boldly appeared on a scaffold erected near it, and read aloud the celebrated protest drawn up in name of the Tables, while the mob compelled the royal heralds to abide the reading of this counter-defiance. It is unnecessary to sketch out very minutely the incidents in a life already familiar to the students of Scottish history. He was knighted by Charles I., on his second visit to Scotland in 1641, and assumed the designation of Lord Warriston on his promotion to the bench. He was one of the Scottish Commissioners sent to mediate between Charles I. and the English Parliament; and after filling many important offices he sat by the same title as a peer in Cromwell's abortive House of Lords; and, on the death of the Protector, he displayed his keen opposition to the restoration of the Stuarts by acting as President of the Committee of Safety under Richard Cromwell. On the restoration of Charles II. he became an object of special animosity, and having boldly refused to concur in the treaty of Breda, he escaped to Hamburgh, from whence he afterwards retired to Rouen in France. There he was delivered up to Charles by the French King, and after a tedious imprisonment, both in the Tower of London and the old Tolbooth of Edinburgh, he was executed with peculiar marks of indignity, on the spot where he had so courageously defied the royal proclamation twenty-five years before. His own nephew, Bishop Burnet, has furnished a very characteristic picture of the hardy and politic statesman, in which he informs us he was a man of such energetic zeal that he rarely allowed himself more than three hours sleep in the twenty-four. When we consider the leading share he took in all the events of that memorable period, and his intimate intercourse with the most eminent men of his time, we cannot but view with lively interest the decayed and deserted mansion where he has probably entertained such men as Henderson, Argyle, Rothes, Lesley, Monck, and even Cromwell; and the steep and straitened alley that still associates his name with the crowded lands of the Old Town.[1]

The following quaint and biting epitaph, penned by some zealous cavalier on the death

[1] The importance which was attached to this close as one of the most fashionable localities of Edinburgh during the last century appears from a proposition addressed by the Earl of Morton to the Lord Provost in 1767, in which, among other conditions which he demands, under the threat of opposing the extension of the royalty to the grounds on which the New Town is built, he requires that a timber bridge shall be thrown over the North Loch, from the foot of Warriston's Close to Bereford's Parks, and the public Register Offices of Scotland, built at the cost of the town, "on the highest level ground of Robertson's and Wood's farms." To this the magistrates reply by stating, among other objections, that the value of the property in the close alone is £20,000!—Proposition by the Earl of Morton, fol. 5 pp.

of his mother, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Craig, has been preserved by Sir James Balfour, and is worth quoting as a sample of party rancour against the Whig statesman :—

> Deevil suell ye deathe,
> And burste the lyke a tune,
> That took away good Elspet Craige,
> And left y^e^ knave her sone.

History and romance contend for the associations of the Scottish capital, not always with the advantage on the dull side of fact. On a certain noted Saturday night, in the annals of fiction, Dandy Dinmont and Colonel Mannering turned from the High Street "into a dark alley, then up a dark stair, and into an open door." The alley was Writers' Court, and the door that of Clerihugh's tavern; a celebrated place of convivial resort during the last century, which still stands at the bottom of the court, though its deserted walls no longer ring with the revelry of *High Jinks*, and such royal mummings as formed the sport of Pleydell and his associates on that jovial night. The picture is no doubt a true one of scenes familiar to grave citizens of former generations. Clerihugh's tavern was the favourite resort of our old civic dignitaries, for those "douce festivities" that were then deemed indispensable to the satisfactory settlement of all city affairs. The wags of last century used to tell of a certain city treasurer, who, on being applied to for a new rope to the Tron Kirk bell, summoned the Council to deliberate on the demand; an adjournment to Clerihugh's tavern it was hoped might facilitate the settlement of so weighty a matter, but one dinner proved insufficient, and it was not till they had finished their third banquet in Writers' Court, that the application was referred to a committee of councillors, who spliced the old bell rope and settled the bill![1]

We have already alluded to some of the most recently cherished superstitions in regard to Mary King's Close, associated with Beth's Wynd as one of the last retreats of the plague; but it appears probable, from the following epigram "on Marye King's pest," by Drummond of Hawthornden, that the idea is coeval with the name of the close :—

> Turne, citizens, to God; repent, repent,
> And praye your bedlam frenzies may relent;
> Think not rebellion a trifling thing,
> This plague doth fight for *Marie* and the *King*.[2]

Mr George Sinclair has furnished, in his "Satan's Invisible World Discovered,"[3] an account of apparitions seen in this close, and "attested by witnesses of undoubted veracity," which leaves all ordinary wonders far behind! This erudite work was written to confound the atheists of the seventeenth century. It used to be hawked about the streets by the gingerbread wives, and found both purchasers and believers enough to have satisfied even its credulous author. Its popularity may account for the general prevalence of superstitious prejudices regarding this old close, which was, at best, a grim and gousty-looking place, and appears, from the reports of property purchased for the site of the Royal Exchange, to have been nearly all in ruins when that building was erected, most of the houses having been burned down in 1750. The pendicle of Satan's worldly possessions, however, which

[1] Writers' Court derives its name from the Signet Library having been kept there until its removal to the magnificent apartments which it now occupies adjoining the Parliament House.

[2] Drummond of Hawthornden's Poems, Maitland Club, p. 395.

[3] Originally published in 1685, by Mr George Sinclair, Professor of Philosophy in Glasgow College, and afterwards minister of Eastwood in Renfrewshire.

we have now to describe, is understood to be still standing in the nether regions of the Royal Exchange area.

From Professor Sinclair's veracious narrative, it appears that Mr Thomas Coltheart, a respectable law agent, removed from a lower part of the town to a better house in Mary King's Close. The maid-servant was warned by the neighbours of its being *haunted* on her first coming about the house, and became so intimidated that she deserted her place, leaving Mr Coltheart and his wife alone in their new dwelling, to defy the devil and his minions as they best might. The good lady had seated herself beside her husband's bed—who had lain down on the Sunday afternoon, being slightly indisposed—and was engaged in reading the Bible, when happening to lift her eye, she was appalled by beholding a head, seemingly that of an old man with a grey beard, suspended in mid air at a little distance, and gazing intently on her. She swooned at the sight, and lay in a state of insensibility till the return of her neighbours from church. Her husband, on being told of the apparition, sought to reason her out of her credulity, and the evening passed over without further trouble; but they were not long gone to bed when he himself spied the same phantom-head, by the light of the fire, gazing at him with its ghastly eyes. He rose and lighted a candle, and took to prayer, but with little effect; for in about an hour the bodiless phantom was joined by that of a child also suspended in mid air, and this again was followed by a naked arm from the elbow downwards, which, in defiance of all adjurations and prayers, not only persisted in remaining, but seemed bent on shaking hands with them. The poor agent in the most solemn manner addressed this very friendly but unwelcome intruder, engaging to do his utmost to right any wrongs it had received, if it would only begone, but all in vain. The goblins evidently considered that the worthy couple, and not they, were the intruders. They persisted in making themselves at home; though after all they seem to have been civil enough ghosts, with no unfriendly intentions, so that they were only allowed the run of the house. By and by the naked arm was joined by a spectral dog, which deliberately mounted a chair, and turning its nose to its tail, went to sleep. This was followed by a cat, and soon after by other and stranger creatures, until the whole floor swarmed with them, so that "the honest couple went to their knees again within the bed; there being no standing in the floor of the room. In the time of prayer, their ears were startled with a deep, dreadful, and loud groan, as of a strong man dying, at which all the apparitions and visions at once vanished!"

Mr Coltheart must have been a man of no ordinary courage, or this night's experience would have satisfied him to resign his new house to the devil, or his subtenants, who seemed to have taken a previous lease of it. He continued to reside there till his death without further molestation; but at the very moment he expired, a gentleman whose law-agent and intimate friend he was, being in his house at Tranent—a small town about ten miles from Edinburgh—was awoke while asleep in bed there with his wife, by the nurse, who was affrighted by something like a cloud moving about the room. While the gentleman got hold of his sword to defend himself and them against this unwonted visitor, the cloud gradually assumed the form of a man. "At last the apparition looked him fully and perfectly in the face, and stood by him with a ghostly and pale countenance." The gentleman recognised his friend Thomas Coltheart, and demanded of him if he was dead, and what was his errand? Whereat the ghost held up his hand three times, shaking it towards

him, and vanished. He arose and proceeded immediately to Edinburgh, to inquire into this strange occurrence, and arriving at the house in Mary King's Close, found the widow in tears for the death of the husband whose apparition he had seen. This account, we are told, was related by the minister, who was in the house on this occasion, to the Duke of Lauderdale, in the presence of many nobles, and is altogether as credible and well-authenticated a ghost story as the lovers of the marvellous could desire. The house, after being deserted for a while, was again attempted to be inhabited by a hard-drinking and courageous old pensioner and his wife; but towards midnight the candle began to burn blue, the head again made its appearance, but in much more horrible form, and the terrified couple made a precipitate retreat, resigning their dwelling without dispute to this prior tenant.

Several ancient alleys and a mass of old and mostly ruinous buildings were demolished in 1753 in preparing the site for the Royal Exchange, various sculptured stones belonging to which were built into the curious tower erected by Walter Ross, Esq., at the Dean, and popularly known by the name of "Ross's Folly." Several of these were scattered about the garden grounds below the Castle rock, exhibiting considerable variety of carving. Another richly carved stone, consisting of a decorated ogee arch with crocquets and finial, surmounted by shields, was built into a modern erection at the foot of Craig's Close, and nearly corresponded with one which stood in a more dilapidated state in the Princes Street Gardens, tending to show the important character of the buildings that formerly occupied this site. Among those in the gardens there was a lintel, bearing the Somerville arms, and the date 1658, with an inscription, and the initials I. S., possibly those of James, tenth Lord Somerville; but this was discovered in clearing out the bed of the North Loch.

The old land at the head of Craig's Close, fronting the main street, claims special notice, as occupying the site of Andrew Hart the famous old printer's "heich buith, lyand within the foir tenement of land upone the north syd of the Hie Streit,"[1] and which, by a curious coincidence, became after the lapse of two centuries the residence of the celebrated bibliopolist, Provost Creech, and the scene of his famed morning levees; and more recently the dwelling of Mr Archibald Constable, from whose establishment so many of the highest productions of Scottish literature emanated.

The printing-house of the old typographer still stands a little way down the close, on the east side. It is a picturesque and substantial stone tenement, with large and neatly moulded windows, retaining traces of the mullions that anciently divided them, and the lower crowstep of the north gable bears a shield adorned with the Sinclair arms. Handsome stone corbels project from the several floors, whereon have formerly rested the antique timber projections referred by Maitland to the reign of James IV. Over an ancient doorway, now built up, is sculptured this motto, MY · HOIP · IS · CHRYST · with the initials A · S · and M · K ·, a curious device containing the letter S entwined with a cross, and the date 1593. An interesting relic belonging to this land, preserved in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries, is thus described in the list of donations for 1828: "A very perfect ancient Scottish spear, nearly fifteen feet long, which has been preserved from time immemorial, within the old printing office in Craig's Close, supposed to have been the workshop of the celebrated printer, Andro Hart." In the memorable tumult on

[1] Andrew Hart's will.—Bann. Misc. vol. ii. p. 247.

the 17th December 1596, already described, when the king was besieged in the Tolbooth by the excited citizens, Andrew Hart is specially mentioned as one of the very foremost in the rising that produced such terror and indignation in King James's mind; in so much so, that he was soon after warded in the Castle of Edinburgh, at his Majesty's instance, as one of the chief authors of "that seditious stirring up and moving of the treasonable tumult and uproare that was in the burgh."[1] We can fancy the sturdy old printer sallying out from the close, at the cry of "*Armour! armour!*" hastily armed with his long spear and jack, and joining the excited burghers, that mustered from every booth and alley to lay siege to the affrighted monarch in the Tolbooth, or to help "the worthy Deacon Watt," in freeing him from his ignoble durance.

The house which stands between the fore and back lands of the famed typographer, was celebrated during the last century as one of the best frequented taverns in the neighbourhood of the Cross, and a favourite resort of some of the most noted of the clubs, by means of which the citizens of that period were wont to seek relaxation and amusement. Foremost among these was the Cape Club, celebrated in Ferguson's poem of Auld Reekie. The scene of meeting for a considerable period, where Cape Hall was nightly inaugurated, was in James Mann's, at the Isle of Man Arms, Craig's Close. There a perpetual *High Jinks* was kept up, by each member receiving on his election a peculiar name and character which he was ever afterwards expected to maintain. This feature, however, was by no means confined to the Cape Club, but formed one of the peculiarities of nearly all the convivial meetings of the capital, so that a slight sketch of "the Knights of the Cape" will suffice for a good sample of these old Edinburgh social unions. The Club appears from its minutes to have been duly constituted, and the mode of procedure finally fixed, in the year 1764; it had however existed long before, and the name and peculiar forms which it then adopted were derived from the characters previously assumed by its leading members.[2] Its peculiar insignia were—1st, a cape, or crown, which was worn by the *Sovereign of the Cape* on state occasions, and which, in the palmy days of the Club, its enthusiastic devotees adorned with gold and jewels; and, 2d, two maces in the form of huge steel pokers, which formed the sword and sceptre of his Majesty in Cape Hall. These, with other relics of this jovial fraternity, are now appropriately hung in the lobby of the Societies of Antiquaries.

The first Sovereign of the order after its final constitution was Thomas Lancashire, the once celebrated comedian, on whom Ferguson wrote the following epitaph:—

> Alas! poor Tom, how oft, with merry heart,
> Have we beheld thee play the sexton's part!
> Each merry heart must now be grieved to see
> The sexton's dreary part performed on thee.

The comedian rejoiced in the title of *Sir Cape*, and in right of his sovereignty gave name to the Club, while the title of *Sir Poker*, which pertained to its oldest member, James Aitken, suggested the insignia of royalty. Tom Lancashire was succeeded on the throne by David Herd, the well-known editor of what Scott calls the first classic edition of Scottish songs, whose knightly sonbriquet was *Sir Scrape*. His secretary was Jacob More, the

[1] Calderwood's Hist. vol. v. pp. 512, 520, 535.

[2] A different account of the Knights of the Cape has been published, but the general accuracy of the text may be relied upon, being derived from the minute books of the Club.

well-known landscape painter,[1] and among his subjects may be mentioned the celebrated historical painter, Alexander Runciman, *Sir Brimstone;* Robert Ferguson, the poet, dubbed *Sir Precentor*, most probably from his fine musical voice; Gavin Wilson, the poetical shoemaker, who published a collection of masonic songs in 1788, whose club title was *Sir Maccaroni;* Walter Williamson of Cardrona, Esq., a thorough specimen of the rough *bon vivant* laird of the last age; Walter Ross, the antiquary; Sir Henry Raeburn, who had already been dubbed a knight under the title of *Sir Toby*, ere George IV. gave him that of Sir Henry; with a host of other knights of great and little renown, of whom we shall only specify *Sir Lluyd*, as the notorious William Brodie was styled. Some ingenious member has drawn on the margin of the minutes of his election, April 27th, 1773, a representation of his last public appearance, on the new drop of his own invention, some fifteen years later. The old books of the Club abound with such pencilled illustrations and commentaries, in which the free touch of Runciman may occasionally be traced, among ruder sketches of less practised hands.

The following was the established form of inauguration of a Knight of the Cape. The novice, on making his appearance in Cape Hall, was led up to the Sovereign by two knightly sponsors, and having made his obeisance, was required to grasp the large poker with his left hand, and, laying his right hand on his breast, the oath *de fideli* was administered to him by the Sovereign—the knights present all standing uncovered—in the following words :—

I swear devoutly by this light,
To be a true and faithful Knight,
With all my might,
Both day and night,
So help me Poker!

Having then reverentially kissed the larger poker, and continuing to grasp it, the Sovereign raised the smaller poker with both his royal fists, and, aiming three successive blows at the novice's head, he pronounced, with each, one of the initial letters of the motto of the Club, C. F. D., explaining their import to be *Concordia Fratrum Decus.* The knight elect was then called upon to recount some adventure or *scrape* which had befallen him, from some leading incident in which the Sovereign selected the title conferred on him, and which he ever after bore in Cape Hall. This description of the mode of inauguration into that knightly order will explain the allusions in Ferguson's poem :—

But chief, O Cape! we crave thy aid,
To get our cares and poortith laid.
Sincerity, and genius true,
Of Knights have ever been the due.
Mirth, music, porter deepest dyed,
Are never here to worth denied;
And health, o' happiness the queen,
Blinks bonny, wi' her smile serene.

The Club, whose honours were thus carefully hedged in by solemn ceremonial, established its importance by deeds consistent with its lofty professions, among which may be specified the gift by his Majesty of the Cape to his Majesty of Great Britain in 1778, of a contribution from the Knights of one hundred guineas, "to assist his Majesty in raising troops."

[1] Jacob More was a pupil of Alexander Runciman. He went to Rome about 1773, where he acquired a high reputation as a landscape painter. He applied his art to the arrangement of the gardens of the Prince Borghese's villa, near the Porta Pinciana, with such taste, as excited the highest admiration of the Italians.—*Fuseli.*

The entry money to the Club, which was originally half-a-crown, gradually rose to a guinea, and it seems to have latterly assumed a very aristocratic character. A great regard for economy, however, remained with it to the last. On the 10th of June 1776 it is resolved, "that they shall at no time take bad half-pence from the house, and also recommend it to the house to take none from them!" and one of the last items entered on their minutes, arises from an intimation of the landlord that he could not afford them suppers under sixpence each, when it is magnanimously determined by the Club in full conclave, "that the suppers shall be at the old price of four-pence half-penny!" *Sir Cape*, the comedian, appears to have eked out the scanty rewards of the drama, by himself maintaining a tavern at the head of the Canongate, which was for some time patronised by the Knights of the Cape. They afterwards paid him occasional visits to Comedy Hut, New Edinburgh, a house which he opened beyond the precincts of the North Loch about the year 1770, and there they held their ninth Grand Cape, as their great festival was styled, on the 9th of June of that year.[1] This sketch of one of the most famous convivial clubs of last century will suffice to give some idea of the revels in which grave councillors and senators were wont to engage, when each slipt off his professional formality along with his three-tailed wig and black coat, and bent his energies to the task of such merry fooling, while his example was faithfully copied by clerk and citizen of every degree. "Such, O Themis, were anciently the sports of thy Scottish children!" The same haunt of revelry and wit witnessed in the year 1785 the once celebrated charlatan, Dr Katterfelto, immortalised by Cowper in "The Task," among the quackeries of old London,—

> With his hair on end,
> At his own wonders wondering for his bread!

His advertisement[2] sets forth his full array of titles, as Professor of Experimental Philosophy, Lecturer on Electricity, Chemistry, and Sleight of Hand, &c., and announces to his Patrons and the Public, that the Music begins at six and the Lecture at seven o'clock, at Craig's Close, High Street.

Another of the old lanes of the High Street, which has been an object of special note to the local antiquary is Anchor Close. Its fame is derived, in part, at least, from the famous corps of Crochallan Fencibles, celebrated by Burns both in prose and verse—a convivial club, whose festive meetings were held in Daniel Douglas's tavern at the head of the alley. Burns was introduced to this club in 1787, while in Edinburgh superintending the printing of his poems, when, according to custom, one of the corps was pitted against the poet in a contest of wit and irony. Burns bore the assault with perfect good humour, and entered into the full spirit of the meeting, but he afterwards paid his antagonist the compliment of acknowledging that "he had never been so abominably thrashed in all his life!" The name of this gallant corps, which has been the subject of *learned conjecture*, is the burden of a Gaelic song with which the landlord occasionally entertained his guests.[3] The Club was founded by Mr William Smellie, Author of the Philosophy of Natural History, and numbered among its members the Honourable Henry Erskine, Lords Newton

[1] Provincial Cape Clubs, deriving their authority and diplomas from the parent body, were successively formed in Glasgow, Manchester, and London, and in Charlestown, South Carolina, each of which was formally established in virtue of a royal commission granted by the Sovereign of the Cape. The American off-shoot of this old Edinburgh fraternity is said to be still flourishing in the Southern States.

[2] *Caledonian Mercury*, January 24th, 1788.

[3] Kerr's Life of William Smellie, vol. ii. p. 256.

and Gillies, with other men eminent for learning and rank. Mr Smellie may be regarded as in some degree the *genius loci* of this locality; the distinguished printing-house which he established is still occupied by his descendants,[1] and there the most eminent literary men of that period visited, and superintended the printing of works that have made the press of the Scottish capital celebrated throughout Europe. There was the haunt of Drs Blair, Beattie, Black, Robertson, Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, Lords Monboddo, Hailes, Kames, Henry Mackenzie, Arnot, Hume, and, foremost among the host, the poet Burns; of whom some interesting traditions are preserved in the office. The old desk is still shown, at which these and other eminent men revised their *proofs;* and the well used desk-stool is treasured as a valuable heir-loom, bearing on it an inscription, setting forth, that it is "the stool on which Burns sat while correcting the proofs of his Poems, from December 1786 to April 1787." Not even the famed Ballantyne press can compete with this venerable haunt of the Scottish literati, whose very "*devils*" have consumed more valuable manuscript in kindling the office fires, than would make the fortunes of a dozen modern autograph collectors! It need not surprise us to learn that even the original manuscripts of Burns were invariably converted to such homely purposes; the estimation of the poet being very different in 1787 from what it has since become. Of traditions of remote antiquity, the Anchor Close has its full share; and the numerous inscriptions, as well as the general character of the old buildings that rear their tall and irregular fronts along its west side, still attest its early importance. Immediately on entering the close from the High Street, the visitor discovers this inscription, tastefully carved over the first entrance within the pend: THE · LORD · IS · ONLY · MY · SVPORT ·; and high overhead, above one of the windows facing down the close, a carved stone bears a shield with the date 1569, and, on its third and fourth quarters, a pelican feeding her young with her own blood. Over another doorway a little further down is this pious legend: O · LORD · IN · THE · IS · AL · MY · TRAIST · Here was the approach to *Daunie Douglas's* tavern, celebrated among the older houses of entertainment in Edinburgh as the haunt of the Crochallan corps. It is mentioned under the name of the Anchor Tavern in a deed of renunciation by James Deans of Woodhouselee, Esq., in favour of his daughter, dated 1713, and still earlier references allude to its occupants as vintners. The portion of this building which faces the High Street, retains associations of a different character, adding another to the numerous examples of the simpler notions of our ancestors who felt their dignity in no way endangered when "the toe of the peasant came so near the heal of the courtier." It is styled in most of the title deeds "Lord Forglen's Land," so that on one of the stories of the same building that furnished accommodation to the old tavern, resided Sir Alexander Ogilvie, Bart., one of the Commissioners of the Union, and for many years a senator of the College of Justice under the title of Lord Forglen. Fountainhall records some curious notes of an action brought against him by Sir Alexander Forbes of Tolquhoun, for stealing a gilded mazer cup[2] out of his house, but which was at length accidently discovered in the hands of a goldsmith at Aberdeen, to whom Sir Alexander had himself entrusted it some years before to be repaired; and he having forgot, it lay there unrelieved, in security for the goldsmith's

[1] This printing-office, together with the other objects of interest here described in connection with Anchor Close, was taken down on the construction of Cockburn Street in 1859.

[2] *Mazer Cup*, a drinking cup of maple.

charge of half-a-crown! It finally cost its rash, and, as it appears, vindictive owner, a penalty of 10,000 merks, the half only of the fine at first awarded against him.

A confused tradition appears to have existed at an early period as to Queen Mary's having occupied a part of the ancient building within the close at some time or other. The Crochallan Fencibles were wont to date their printed circulars from "Queen Mary's council-room," and the great hall in which they met, and in which also the Society of Antiquaries long held their anniversary meetings, bore the name of the CROWN. In a history of the close, privately printed by Mr Smellie in 1843, it is stated as a remarkable fact, that there existed about forty years since a niche in the wall of this room, where Mary's crown was said to be deposited when she sat in council! We shrewdly suspect the whole tradition had its origin in the *Crochallan Mint*. The building has still the appearance of having been a mansion of note in earlier times; in addition to the inscriptions already mentioned, which are beautifully cut in ornamental lettering, it is decorated with such irregular bold string-courses as form the chief ornaments of the most ancient private buildings in Edinburgh, and four large and neatly moulded windows are placed so close together, two on each floor, as to convey the idea of one lofty window divided by a narrow mullion and transom. In the interior, also, decayed pannelling, and mutilated, yet handsome oak balustrades still attest the former dignity of the place.

Over a doorway still lower down the close, where the Bill Chamber was during the greater part of last century, the initials and date W·R · C·M · 1616, are cut in large letters; and the house immediately below contains the only instance we have met with in Edinburgh, of a carved inscription over an interior doorway. It occurs above the entrance to a small inner room in the sunk floor of the house; but the wall rises above the roof, and is finished with crow-steps, so that the portion now enclosing it appears to be a later addition. The following is the concise motto, which seems to suggest that its original purpose was more dignified than its straitened dimensions might seem to imply:—

W . F. ANGVSTA . AD . VSVM . AVGSVTA . B . G .

The initials are those of William Fowler, merchant burgess; the father, in all probability, of William Fowler, the poet, who was secretary to Queen Anne of Denmark, and whose sister was the mother of Drummond of Hawthornden.[1] At a later period this mansion formed the residence of Sir George Drummond, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, in the years 1683 and 1684, and probably a descendant of the original owner, in whose time the lower ground appears to have been all laid out in gardens, sloping down to the North Loch, and adorned with a summer-house, afterwards possessed by Lord Forglen. We are disposed to smile at the aristocratic retreats of titled and civic dignitaries down these old closes, now altogether abandoned to squalid poverty; yet many of them, like this, were undoubtedly provided with beautiful gardens and pleasure grounds, the charms of which would be enhanced by their unpromising and straitened access.

[1] There is reason for believing that the elder William Fowler, born in 1531, was also a poet (vide Archæol. Scot. vol. iv. p. 71), so that the burgess referred to in the text is probably the author of "The Triumph of Death," and other poems, referred to among the original Drummond MSS. in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in a fragment dated, "From my house in Edr. the 9. of Jan. 1590." The initials B. G., which are, no doubt, those of his wife, may yet serve to identify him as the owner of the old tenement in Anchor Close.

Not far from this, on the west side of the Old Stamp Office Close, stood a large, old-fashioned mansion, which formed above a century ago the residence of Alexander, ninth Earl of Eglinton, and his lovely Countess Susannah Kennedy—reputed the handsomest woman of her time—to whom the Gentle Shepherd is dedicated, both in Ramsay's most fluent prose, and in some of Hamilton of Bangour's flattering strains. She was brought to Edinburgh just about the time of the Union by her father, Sir Archibald Kennedy of Colzean—a rough old cavalier, who had borne a part in the best and worst achievements of Claverhouse—and her beauty speedily weaned the keenest devotees of politics from its engrossing attractions. The Earl of Eglinton was already provided with a Countess, whose protracted ill health had made him hopeless of an heir; and just when he had been smitten with the universal admiration of the lovely Susannah, and had exhibited some very unequivocal symptoms of the pangs of a despairing lover, his own Countess died, and the forlorn widower "bore off the belle," to the infinite chagrin of many younger, but less attractive wooers.[1] The Countess was somewhat of a blue-stocking, and the most conspicuous patroness of the Scottish muses in her day. Her name appears on other dedication pages besides the honourable one of the Gentle Shepherd. Ramsay dedicated to her the music of his first Book of Songs—a little work now very rare—and at a later period he presented to her the original manuscript of his great pastoral poem, which she afterwards parted with to James Boswell. It is now preserved in the library at Auchinleck, along with the presentation letter of the poet.

Euphemia, or Lady Effie, as she was more generally called, a daughter of the Earl by his first Countess, was married to the celebrated "Union Lockhart," and proved an able auxiliary to him in many of his secret intrigues on behalf of the exiled Stuarts. When not engaged in attending parliament, he resided chiefly at his country seat of Dryden, while Lady Effie paid frequent visits to Edinburgh, disguised in male attire. She used to frequent the coffee-houses and other places of public resort, and joining freely in conversation with the Whig partizans, she often obtained important information for her husband. It chanced on one occasion, that Mr Forbes, a zealous Whig, but a man of profligate habits, had got hold of some important private papers, implicating Lockhart, and which he had engaged to forward to Government. Lady Euphemia Lockhart dressed her two sons—who were fair and somewhat effeminate looking, though handsome youths,—in negligee, fardingale, and masks; with patches, jewels, and all the finery of accomplished courtezans. Thus equipped, they sallied out to the Cross, and, watching for the Whig gallant, they speedily attracted his notice, and so won on him by their attentions that he was induced to accompany them to a neighbouring tavern, where the pseudo fair ones fairly drank him below the table, and then rifled him of the dangerous papers. This anecdote, which we have obtained from a grand-nephew of Lady Lockhart, furnishes, we think, a more graphic picture of the manners and notions of the age of Queen Anne than any incident we have met with.

[1] Sir John Clerk, Bart., as we have been told by a descendant of the Earl of Eglinton—after much coquetting and versifying, had actually made a declaration of his passion, which the father, at least, had so far under consideration as to consult the Earl thereupon. His reply was—"Bide awee, Sir Archie, my wife's very sickly!" a hint sufficient to settle the hopes of the Baronet of Pennycuik. Sir J. Clerk was the author of the fine Scottish song,—"Oh merry may the maid be that marries wi' the miller," with the exception of the first verse, which is ancient. The Earl was little more than forty when he married this, his third Countess.

The mansion of the Earl in the Old Stamp Office Close was celebrated at a subsequent period as Fortune's tavern, a favourite resort of men of rank and fashion, while yet some of the nobles of Scotland dwelt in its old capital. At a still later period, it was the scene of the annual festivities during the sittings of the General Assembly of the Kirk, towards the close of last century. The old Earl of Leven, who was for many years the representative of majesty at the High Court of the Church, annually took up his abode at this fashionable tavern, and received in state the *courtiers* who crowded to his splendid levees.[1] Still more strangely does it contrast with modern notions, to learn that the celebrated Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville, began practice as an advocate while residing on the third flat of the old land a little further down the street, at the head of the Flesh Market Close, and continued to occupy his exalted dwelling for a considerable time. Below this close, we again come to works of more modern date. Milne Square, which bears the date 1689, exhibits one of the Old Town improvements before its contented citizens dreamt of bursting their ancient fetters, and rearing a new city beyond the banks of the North Loch. To the east of this, the first step in that great undertaking demolished some of the old lanes of the High Street, and among the rest the *Cap and Feather Close*, a short alley which stood immediately above Halkerston's Wynd. The lands that formed the east side of this close still remain in North Bridge Street, presenting doubtless, to the eye of every tasteful reformer, offensive blemishes in the modern thoroughfare; yet this unpicturesque locality has peculiar claims on the interest of every lover of Scottish poetry, for here, on the 5th of September 1750, the gifted child of genius, Robert Ferguson, was born. The precise site of his father's dwelling is unknown, but now that it has been transformed by the indiscriminating hands of modern improvers, this description may suffice to suggest to some as they pass along that crowded thoroughfare such thoughts as the dwellers in cities are most careless to encourage.[2]

Availing ourselves of the subdivision of the present subject, effected by the improvements to which we have adverted, we shall retrace our steps, and glance at such associations with the olden time as may still be gathered from the scene of the desolating fires that swept away nearly every ancient feature on the south side of the High Street. Within the last few years, the sole survivor of all the antique buildings that once reared their picturesque and lofty fronts between the Lawnmarket and Niddry's Wynd has been demolished, to make way for the new Police Office. It had strangely withstood the terrible conflagration that raged around it in 1824, and, with the curious propensity that still prevails in Edinburgh for inventing suggestive and appropriate names, it was latterly universally known as "the Salamander Land."[3] Through this a large archway led into the Old Fish Market Close, on the west side of which, previous to the Great Fire, the huge pile of buildings in the Parliament Close reared its southern front high over all the neigh-

[1] In 1812 an unwonted spectacle was exhibited at the head of the Old Stamp Office Close, in the execution of three young lads there, as the leaders in a riot that took place on New Year's Day of that year, in which several citizens were killed and numerous robberies committed. The judges fixed upon this spot, as having been the scene of the chief bloodshed that had occurred, in order to mark more impressively the detestation of their crimes. A small work was published by the Rev. W. Innes, entitled "Notes of Conversations" with the criminals.

[2] In Edgar's map, the close is shown extending no farther than in a line with Milne's Court, so that the whole of the east side still remains, including, it may be, the poet's birthplace.

[3] We have been told that this land was said to have been the residence of Defoe while in Edinburgh; the tradition, however, is entirely unsupported by other testimony.

bouring buildings with a majestic and imposing effect, of which the north front of James's Court—the only private building that resembles it—conveys only a very partial idea. Within the Fishmarket Close was the mansion of George Heriot, the royal goldsmith of James VI.;[1] where more recently resided the elder Lord President Dundas, father of Lord Melville, a thorough *bon vivant* of the old claret-drinking school of lawyers.[2] There also, for successive generations, dwelt another dignitary of the College of Justice, the grim executioner of the law's last sentence—happily a less indispensable legal functionary than in former days. The last occupant of the hangman's house annually drew "the dempster's fee" at the Royal Bank, and eked out his slender professional income by cobbling such shoes as his least superstitious neighbours cared to trust in his hands, doubtless, with many a sorrowful reflection on the wisdom of our forefathers, and "the good old times" that are gone by.[3] The house has been recently rebuilt, but, as might be expected, it is still haunted by numerous restless ghosts, and will run considerable risk of remaining tenantless should its official occupant, in these hard times, find his occupation gone.[4]

Borthwick's Close, which stands to the east, is expressly mentioned in Nisbet's Heraldry[5] as having belonged to the Lords Borthwick, and in the boundaries of a house in the adjoining close, the property about the middle of the east side is described as the Lord Napier's; but the whole alley is now entirely modernised, and destitute of attractions either for the artist or antiquary. On the ground, however, that intervenes between this and the Assembly Close, one of the new Heriot schools has been built, and occupies a site of peculiar interest. There stood, until its demolition by the Great Fire of 1824, the old Assembly Rooms of Edinburgh, whither the directors of fashion removed their "General Assembly," about the year 1720,[6] from the scene of its earlier revels in the West Bow. There it was that Goldsmith witnessed for the first time the formalities of an old Scottish ball, during his residence in Edinburgh in 1753. The light-hearted young Irishman has left an amusing account of the astonishment with which, "on entering the dancing-hall, he sees one end of the room taken up with the ladies, who sit dismally in a group by themselves; on the other end stand their pensive partners that are to be, but no more intercourse between the sexes than between two countries at war. The ladies, indeed, may ogle, and the gentlemen sigh, but an embargo is laid upon any closer commerce!" Only three years after the scene witnessed by the poet, these grave and decorous revels were removed to more commodious rooms in Bell's Wynd, where they continued to be held till the erection of the new hall in George Street. Much older associations, however, pertain to this interesting locality, for, on the site occupied by the old Assembly Rooms, there formerly stood the town mansion of Lord Durie, President of the Court of Session in 1642, and the hero of the merry ballad of "Christie's Will." The Earl of Traquair, it appears, had a lawsuit pending in the Court of Session, to which the President's opposition was

[1] Dr Steven's Memoirs of George Heriot, p. 5.

[2] *Vide* "Convivial habits of the Scottish Bar."—Note to "Guy Mannering."

[3] *Vide* Chambers's Traditions, vol. ii. p. 184, for some curious notices of the Edinburgh hangmen.

[4] The office of this functionary is now abolished, and the house is occupied by private families.

[5] Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 106.

[6] In a sasine dated 1723, it is styled—"That big hall, or great room, now known by the name of the Assembly House, being part of that new great stone tenement of land lately built," &c.—*Burgh Charter Room.*

dreaded. In this dilemma he had recourse to Will Armstrong, a worthy descendant of the famous mosstrooper executed by James V.,—who owed to the Earl's good services his escape from a halter. Will promptly volunteered to kidnap the President on learning that he stood in his patron's way, and watching his opportunity when Lord Durie was riding out, he entered into conversation with him, and so decoyed him to an unfrequented spot called the Figgate Whins, near Portobello, when he suddenly pulled him from his horse, muffled him in his trooper's cloak, and rode off with the luckless judge trussed up behind him. Lord Durie was secured in the dungeon of an old castle in Annandale called the Tower of Græme, and his horse being found on the beach, it was concluded he had thrown his rider into the sea. His friends went into mourning, his successor was appointed, the Earl won his plea, and Will was directed to set his captive at liberty. The old judge was accordingly seized in his dark dungeon, muffled once more in the cloak, and conveyed with such dexterity to the scene of his capture that he long entertained the belief he had been spirited away by witches. The joy of his friends was probably surpassed by the blank amazement of his successor, when he appeared to reclaim his old office and honours. Accident long after led to a discovery of the whole story; but in those disorderly times it was only laughed at as a fair *ruse de guerre*.[1] In the ballad the bold moss-trooper alights at Lord Durie's door, and beguiles him with a message from "the fairest lady in Teviotdale." Sir Walter, however, confesses to such ekeing and patching of the traditionary fragments of the old ballad, that we must content ourselves with the fact of the stolen President's dwelling having stood on the site of the Heriot's school in the Assembly Close. Of this there can be no doubt, as it is referred to in the boundaries of various early deeds, in most of which the alley is styled Durie's Close.

The Covenant Close has already been referred to,[2] with its interesting old land, surmounted with three crow-stepped gables, forming the most prominent feature in the range of the High Street as seen from the south. The front lands immediately below this and the adjoining close again direct us to associations with the olden time, though only as occupying the site of what once was interesting, for fire and modern reform together have effected an entire revolution in this part of the town. Over the doorway immediately above Bell's Wynd an escallop shell, cut upon the modern stone lintel, marks the site of the "Clam Shell Turnpike," an edifice associated with eminent characters, and some of the most interesting eras in Scottish history. Maitland only remarks of it, in this close there "is an ancient chapel, which is still plainly to be seen by the manner of its construction, though now converted into a dwelling-

[1] Christie's Will, Border Minstrelsy. There is little doubt of the general truth of this tradition. The leading facts, though without the names, are related in Forbes's Journal, and Scott tells us that some old stanzas of the ballad were current on the Border in his youth.

[2] Ante, p. 93.

VIGNETTE—Clam Shell Turnpike, from Skene. Taken down 1791.

house,"[1] to which Arnot adds the more definite though scanty information, "At the head of Bell's Wynd there were an hospital and chapel, known by the name of *Maison Dieu.*"[2] Like most other religious establishments and church property, it passed into the hands of laymen at the Reformation by an arbitrary grant of the crown, so that the original charters of foundation no longer remain as the evidences of its modern claimants. It is styled, however, in the earliest titles extant, "the old land formerly of George, Bishop of Dunkeld;" so that its foundation may be referred with every probability to the reign of James V., when George Crighton, who occupied that see from the year 1527 to 1543, founded the hospital of St Thomas near the Watergate, about two years before his death, and endowed it for the maintenance of certain chaplains and bedemen, "to celebrate the founder's anniversary *obit*, by solemnly singing in the choir of Holyrood Church, on the day of his death yearly, the *Placebo* and *Dirige*, for the repose of his soul," &c.[3] There can be little doubt, moreover, that the old land, which was only demolished in the year 1789, was the same mansion of Lord Home, to which Queen Mary retreated with Darnley, on her return to Edinburgh in 1566, while she was haunted with the horrible recollections of the recent murder of her favourite, Rizzio, and her mind revolted from the idea of returning to the palace, the scene of his assassination, whose blood-stained floors still called for justice and revenge against the murderers. "Vpoun the xviij day of the said moneth of March," says the contemporary annalist,[4] "our soueranis lord and ladie, accumpanijt with tua thowsand horssmen come to Edinburgh, and lugeit not in thair palice of Halyrudhous, bot lugeit in my lord Home's lugeing, callit the auld bischope of Dunkell his lugeing, anent the salt trone in Edinburgh; and the lordis being with thame for the tyme, wes lugeit round about thame within the said burgh." Lord Home, who thus entertained Queen Mary and Darnley as his guests, was, at that date, so zealous an adherent of the Queen, that Randolph wrote to Cecil from Edinburgh soon after that he would be created Earl of March;[5] and although at the battle of Langside he appeared against her, he afterwards returned to his fidelity, and retained it with such integrity till his death as involved him in a conviction of treason by her enemies. In the following reign this ancient tenement became the property of George Heriot, and the ground rents are still annually payable to the treasurer of the hospital which he founded.

The portion of the High Street still marked as the site of this ancient building, is closely associated with other equally memorable incidents in the life of Queen Mary; for almost immediately adjoining it, on the east side, formerly stood the famous Black Turnpike already alluded to,[6] as the town house of Sir Simon Preston, Provost of Edinburgh in 1567, to which the unhappy Queen was led by her captors, amid the hootings and execrations of an excited rabble, on the evening of her surrender at Carbery Hill. This ancient building was one of the most stately and sumptuous edifices of the Old Town. It was lofty and of great extent, and the tradition of Queen Mary's residence in it had never been lost sight of. A small apartment, with a window to the High Street, was pointed out

[1] Maitland, p. 189. [2] Arnot, p. 246.

[3] Maitland, p. 154. Keith furnishes this character of the bishop, "A man nobly disposed, very hospitable, and a magnificent housekeeper; but in matters of religion not much skilled."

[4] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 94. [5] Keith, vol. ii. p. 292. [6] Ante, p. 79.

as that in which she spent the last night in the capital of her kingdom; the last on which though captive, she was still its Queen. The magnificent and imposing character of this building, coupled with the historical associations attached to it, have given it an exaggerated importance in popular estimation, so that tradition assigned it a very remote antiquity, naming as its builder, King Kenneth III., who was slain A.D. 994; not without the testimony of heaven's displeasure thereat, for "the moon looked bloody for several nights, to the infinite terror of those that beheld her," besides other equally terrible prodigies![1] Maitland, the painstaking historian of Edinburgh, detecting the improbability of such remote foundation for this substantial building, obtained access to the title-deeds, and found a sasine of the date 1461, conveying it to George Robertson of Lochart, the son of the builder, which would imply its having been erected early in the fifteenth century. From other evidence, we discovered that it belonged in the following century to George Crighton, Bishop of Dunkeld, and was in all probability either acquired or rebuilt by him for the purpose of the religious foundation previously described. This appears from an action brought by "the Administrators of Heriot's Hospital, against Robert Hepburn of Bearford," in 1693,[2] for "a ground-annual out of the tenement called *Robertson's Inn*," and which at a subsequent date is styled, "his tenement in Edinburgh called the Black Turnpike." The pursuers demanded the production of the original writs from the Bishop of Dunkeld, and it would appear from the arguments in defence, that the building had been conferred by the Bishop on two of his own illegitimate daughters, and so diverted from the pious objects of its first destination, perchance as a sort of compromise between heaven and earth, by which more effectually to secure the atonement he had in view for the errors of a licentious life. To all this somewhat discrepant evidence we shall add one more fact from the *Caledonian Mercury*, May 15th, 1788, the date of its demolition:—"The edifice commonly called the Black Turnpike, immediately to the west of the Tron Church, at the head of Peebles Wynd, one of the oldest stone buildings upon record in Edinburgh, is now begun to be pulled down. . . . It may be true what is affirmed, that Queen Mary was lodged in it in the year 1567, but if part of the building is really so old, it is evident other parts are of a later date, for on the top of a door, the uppermost of the three entries to this edifice from Peebles Wynd, we observe the following inscription:—

PAX · INTRANTIBVS · SALVS · EXEVNTIBVS · 1674."

The whole character of the building, however, seems to have contradicted the idea of so recent an erection, and the inscription—a peculiarly inappropriate one for the scene of the poor Queen's last lodging in her capital—is probably the only thing to which the date truly applied.

We have passed over the intermediate alleys from the New Assembly Close to the Tron Church, in order to preserve the connection between the ancient lands of the Bishop of Dunkeld, that formed at different periods the lodging of Queen Mary. Stevenlaw's Close, the last that now remains of that portion of the High Street, still contains buildings of an early date. Over a doorway on the west side, near the foot, is this

[1] Abercrombie's Martial Achievements, vol. i. p. 194.

[2] Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. pp. 583, 688.

[3] We have stated reasons before for believing that dates were sometimes put on buildings by later proprietors.

motto :—THE · FEIR · OF · THE · LORD · IS · THE · BIGENEN · OF · VISDOM · I · H ·; and another bears a shield of arms, with an inscription partially defaced. We have not discovered any names among its earlier occupants worthy of note; but immediately adjoining it, on the site of the west side of Hunter Square, formerly stood Kennedy's Close, a scene associated with one of the most eminent among the distinguished men of early times. In a MS. memorandum book of George Paton, the Antiquary, the following note occurs :—" George Buchanan took his last illness, and died in Kennedy's Close, first court thereof on your left hand, first house in the turnpike, above the tavern there; and in Queen Anne's time this was told to his family and friends who resided in that house, by Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, Lord Advocate." A reference to Edgar's map shows that the close consisted of two small courts connected by a narrow passage, the sight of the first of which will exactly correspond with that of the present Merchants' Hall. Here the eminent Scottish historian and reformer closed his active and laborious life on the 28th of September 1582. Finding, when on his deathbed, that the money he had about him was insufficient to defray the expenses of his funeral, he sent his servant to divide it among the poor, adding—" that if the city did not choose to bury him, they might let him lie where he was." He was interred on the following day in the Greyfriars' Churchyard. It is justly to be regretted that the spot cannot now be ascertained, notwithstanding that, on an application made to the Town Council, so recently as 1701, " the through-stane " was directed to be raised in order to preserve it.[1]

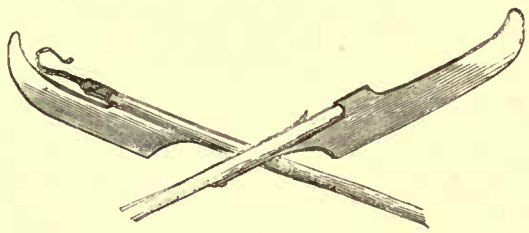
In the centre of the High Street, in front of the Black Turnpike, the ancient citadel of the Town-Guard cumbered the thoroughfare till near the close of last century, protected by its ungainly utility from the destruction that befell many of the more valuable relics of antiquity. During Cromwell's impartial rule in Edinburgh, it formed the scene of many of his acts of " guid discipline, causing drunkardis ryd the trie meir, with stoppis and muskettis tyed to thair leggis and feit, a paper on thair breist, and a drinking cap in thair handis."[2] This obsolete instrument of punishment, the wooden mare, still remained at the end of the old Guard-house, when Kay, the Caricaturist, made his drawing of it immediately before its destruction. The chronicles of this place of petty durance, could they now be recovered, would furnish many an amusing scrap of antiquated scandal, interspersed at rare intervals with the graver deeds of such disciplinarians as the Protector, or the famous sack of the Porteous mob. There, such fair offenders as the witty and eccentric Miss Mackenzie,[3] daughter of Lord Royston, found at times a night's lodging, when she and her maid sallied out disguised as *preux chevaliers* in search of adventures. Occasionally even a grave judge or learned lawyer, surprised out of his official decorum by the temptations of a jovial club, was astonished on awaking to find himself within its

[1] The following is an extract from the Council Records, 3d December 1701 :—" The Council being informed that the through-stane of the deceast George Buchanan lyes sunk under the ground of the Greyfriars, therefore they appoint the chamberlain to raise the same, and clear the inscription thereupon, so as the same may be legible."—Bann. Misc. vol. 2. p. 401. The sight whereon his dwelling stood would form no inappropriate place for a commemorative tablet to replace the lost "through-stane." Dr Irving, his biographer, has strangely persisted, in the face of this evidence, to affirm that "his ungrateful country never afforded his grave the common tribute of a monumental stone."—(Irving's Life of Buchanan, p. 309.) A skull, believed to be that of the historian, is preserved in the Museum of the University of Edinburgh, and is so remarkably thin as to be transparent. The evidence in favour of this tradition, though not altogether conclusive, renders the truth of it exceedingly probable.

[2] Nicoll's Diary, p. 69.

[3] Ante, p. 169.

impartial walls, among such strange bed-fellows as the chances of the night had offered to its vigilant guardians. The demolition of the Cross, however, rendered the existence of its unsightly neighbour the more offensive to all civic reformers. Ferguson, in his "Mutual Complaint of the Plainstanes and Causey," humorously represents it as one of the most intolerable grievances of the latter, enough to "fret the hardest stane;" and at length, in 1785, its doom was pronounced, and its ancient garrison removed to the New Assembly Close, then recently deserted by the directors of fashion. There, however, they were pursued by the enmity of their detractors. The proprietors of that *fashionable district* of the city were scandalised at the idea of such near neighbours as the *Town-Rats*, and by means of protests, Bills of Suspension, and the like weapons of modern civic warfare, speedily compelled the persecuted veterans to beat a retreat. They took refuge in premises provided for them in the Tolbooth, but the destruction of their ancient stronghold may be said to have sealed their fate; they lingered on for a few years, maintaining an unequal and hopeless struggle against the restless spirit of innovation that had beset the Scottish capital, until at length, in the year 1817, their final refuge was demolished, the last of them were put on the town's pension list, and the truncheon of the constable displaced the venerable firelock and Lochaber axe.



VIGNETTE—Lochaber axes from the Antiquarian Museum.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HIGH STREET AND NETHER BOW.

IN the centre of the High Street, not far from the site of the Tron Church, there stood in ancient times the Tron or public beam for weighing merchandise; generally styled in early deeds and writings the Salt Tron, to distinguish it from the Butter Tron, or Weigh-house, already described. It is shown in the curious bird's-eye view of the siege of Edinburgh Castle, drawn in 1573, in the form of a pillar mounted on steps, and with a beam and scales attached to it. This central spot was the scene of many singular exhibitions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, more especially in the exposure and punishment of culprits. While traitors and political offenders of all sorts expiated their crimes at the Cross, the lesser offences of perjury and knavery were reserved by a discriminating system of justice for the more ignominious, though less deadly, penalties of the Tron. One of the liveliest of the scenes which were enacted there during the 17th century, occurred on the arrival of the news in June 1650, that Charles II. had landed in the north. The Estates of Parliament were then assembled at Edinburgh, and the fickle populace were already heartily tired of trying to govern themselves. Nicoll, the old diarist, tells us, "All signes of joyes wer manifested in a speciall maner in Edinburgh, by setting furth of bailfyres, ringing of bellis, sounding of trumpettis, dancing almost all that night through the streitis. The pure kaill wyfes at the Trone sacrificed thair mandis and creillis and the verie stoolis thai sat upone to the fyre."[1]

It has been hastily concluded from this, by certain sceptical antiquaries, that, as Jenny

[1] Nicoll's Diary, p. 16.

VIGNETTE—Ancient Doorway, Blackfriars' Wynd.

Geddes, the heroine of 1637, was one of the *kail wives* of the Tron, her famous stool—the formidable weapon with which she began the great rebellion, by hurling it at the Dean of St Giles' head—must have perished in this repentant ebullition of joy, and accordingly that the relic shown in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries is undeserving of credit. We must protest, however, against so rash an hypothesis, which would involve the destruction of the sole monument of the immortal Janet's heroic onslaught; seeing there can be no reasonable question that a dame so zealous and devout would reserve her best stool for the Sunday's services, and content herself with a common *creepie* for her week-day avocations at the Tron![1] There is no doubt, however, that Jenny gave unequivocal proofs of her loyalty at a later period, as she is specially mentioned in the *Mercurius Caledonius*, a newspaper published immediately after the Restoration, as having taken a prominent share in similar rejoicings on the coronation of the king in 1661. "But among all our bontados and caprices," says the curious annalist, "that of the immortal Jenet Geddis, Princesse of the Trone Adventurers, was most pleasant, for she was not only content to assemble all her creels, basquets, creepies, frames, and other ingredients that composed the shope of her sallets, radishes, turnips, carrots, spinage, cabbage, with all other sort of pot merchandise that belongs to the garden, but even her leather chair of state, where she used to dispense justice to the rest of her langkale vassals, were all very orderly burned; she herself countenancing the action with a high-flown flourish and vermillion majesty."

Halkerston's Wynd, which is the first close now remaining on the north side of the High Street below the Tron Church, had once been a place of considerable note, but nearly every vestige of antiquity has disappeared. We have already given a view[2] of a very curious ancient lintel still remaining on the east side, which bears on it the monogram IHS, and a *cross-fleury*, with a coronet surmounting the letter D. The whole style and character of this doorway indicates a date long anterior to the Reformation, but the building to which it belonged has been demolished, all but a portion of the outer wall, and we have failed to obtain any clue to its early history. It was in its later state a timber-fronted land, having a good deal of carving along the gables, and an ornamental stone stair-case projecting beyond, altogether indicating the remains of a magnificent and costly mansion of the olden time. Adjoining this, another doorway, forming a similar vestige of a more modern building, bears the common inscription, BLISSIT . BE GOD . FOR . AL . HIS . GIFTIS . and the initials and date · RD · D · 1609. This ancient alley formed one of the accesses to the city from the north, previous to the erection of the North Bridge. Fountainhall[3] gives a curious account of an action brought by Robert Malloch in 1701 against the magistrates of Edinburgh, for shutting up the Halkerston's Wynd Port. From this it appears that a suburban village had sprung up on Moutrie's Hill, the site now occupied by James' Square, in which a number of poor weavers and other tradesmen had set up in defiance of the incorporations of the *Gude Toun*. The deacons finding their crafts in danger, took advantage of an approaching election to frighten the magistrates into a just sense of the enormity of tolerating such unconstitutional interlopers

[1] Even Jenny Geddes's well-earned reputation "cannot live out of the teeth of emulation." Kincaid (Hist. of Edin. p. 63) puts forward a new claimant to her honours, "an old woman named Hamilton, grandmother to Robert Mein, late Dean of Guild officer in Edinburgh."

[2] Ante, p. 118.

[3] Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. ii. p. 110.

so near their ancient burgh. The port was accordingly shut up, and the sluices of the North Loch closed, so as to flood a small mound that had afforded a footpath to the port for the freetraders of this obnoxious village. The battle was stoutly maintained for a time, but the magistrates finding the law somewhat rigid in its investigation of their right over the city ports, and the election most probably being satisfactorily settled meanwhile, they opened the port of their own accord, and allowed the sluices of the North Loch again to run.

In Kinloch's Close, immediately adjoining this wynd, there stood, till within the last twenty years, a very handsome and substantial old stone land, with large and neatly moulded windows, and abounding with curious irregular projections, adapting it to its straitened site. Over the main entrance was a finely carved lintel, having the Williamson arms boldly cut in high relief, with the initials I · W · accompanied by a singular device of the *cross of passion* springing from the centre of a *saltier*, and the inscription and date in large Roman letters, FEIR · GOD · IN · LUIF · 1595.

The ancient timber-fronted land which faces the street at the head of this close is one possessing peculiar claims to our interest, as the scene of Allan Ramsay's earlier labours, where, "at the sign of the Mercury, opposite to Niddry's Wynd," he prosecuted his latter business as author, editor, and bookseller. From thence issued his poems printed in single sheets, or half sheets, as they were written, in which shape they are reported to have found a ready sale; the citizens being in the habit of sending their children with a penny for "Allan Ramsay's last piece."[1] Encouraged by the favourable reception of his poetic labours, he at length published proposals for a re-issue of his works in a collected form, and, accordingly, in 1721, they appeared in one handsome quarto volume, with a portrait of the author from the pencil of his friend Smibert. Ramsay continued to carry on business at the sign of the Mercury till the year 1725, so that nearly all his original publications issued from this ancient fabric. In that year he removed to the famous land in the Luckenbooths, which has been already minutely described. The accompanying vignette represents the former building as it existed previous to 1845, when a portion of the timber front was removed, and the picturesque character of the old land somewhat marred by modern alterations.

Immediately to the east of Ramsay's old shop, a plain and narrow pend gives access to Carrubber's Close, the retreat of the faithful remnant of the Jacobites of 1688. Here, about half way down the close, on the east side, St Paul's Chapel still stands, a plain and unpretending edifice, erected immediately after the Revolution. Thither the persecuted

[1] Scottish Biographical Dictionary, Article Ramsay.

VIGNETTE—Allan Ramsay's shop, opposite Niddry's Wynd.

Bishop and his stanch non-jurant followers repaired on the downfall of the national establishment of Episcopacy, and there they continued to worship within its narrow bounds amid frequent interruptions, particularly after the rising of 1745, resolutely persisting for nearly a century in excluding the name of the "Hanoverian usurpers" from their devotions. The chapel is still occupied by a congregation of Scottish Episcopalians, but the homely worshippers of modern times form a striking contrast to the stately squires and dames who once were wont to frequent the unpretending fane that sufficed to accommodate the whole disestablished Episcopacy of the capital.

Immediately below the chapel, a huge escalop shell, expanding over the porch of the main entrance to an old tenement, marks the clam-shell land. Here was the house of Ainslie's master, during Burns's visit to Edinburgh, at whose table the poet was a frequent guest, while on another floor of the same land, the elder Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, another of the poet's early friends, resided, until his removal to one of the first erections in the New Town. The whole locality, indeed, is in some degree associated with the poet's friends and favourite haunts in the capital; for on the second floor of the ancient stone land which faces the High Street, at the head of the close, was the abode of Captain Mathew Henderson, "a gentleman who held the patent for his honours immediately from Almighty God," on whom the poet wrote the exquisite elegy preserved among his works, to the very characteristic motto from Hamlet, "Should the poor be flattered?"

This old close was the scene of the only unsuccessful speculation of another poet, whose prudent self-control enabled him through life to avoid the sorrows that so often beset the poet's path, and to find in the Muse the handmaid of wealth. Allan Ramsay was strongly attached to the drama, and in his desire for its encouragement, he built a play-house at the foot of Carrubber's Close, about the year 1736, which involved him in very considerable expense. It was closed immediately after by the act for licensing the stage, which was passed in the following year, and the poet's sole resource was in writing a rhyming complaint to the Court of Session, which appeared soon after in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The abortive play-house has since served many singular and diverse purposes. It is the same building, we believe, which bore the name of St Andrew's Chapel, bestowed on it soon after the failure of the poet's dramatic speculation. In 1773 it formed the arena for the debates of the Pantheon, a famous speculative club. In 1788, Dr Moyes, the ingenious lecturer on Natural Philosophy, discoursed there to select and fashionable audiences on optics, the property of light, and other branches of science, in regard to which his most popular qualification was, that he had been blind almost from his birth. Since then the pulpit of St Andrew's Chapel has been filled by Mr John Barclay, the founder of the sect of modern Bereans; by the Rev. Mr Tait, and other founders of the Rowites, during whose occupancy the celebrated Edward Irving frequently officiated. The chapel has also been engaged by Relief and Secession congregations, by the Roman Catholics as a preaching station and schoolroom, and more recently as a hall for lectures and debates of all kinds;—as strange and varied a medley of actors as even the fertile fancy of the poet could have foreshadowed for his projected play-house.[1]

[1] It was latterly called Whitefield Chapel, used for meetings of the Carrubber's Close Mission. It has now been demolished in the construction of Jeffrey Street.

Should this old close escape the destruction that already threatens so many of the haunts of the olden time, it will not be considered by future generations as the least worthy of its associations, that there, on the west side, and near the foot of the close, were the workshop and furnace of James Ballantine, the author of the "Gaberlunzie's Wallet," and the "Miller of Deanhaugh," as well as of some of the liveliest of our modern humorous Scottish songs—never heard with such effect as when sung by himself. There, it is probable, many of his literary productions were matured, where also he completed, under numerous disadvantages, the successful designs for the competition of 1844, which gained for him the distinguished honour of executing the painted windows of the New House of Lords. The close has suffered little from modern alteration, and still presents a very pleasing specimen of the quaint and picturesque irregularity of style which gladdens the eye of the artist, and sets the reforming citizen a ruminating on the possibility of a new improvements commission, that shall sweep away such *rubbish* from every lane and alley of the ancient capital.

Bishop's Close, which adjoins this on the east, preserves in its name a memorial of "the Bishop's Land," one of the most substantial and noted among the private buildings in the High Street of Edinburgh. It owed this peculiar designation to its having been the residence of the eminent prelate, John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St Andrews, who, as appears from the titles, inherited it from his father, the Superintendent of Lothian. This fact is of some value, as serving to discredit the statement of his unrequited labours during the latter years of his life. The date on the old building was 1578, at which time the Superintendent would be in his sixty-ninth year; and the house was sufficiently commodious and magnificent to serve afterwards for the town mansion of the Scottish primate. The ground floor of the building was formed of a deeply arched piazza, supported by massive stone piers, and over the main entrance a carved lintel bore the common inscription, BLISSIT . BE . YE . LORD . FOR . ALL . HIS . GIFTIS . 1578, with a shield impaled with two coats of arms, and the initials V. N., H. M. A fine brass balcony projected from the first floor, which has doubtless often been decorated with gay hangings, and crowded with fair and noble spectators to see the riding of the parliaments, and the magnificent state pageants of early times. This interesting old tenement was totally destroyed by fire in 1814, but the carved lintel has been preserved, and is now built into the adjoining pend of North Gray's Close. From the evidence in the famous Douglas cause, it appears that Lady Jane Douglas resided in Bishop's Land soon after her arrival in Scotland, and was visited there by Lord Prestongrange, then Lord Advocate, in 1752.[1] Here also is stated to have been the house of the first Lord President Dundas, and the birthplace of the celebrated Viscount Melville;[2] and so aristocratic were the denizens of this once fashionable tenement, that we have been told by an old citizen there was not a family resident in any of its flats, towards the end of the century, who did not keep livery servants—a strange contrast to their plebeian successors. In the title-deeds of Archbishop Spottiswood's mansion, it is described as bounded on the east by the tenement sometime pertaining to James Henderson of Fordel. This was no doubt the house referred to in the "Diurnal of Occurrents," where it is said that Queen Mary, after the bootless muster at Carbery Hill, "quhen she come to Edinburgh, wes lugeit in James Hendersones hous

[1] Case of Respondents, fol. p. 34.

[2] Chambers's Traditions, vol. i. Appendix.

of Fordell,"[1] and although this is an obvious mistake for Sir Simon Preston's residence in the Black Turnpike, it is probable she had lodged there on some earlier and happier occasion, when it was no very unwonted circumstance for her Majesty to become the guest of the wealthier citizens of the capital. This old land, however, has also disappeared, and is now replaced by a plain and unattractive modern erection.

We furnish a view of a very curious and beautiful Gothic corbel, carved in the form of a grotesque head, with leaves in its mouth, which was found on the east side of North Gray's Close, about twenty years since, in excavating for a tan pit. It was discovered six feet below the ground; and in the course of digging, the workmen came upon a large fragment of wall, of very substantial masonry, running from east to west, and completely below the foundations of the neighbouring houses. We have examined a large collection of title-deeds of the surrounding property in the hope of discovering the existence of some religious house here in early times, of which these are fragments, but the earliest, which is dated 1572, describes nearly the whole close as then in a waste and ruinous state—a condition to which it appears to be rapidly returning, after having, from the appearance of the old buildings, afforded fitting residence for titled courtiers and wealthy burgesses. These discoveries, however, furnish evidence of the great changes which have taken place on Edinburgh in common with most other ancient cities. This portion of the town has evidently been totally destroyed in the conflagration effected by the Earl of Hertford's army in 1544; and while the houses in the main street were speedily rebuilt, the ground to the north lay for nearly thirty years an unoccupied waste, so that when the citizens at length began to build upon it, they founded their new dwellings above the consolidated ruins of the older capital. The carved stone was preserved in the nursery of Messrs Eagle & Henderson, Leith Walk.

There was a fine old stone land at the head of Bailie Fife's Close on the west side, which bore, on a large lintel over one of the upper windows, the Trotter arms, in bold relief; two stars in chief, and a crescent in base; with the initials I. T., I. M., and the date 1612.[2] Another ancient tenement remains in good preservation, in Chalmers's Close, which possesses claims of special interest to the antiquary, as one of the very few now left in which the curious sculptured stone niches occur, that have been frequently referred to in the course of this work. The house stands within the close, on the west side. On the first floor a small niche appears, at the right side of the doorway, immediately on entering, and in the opposite wall there is another of large size, and a highly ornamental character—though now dilapidated, and greatly obscured with whitewash—through which a window has been broken, looking into Barringer's Close. Alongside of the latter niche a narrow

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 115.

[2] Another large shield occurs on a pannel above the ground floor, with the initials I. P., M. H., and the Parley Arms (Yorkshire)—a cheveron between three mullets,—impaled with those of Hay. Over a neatly moulded doorway below is the inscription in Roman characters, now greatly defaced :—BE . PASIENT . IN . THE . [LORD.] [This ancient dwelling-house, which had stood for nearly 250 years, suddenly fell to the ground on midnight of Saturday, November 10, 1861, burying in its ruins thirty-five persons.]

turnpike stair has formerly afforded access to the floor above, and the general construction of the apartment renders it exceedingly probable that it may have been used as a private chapel before the Reformation. It is now subdivided by flimsy modern partitions, and furnishes a residence for several families. The only clue afforded by the title-deeds to former proprietors of any note, is, that here resided a worthy burgess of last century, competitor with the author of the Gentle Shepherd, in his earlier occupation, and the grandfather of one of the most eminent of the modern citizens of Edinburgh, Lord Francis Jeffrey, with whom this old close was a favourite haunt in his boyhood. Over the doorway of the adjoining staircase, which projects into the close, the name of Johne Hope is cut in large old English characters, with a defaced coat of arms between, and on the lowest crow-step a shield is sculptured with armorial bearings, and the initials I· H· The dilapidated building retains considerable traces of former magnificence, as well as undoubted evidence of an early date. The large windows have been each divided with a mullion and transom, and are finished with unusually rich mouldings at the sides. The hall on the first floor, which has been an apartment of considerable size, is now subdivided into separate dwellings by slight wooden partitions. There can be little doubt, we think, from the style of lettering in the inscription and the general character of the building, that this is the mansion of John de Hope, the founder of the Hopetoun family, who came from France in 1537, in the retinue of the Princess Magdalene, Queen of James V., and who afterwards became a substantial burgher in the Luckenbooths, visiting the continent from time to time, and importing French velvets, silks, gold and silver laces, and the like valuable foreign merchandise.[1] It seems to be unquestionable that no other John Hope existed in Scotland till the reign of Charles I.; a date long posterior to that of the building. This was his descendant, Sir John Hope of Craighall, the eldest son of the celebrated Lord Advocate, who was Lord President of the Court of Session during the Protectorate, and to whom Charles II. owed the shrewd, though unpalatable advice, "to treat with Cromwell for the one halff of his cloake before he lost the quhole."

In the next alley, which is termed Sandilands' Close, a large and remarkably substantial stone tenement, forms the chief feature on the east side, and presents an appearance of great antiquity. The ground floor of this building is vaulted with stone, and entered by doorways with pointed arches, and over the lower of these is a neat small pointed window or loop-hole, splayed and otherwise constructed as in early Gothic buildings. We present a view of one of the most interesting pieces of ancient sculpture in Edinburgh, which forms part of the internal decorations of this old edifice. It seems to be intended to represent the offering of the Wise Men, and is well executed in bold relief, although, like most other internal decorations in the Old Town, plentifully besmeared with whitewash. It appears to form the end of a very large antique fireplace, the remainder of which is concealed under panneling and partitions of perhaps a century old, while another, of the contracted dimensions usual in later times, has been constructed in the further corner. It is exceedingly probable that much more of this interesting sculpture remains to be disclosed on the removal of these novel additions of recent date.

[1] Coltness Collections, Mait. Club, pp. 16, 17. From which it appears that John de Hope and his son Edward occupied the two booths east of the Old Church style.

Such of the title-deeds of this property as we have obtained access to are unfortunately quite modern, and contain no reference to early proprietors; but one of the present owners described a sculptured stone, containing a coat of arms surmounted by a mitre, that was removed from over the inner doorway some years since, and which appears to have been the Kennedy arms. If it be permissible to build on such slender data, in the absence of all other evidence, we have here, in all probability, the town mansion of the good Bishop Kennedy, the munificent patron of learning, and the able and upright counsellor of James II. and III.[1] The whole appearance of the building is perfectly consistent with this supposition. The form and decorations of the doorways, particularly those already described, all prove an early date; while the large size and elegant mouldings of the windows, and the massive appearance of the whole building, indicate such magnificence as would well consort with the dignity of the primacy at that early period.

A very fine specimen of the ancient timber-fronted lands of the Old Town stood till within the last few years at the head of Trunk's Close, behind the Fountain Well, on the site of a plain stone tenement that has since replaced it. The back portion of the old building, however, still remains entire, including several rooms with fine stuccoed ceilings, and one large hall beautifully finished with richly carved pillasters and oak panneling, which is described in the title-deeds as "presently"—*i.e.*, in 1739—"a meeting-house possest by Mr William Cocburn, minister of the gospel." It had previously formed the residence of Sir John Scot of Ancrum, the first of that title, who was created a baronet by Charles II. in 1671. From him it was acquired by Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs, in 1703, and here resided that baronet, and his more illustrious son, General Elliot, the gallant defender of Gibraltar, better known by his title of Lord Heathfield. On the pediment over the window of a fine old stone land on the west side of Trunk's Close, is the inscription in bold characters:—HODIE · MIHI · CRAS · TIBI · It is worthy of notice that the same inscription is appropriately carved in similar characters over the splendid tomb of Thomas Bannatine, in the Greyfriars' Churchyard. Several other ancient tenements in this close are worthy of inspection for their antique irregularity of construction.

But the chief *Lion* among the venerable fabrics of the Old Town of Edinburgh has long been the singularly picturesque structure which terminates the High Street towards the east, and forms the mansion provided shortly after the Reformation, at the expense of the town, for its first parish minister, the great Reformer, Johu Knox. Chambers remarks

[1] A confused tradition of its having been an Episcopal residence is still preserved among the inhabitants, founded, it may be presumed, on the sculptured mitre. The old dame who first admitted us to inspect it, stated that it was *Bishop Sandilands'* house; a name, it is perhaps unnecessary to remark, not to be found in Keith's list.

VIGNETTE—Ancient Sculpture, Sandilands' Close.

of it:—"This is perhaps the oldest stone building of a private nature now existing here; for it was inhabited, before John Knox's time, by George Durie, Abbot of Dunfermline and Arch-Dean of St Andrews." He was promoted to Dunfermline by King James V. in 1539, and was canonised by the Church of Rome within two years after his death. No evidence now appears in the title-deeds of the property to afford a clue to this or any other of its earlier possessors, but the tradition has been long universally received which assigns it as the residence of the Reformer. Here, in the year 1559, he took up his abode, along with his faithful wife, Marjorie Bowes, his companion during years of wandering and danger, but who did not long survive his settlement in this more promising place of rest. To the same house, in 1563, he brought his second wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of "the good Lord Ochiltree," whose affections his defamers affirmed he had gained by sorcery. Nicol Burne, in that curious work, "A disputation concerning the controversit headdis of religion," represents him going for his bride, "rydand with ane gret court on ane trim gelding, nocht lyk ane prophet or ane auld decrepit priest, as he was, bot lyk as he had bene ane of the blude royal, with his bendes of taffetie feschnit with golden ringis and precious stanes; and as is plainlie reportit in the country, be sorcerie and witchcraft, did sua allure that puir gentlewoman that scho could not leve without him."

The house where Knox has received the messengers of Queen Mary, the nobles of the court, and the leaders of the Congregation, is now rapidly falling to decay; but it still retains the traces of former magnificence. From its peculiar position, projecting into the thoroughfare, and presenting its western front up the High Street, it is one of the most remarkable houses in the Old Town; forming a subject well calculated to tempt the artist's pencil, even though it wanted the adventitious aid of historical associations. A long inscription extends over nearly the whole front, immediately above the ground floor; but it is unfortunately concealed, all but the first two words, by the sign-boards of the traders, who have succeeded to the occupancy of the ancient tenement. It is in large Roman characters, and is understood to run thus:—LVFE · GOD · ABOVE · AL · AND · YOVR · NICHTBOVR · AS · YI · SELF. A small effigy of the Reformer has long decorated the angle of the old building, on which the pious care of successive tenants has been expended, with a zeal not always appreciated by their fellow-citizens. He occupies a pulpit of Presbyterian simplicity of form, and points with his right hand to a curiously carved stone, whereon the name of the Deity appears, in Greek, Latin, and English, surrounded by a glory on the side towards the preacher, while clouds gather around it on the further side. Over a large bow window a carved stone is pierced with a circular aperture, now closed up, but which, from its position, suggests the idea of having been constructed for a public clock. Such of the stone-work as remains exposed is of polished ashlar, but numerous timber additions have been made to the original fabric in early times. Among these, a small apartment on the south front is, in all probability, the study constructed for him at the expense of the town, soon after he took up his abode there, in conformity with the following act of Council:—"The samine day the Provost, Baillies, and Counsail, ordanis the Dene of Gyld, with all diligence, to make ane warme studye of dailles to the minister, John Knox, within his hous, abone the hall of the same, with lyght and wyndokis thereunto, and all other necessaris." There, therefore, we may

believe, was the place whither the Reformer withdrew for private study and devotion, and where the chief portion of his history was written.

The plaster ceiling of the hall appears to be a work about the time of Charles II., but a great portion of it has now given way, and discloses the original oak beams and planking of the floor above, which are painted in the style we have already described in the account of Blyth's Close. Tradition has industriously laboured to add to the associations of the old building by such clumsy inventions as betray their spuriousness. A vault underneath the street, which contains a covered well, is exhibited to the curious by the tenant of the "laigh shop," as the scene of secret baptisms of children before the Reformation; at a time when it more probably formed a convenient receptacle for the good Abbot's wines, and witnessed no other Christian rites than those over which his butler presided. The "preaching window" has also been long pointed out, from whence the Reformer, according to the same authority, was wont to address the populace assembled below. The interesting narrative of his last sermon in St Giles's Church, and the scene that followed, when his congregation lingered in the High Street, watching, as for the last time, the feeble steps of their aged pastor, seems the best confutation of this oft-repeated tradition, which certainly receives no countenance from history. Among these spurious traditions, we are also inclined to reckon that which assigns the old Reformer's house to the celebrated printer, Thomas Bassandyne. Society Close, in its neighbourhood, was indeed formerly called Bassandyne's Close, as appears by the titles; but even if this be in reference to the printer, which we question, it would rather discredit than confirm the tradition, as another land intervened between that and the famed old tenement.[1] There is an access to Knox's house by a stair in the angle behind the Fountain Well, in the wall of which is a doorway, now built up, said to communicate with a subterranean passage leading to a considerable distance towards the north.

It is impossible to traverse the ruined apartments of this ancient mansion without feelings of deep and unwonted interest. To the admirers of the intrepid Reformer, it awakens thoughts not only of himself but of the work which he so effectually promoted; to all it is interesting as intimately associated with memorable events in Scottish history. There have assembled the Earls of Murray, Morton, and Glencairn; Lords Boyd, Lindsay, Ruthven, and Ochiltree, and many others, agents of the Court, as well as its most resolute opponents; and within the faded and crumbling hall, councils have been matured that exercised a lasting influence on the national destinies. There, too, was the scene of his

[1] We have discovered in the Burgh Charter Room a deed of disposition referring to part of this property, and of an earlier date than any now in the hands of the proprietors, viz:—"*Disposition of House in Nether Bow, March* 1, 1624, *Alesoune Bassendyne and others to John Binning.*" One of the *others* is Alexander Crawford, her husband, while the property appears to have been originally acquired by her as spouse of umq^{h} Alexander Ker, two of whose daughters by her are named, along with their husbands, as joint contracting parties in the dispositiou; and, it may be added, "umq^{h} Alexander Richardson, some time spouse to me, the said Alesoune," an intermediate husband, is mentioned in the deed. The house is situated down the close, and is bounded "by the waste land descending north to the wall of Trinity College on the north . . . and the waste land of umquile James Bassendyne on the south parts." This deed is dated only forty-seven years after the death of the printer; so that James was, in all probability, a contemporary or predecessor. Neither he nor Alesoun is referred to among the printer's relatives in his will (Bann. Misc. vol. ii. p. 203), but "Alesoun Bassindyne, my dochter," is appointed one of the executors in the will of Katharine Norwell, the widow of the printer, who had married a second time, and died in 1593 (ibid, p. 220), and to whom she leaves her "twa best new blak gowneis, twa pair of new cloikis, and twa new wylie cottis, with ane signet of gold, and ane ring with twa stanels." She was probably the old printer's only child, and an infant at the time of his decease. The house, which we believe to have been that of Thomas Bassendyne, is described towards the close of this chapter.

escape from the shot of an assassin, which struck the candlestick before him as he sat at his studies; and within these walls he at length expired, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, "not so much oppressed with years as worn out and exhausted by his extraordinary labour of body and anxiety of mind."

A range of very picturesque buildings once formed the continuous row from "Knox's corner," to the site of the ancient Nether Bow Port, but that busy destroyer, Time, seems occasionally to wax impatient of his own ordinary slow operations, and to demolish with a swifter hand what he has been thought inclined to spare. One of them, a curious specimen of the ancient timber-fronted lands, and with successive tiers of windows divided only by narrow pilasters, has recently been curtailed by a story in height and robbed of its most characteristic features, to preserve for a little longer what remains, while the house immediately to the east of Knox's, which tradition pointed out as the mansion of the noble family of Balmerinoch, has now disappeared, having literally tumbled to the ground. Immediately behind the site of this, on the west side of Society Close, an ancient stone land, of singular construction, bears the following inscription over its main entrance:—R · H · HODIE · MIHI · CRAS · TIBI · CVR · IGITVR · CVRAS · There appears to have been a date, but it is now illegible. The doorway gives access to a curious hanging turnpike stair, supported on corbels formed by the projection of the stone steps on the first floor beyond the wall. This is the same tenement already referred to as the property of Alcson Bassendyne, the printer's daughter. The alley bears the name of Bassendyne's Close, in the earliest titles; more recently it is styled Panmure Close, from the residence there of John Maule of Inverkeilory, appointed a Baron of the Court of Exchequer in 1748—a grandson of the fourth Earl of Panmure, attainted in 1715 for his adherence to the Stuarts. The large stone mansion which he occupied at the foot of the close, was afterwards acquired by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, founded in 1701, and erected into a body-corporate by Queen Anne. Its chief apartment was used as their Hall; from which circumstance the present name of the close originated.

The old timber land to the east of this close is said to have been the Excise Office in early times, in proof of which the royal arms are pointed out over the first floor. The situation was peculiarly convenient for guarding the principal gate of the city, and the direct avenue to the neighbouring seaport. It is a stately erection, of considerable antiquity, and we doubt not has lodged much more important official occupants than the Hanoverian excisemen. It has an outside stair leading to a stone turnpike on the first floor, and over the doorway of the latter is the motto DEVS · BENEDICTAT. Since George II.'s reign, the Excise Office has run through its course with as many and rapid vicissitudes as might suffice to mark the career of a profligate spendthrift. In its earlier days, when a floor of the old land in the Nether Bow sufficed for its accommodations, it was regarded as foremost among the detested fruits of the Union. From thence it removed to more commodious chambers in the Cowgate, since demolished to make way for the southern piers of George IV. Bridge. Its next resting-place was the large tenement on the south side of Chessel's Court, in the Canongate, the scene of the notorious Deacon Brodie's last robbery. From thence it was removed to Sir Lawrence Dundas's splendid mansion in St Andrew Square, now occupied by the Royal Bank. This may

be considered its culminating point. It descended thereafter to Bellevue House in Drummond Place, built by General Scott, the father-in-law of Mr Canning, which house was demolished in 1846, in completing the tunnel of the Edinburgh and Leith Railway; and now, we believe, the exciseman no longer possesses a "local habitation" within the Scottish capital.

On the southern side of the High Street, below "the Tron," some few remains of antiquity have escaped the ruthless hand of destruction, though the general character of the buildings partakes largely of modern tameness and insipidity. Previous to the commencement of the South Bridge in 1785, the east end of the Tron Church, which has since been considerably curtailed, abutted on to a large and stately range of building of polished ashlar, with an arched piazza, supported on stone pillars, extending along nearly the whole front. A large archway in this building, immediately adjoining the church, formed the entrance to Marlin's Wynd, in front of which a row of six stones, forming the shape of a coffin, indicated the grave of Marlin, a Frenchman, who, having first paved the High Street in the sixteenth century, seems to have considered that useful work his best public monument; but the changes effected on this locality have long since obliterated the pavior's simple memorial. The same destructive operations swept away the whole of Niddry's Wynd, an ancient alley, abounding with interesting fabrics of an early date, and associated with some of the most eminent citizens of former times. Here was the civic palace of Nicol Udward, Provost of Edinburgh in 1591, a large and very handsome quadrangle building, of uniform architectural design and elegant proportions, in which King James VI. and his Queen took up their residence for a time in 1591.[1] This building appears, from the description of it, to have been one of the most magnificent private edifices of the Old Town.[2] In the same wynd, a little further down on the opposite side, stood St Mary's Chapel, an ancient religious foundation dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It was founded and endowed by Elizabeth, Countess of Ross, in 1504, the widow of John, Lord of the Isles, who was outlawed and forfeited by James III. for treasonable correspondence with Edward IV. of England. She was the eldest daughter of James, Lord Livingston, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, and appears to have held considerable property by special charters in her own behalf. A modern edifice has been substituted for the ancient chapel before the demolition of Niddry's Wynd, which formed the hall of the corporation of wrights and masons. It was acquired by them in 1618, since which they have borne the name of the *United Incorporations of Mary's Chapel.* The modern erection appeared from its style to have been built early in the eighteenth century, aud its name is now transferred to their unpretending hall in Bell's Wynd.

On entering Dickson's Close, a little farther down the street, the first house the visitor comes to on the left hand is a neat and very substantial stone edifice, evidently the work of Robert Mylne, and built about the period of the Revolution. Of its first occupants we can give no account, but one of its more recent inhabitants is calculated to give it a peculiar interest. Here was the residence of David Allan, "our Scottish Hogarth," as he was called, an artist of undoubted genius, whose fair fame has suffered by the tame insipidity which inferior engravers have infused into his illustrations to Ramsay and Burns. The satiric humour and drollery of his well-known "rebuke scene" in a country

[1] Ante, p. 89. [2] For a detailed account of this very interesting old building, *vide* Minor Antiquities, p. 207.

church, and the lively expression and spirit of the "General Assembly," and others of his own etchings, amply justify the character he enjoyed among his contemporaries as a truthful and humorous delineator of nature. He succeeded Runciman as master of the Academy established by the Board of Trustees, the classes of which then met in the College, while he received private pupils at his own house in Dickson's Close.[1] A little lower down the close on the same side, an old and curious stone tenement bears on its lower crowstep the Haliburton Arms, impaled with another coat, on one shield. It is a singularly unique and time-worn edifice, evidently of considerable antiquity. A curious double window projects on a corbeled base into the close, while the whole stone-work is so much decayed as greatly to add to its picturesque character. In the earliest deed which exists, bearing the date 1582, its first proprietor, Master James Halyburton—a title then of some meaning—is spoken of in indefinite terms as *umq^le* or deceased; so that it is a building probably of the early part of the sixteenth century. It afterwards was the residence of Sir John Haliday of Tillybole. The most interesting fact, however, brought out by these early titles, occurs in defining the boundaries of the property, wherein it is described as having "the trans of the prebendaries of the kirk of Crightoun on the east pairt and oyr partes;" so that a considerable part of Cant's Close appears to have been occupied in early times by ecclesiastical buildings in connection with the church of Crichton, erected into a collegiate foundation in 1449 by Sir Wm. Crichton, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland.[2] Directly opposite to the site of this is another ecclesiastical edifice, the mansion of the Abbot of Melrose, which enters from Strichen's Close. It is a large and substantial stone building, enclosing a small square or court in the centre, the original access to which seems to have disappeared. The whole building has evidently undergone great alterations; and over one of the doorways, a carved stone bears a large and very boldly cut shield, with two coats of arms impaled, and the date 1600. There seems no reason to doubt, however, that the main portion of the Abbot's residence still remains. The lower story is strongly vaulted, and is evidently the work of an early date. The small quadrangle also is quite in character with the period assumed for the building; and at its north-west angle in Cant's Close, where a curiously carved fleur-de-lis surmounts the gable, a grotesque gurgoil of antique form serves as a gutter to the roof. Here, therefore, we may assign with little hesitation the residence of Andrew Durie, nominated by James V. to the Abbey of Melrose in the year 1526; and whose death, Knox assures us, was occasioned by the terror into which he was put on the memorable uproar on St Giles's day 1558. The close, which is called the Abbot of Melrose's in its earlier titles, assumes that of Rosehaugh Close at a later period, from the Abbot's lodging having become the residence of the celebrated Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, King's Advocate for Scotland after the Restoration. During a great part of last century, this ancient mansion was occupied by Alexander Fraser of Strichen, who was connected by marriage with the descendants of Sir George

[1] *Caledonian Mercury, Nov.* 15, 1788.—His terms were one guinea per month for three lessons in the week, a fee that undoubtedly restricted his private classes at that period to the most wealthy and fashionable students of art. The date of the advertisement is the year of his marriage.

[2] "It appears from old writings and charters connected with the house, that the tenement fronting the street, by which it was bounded on the north, had been, before the Reformation, the lodging of the Provost of Crichton."—Traditions, vol. i. p. 92. The old building is long since destroyed.

Mackenzie, and who sat for nearly half a century on the Bench under the title of Lord Strichen. From him it derived its present name of Strichen's Close, and there is little probability now that any of his plebeian successors will rob it of the title.

The front tenement, which extends between Strichen's Close and Blackfriars' Wynd, presents no features of attraction as it now stands. It is a plain, modern land, re-erected after the destruction of its predecessor in one of the alarming fires of the memorable year 1824, and constructed with a view to the humbler requisites of its modern tenants; but the old building that occupied its site was a handsome stone fabric of loftier proportions than its plebeian successor, and formed even within the present century the residence of people of rank. The most interesting among its later occupants was Lady Lovat, the relict of the celebrated Simon, Lord Lovat, who was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1747; in consequence of which it was generally known as *Lady Lovat's Land.* It possesses, however, more valuable associations than this, its ancient title-deeds naming as the original proprietor, Walter Chepman, the earliest Scottish printer, who introduced the printing-press into Scotland in the year 1507, under the munificent auspices of James IV. To the press of Walter Chepman, the admirers of our early national literature still turn, not without hope that additions may yet be made, by further discovery of its invaluable fragments, to the writings of those great men who adorned the Augustan age of Scotland. The building, however, which perished in the conflagration of 1824, did not appear to be of an earlier date than the period of the Revolution; soon after which many of the substantial stone tenements of the Old Town were erected. The more ancient edifice seems to have been one of the picturesque timber-fronted erections of the reign of James IV., and formed the subject of special privileges granted by that monarch to his valued servitor. In the Registers of the Privy Seal (iv. 173), there is preserved the following royal licence, dated at Edinburgh, February 5, 1510:—"A licence maid to Walter Chepman, burges of Edinburgh, to haif staris towart the Hie Strete and calsay, with bak staris and turngres in the Frer Wynd, or on the forgait, of sic breid and lenth as he sall think expedient for entre and asiamentis to his land and tenement; and to flit the pend of the said Frer Wynd, for making of neidful asiaments in the sammyn; and als to big and haif ane wolt vnder the calsay, befor the for front of the said tenement, of sic breid as he thinkis expedient; with ane penteis vnder the greissis of his for star," &c. The whole grant is a curious sample of the arbitrary manner in which private interests and the general convenience of the citizens were sacrificed to the wishes of the royal favourite. The printing house of Chepman & Millar was in the *south gait*, or Cowgate[1] of Edinburgh, as appears from the imprint on the rare edition of "The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane," and others of the earliest issues from their press in the year 1508; and it no doubt was the same tenement with which, in 1528, Chepman endowed an altar in the chapel of the Holy Rood, in the lower churchyard of St Giles. We would infer, however, from the nature of the royal grant, that the ancient building at the Nether Bow was the residence of Walter Chepman, who was a

[1] The names of streets so common in Scotland, formed with the adjunct *gate*, rarely if ever refer to a gate or port, according to the modern acceptation of the word; but to *gait* or street, as the *King's hie gait*, or, as here, the *south gait*, meaning the south street. The Water Gate, which is the only instance of the ancient use of the word in Edinburgh, is invariably written *yett* in early notices of it.

citizen of wealth and importance, occupying a high office, probably of an ecclesiastical character, in the royal household, and in his titles is styled *Walter Chepman de Everland.*[1]

A broad archway, which leads through the modern successor of the old typographer's *fore tenement*, gives entrance to Blackfriars' Wynd, the largest, and undoubtedly the most important, of all the ancient closes of Edinburgh. It derives its name from having formed the approach to the monastery of the Dominicans, or Black Friars, founded by Alexander II. in 1230, which stood on the site of the Old High School. This royal foundation, which formed for a time the residence of its founder, received from him, among other endowments, a gift of the whole ground now occupied by the wynd to erect houses thereon. For fully five centuries this ancient alley may be said to have formed one of the most aristocratic districts of the Scottish capital; and it continued even after the Reformation to be the chosen place of residence of some of the chief Scottish ecclesiastics. It possessed, till a few years since, much of the fine antique picturesqueness that anciently pertained to it, as will be seen in the accompanying view, drawn in 1837; but since then a rapid demolition of its decaying tenements has taken place; and although it still retains some exceedingly interesting relics of the past, the general aspect of the *Preaching Friars' Vennel* has given place to rude and tasteless modern erections, or to ruinous desolation.[2]

We have already noticed, in the introductory sketch, several of the most memorable incidents of which this ancient alley has been the scene. There some of the keenest struggles of the rival factions took place during the famous contest known as "Cleanse the Causeway;" down its straitened thoroughfare the victorious adherents of the Earl of Angus rushed to assault the palace of the Archbishop of Glasgow at the foot of the wynd, and from thence to wreak their vengeance on his person in the neighbouring church of the Black Friars, whither he fled for shelter. In the reign of James VI., in 1588, it was the arena of a similar contest between the retainers of the Earl of Bothwell and Sir William Stewart, when the latter was slain there by the sword of his rival. The next remarkable incident that occurred was in 1668, when Sharpe, Archbishop of St Andrews, was seated in his coach at the head of Blackfriars' Wynd, waiting for the Bishop of Orkney, whose residence would appear from this to have been in the wynd. Just as the Bishop was approaching the vehicle, Mitchell, the fanatic assassin already described,[3] and an intimate acquaintance of the no less notorious Major Weir,[4] aimed a pistol at the Primate, the contents of which missed him, but dangerously wounded the Bishop of Orkney, who at the moment was stepping into the coach. Since then the old alley has quietly progressed in its declining fortunes to a state of desertion and ruin.

On the west side, near the head of the wynd, a decorated lintel bore the inscription and device represented in the accompanying woodcut, with the date 1564. The ground floor of this building consisted of one very large apartment, with a massive stone pillar in the centre, which formed the place of worship to which the adherents of the covenanted kirk retreated on the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs at the Revolution; and it is described,

[1] It may be remarked here that Chepman's spouse, Agnes Coburn, is mentioned in the same titles, showing that he was not bound by ecclesiastical vows of celibacy.

[2] While the west side of Blackfriars' Wynd still stands, the east, with several closes adjacent, a description of which is given in subsequent pages of this chapter, has been taken down, in connection with plans for the improvement of the city.

[3] Ante, p. 101.

[4] Ravaillac Redivivus, Lond. 1678, p. 12.

in an advertisement of the year 1798, as "the Auld Cameronian Meeting-house." Tradition pointed out the upper flat of the same tenement as having been the lodging of "Nicol Muschett of ill memorie," while a student at college, though it appears, from the evidence on his trial, that his final residence was in Dickson's Close. This ancient tenement, which was latterly regarded with interest, as bearing the oldest date on any private building in Edinburgh, excepting that already described in Blyth's Close, has been recently entirely demolished, and replaced by a plain unpretending erection.[1] But we have since discovered a stone in the possession of James Gibson Craig, Esq., bearing the much earlier date of 1506, which was removed from a house taken down some years since, near the foot of this same wynd, on the opposite side. The stone appears to have formed the top of a dormer window, being triangular in shape, and surmounted by an unusually large crescent. The date is cut partly in Arabic and partly in Roman numerals, thus :—15VI. The site of this ancient fabric is now a ruinous waste, rendering it impossible to recover any traces of its proprietors, either in early or later times.

Immediately adjoining the former building, on the west side of the wynd, is the venerable mansion of the Earls of Morton, an ancient timber-fronted land, already referred to in the description of Brown's Close, Castlehill,[2] with its fine Gothic doorway, and sculptured tympanum, containing a coronet supported by unicorns. Such portions of the stone front as remain exposed, exhibit the feature, which occurs so frequently in buildings of an early date, of moulded windows originally divided by stone mullions. The desolate and deserted aspect of the vice-regal residence, comports with the degraded state of this once patrician locality, now "fallen on evil days and evil tongues." It has long been entirely shut up, defying as completely all attempts at investigating its interior, as when *Queen's men* and *King's men* were fighting in the High Street, and Kirkaldy of Grange was bent on driving the Regent and all his followers from the town. The evidence of this mansion having been occupied by the Regent Morton is not complete, though it is undoubtedly of an earlier date, and appears to have been possessed by his immediate ancestors. The earliest title which we have seen is a disposition by Archibald Douglas, younger of Whittinghame, one of the senators of the College of Justice, in which it is described as "that tenement which was some time the Earl of Mortoun's." From this it may be inferred to have been the residence of his direct ancestor, John, second Earl of Morton, who sat in the Parliament of James IV. in 1504,[3] and whose grandson, William Douglas of Whittinghame was created a senator of the College of Justice in 1575. He was a contemporary of his kins-

[1] The ancient tenement at the head of Monteith's Close bore the date 1562, with an inscription over the doorway of a remarkably fine inner turnpike, but it was demolished several years before the one in Blackfriars' Wynd.

[2] Ante, p. 138.

[3] Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 269.

man, the Regent Morton, and an associate with him in the murder of Rizzio; so that, if the sculpture over the doorway be a device adopted by the Morton family, the corresponding one, already described in the Castle Hill, may be considered as affording considerable probability of that house having been the mansion of the Regent. William Douglas, Lord Whittinghame, resigned his office as a judge in 1590, and was succeeded by his son Archibald, the granter of the disposition referred to, a special favourite of James VI., who accompanied him on his matrimonial voyage to Norway, and was rewarded for his "lovable service" soon after his return by this judicial appointment.

The portion of the wynd below this old mansion included, along with the building of 1564, recently swept away to make room for an extensive printing-office, another which was long used as a Roman Catholic Chapel. This was an antique stone fabric, from which a curiously-projecting timber front was removed only a few years before its desertion as a place of worship. On the fifth flat of this tenement, approached by a steep and narrow turnpike stair, a large chamber was consecrated to the worship of the Roman Catholic Church during the greater part of last century, and probably earlier. When we last visited this primitive retreat of "Old Giant Pope, after the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days," there still remained painted, in simple fashion, on one of the doors immediately below the chapel, the name of the old Bishop, *Mr Hay*. This was the once celebrated opponent of Bishop Wm. Abernethy Drummond, of the Scottish Episcopal Church, under the initials G. H., and well worthy of note in the history of the locality as the last of the Bishops of Blackfriars' Wynd, where the proudest nobles of Scotland were wont of old to give place to the dignitaries of the Church.

Nearly opposite to this, a large and ancient tenement stood entire in the midst of ruins, the upper story of which was also used as a chapel. It was dedicated to St Andrew, and formed the chief Roman Catholic place of worship in Edinburgh, until it was abandoned in the year 1813 for the ecclesiastical edifice at Broughton Street, dedicated in honour of the Virgin Mary. The interior of the chapel retained much of its original state till its demolition. The frame-work of the simple altarpiece still remained, though the rude painting of the Patron Saint of Scotland, which originally filled it, had disappeared. Humble as must have been the appearance of this chapel, even when furnished with every adjunct of Catholic ceremonial for Christmas or Easter festivals, aided by the imposing habits of the officiating priests that gathered around its little altar, yet men of ancient lineage were wont to assemble among the worshippers; and during the abode of the royal exiles at Holyrood Palace, Count d'Artois, the future occupant of the French throne, with the princes and their attendants, usually formed part of the congregation. An internal staircase formed a private entrance for the priests and other officials from the floor below, where the straitened accommodations it afforded sufficed for the humble residence of these successors of the Cardinals and Archbishops who once dwelt in the same neighbourhood. The public access was by a projecting stone staircase, which formed the approach to the different floors of the building. Over this doorway was a sculptured lintel, with a shield of arms in the centre, bearing three stars in chief, with a plain cross, and over it two swords saltier ways. On either side of this was cut, in large antique characters, the inscription MISERERE

MEI DEVS; and below, the initials G. G. The latter has been mistaken for the date 1616; but no one who examined the style of the doorway and inscription could feel any hesitation in assigning to it a date of fully a century earlier.

Only one other old building remained on the west side of the wynd, bearing the pious inscription over its entrance :—THE FEIR OF THE LORD IS THE BEGYNNING OF AL VISDOME. Below this, at the corner of the Cowgate, formerly stood the English Episcopal Chapel, founded by Lord Chief Baron Smith in 1722. It was a plain edifice, possessing no external features of an ecclesiastical character, as may be seen in our engraving of "Cardinal Beaton's House," where it appears on the further side of the wynd. The building existed exactly a century, having been demolished in 1822, after serving during that period as the place of worship of all loyal and devout Episcopal High Churchmen, at a time when Episcopacy and Jacobitism were nearly synonymous in Scotland. The interest that attaches to it as a feature of the olden time, when such a sight was deemed the most suitable that could be selected for a chapel, probably attended by a congregation including a greater array of rank and fashion than any that now assembles in Edinburgh, is further increased from its having been the place of worship of Dr Johnson when residing with Boswell, in 1773.

Here also, and not improbably on the same site, was the town mansion of William St Clair, Earl of Orkney, the founder of Roslin Chapel, who maintained his Court at Roslin Castle with a magnificence far surpassing what had often sufficed for that of the Scottish Kings. He was royally served at his own table—if we are to believe the geuealogist—in vessels of gold and silver; Lord Dirleton being his master of the household, Lord Borthwick his cup-bearer, and Lord Fleming his carver, with men of ancient rank and lineage for their deputies. His Princess, Margaret Douglas, was waited on, according to Father Hay, by seventy-five gentlewomen, whereof fifty-three were daughters of noblemen, "all cloathd in velvets and silks, with their chains of gold, and other pertinents; togither with two hundred rideing gentlemen who accompanied her in all her journeys. She had carried before her, when she went to Edinburgh, if it were darke, eighty lighted torches. Her lodgeing was att the foot of Blackfryer Wynde; so that, in a word, none matched her in all the countrey, save the Queen's Majesty."[1]

Directly opposite to the site of Baron Smith's Chapel stood one of the palatial edifices of the old capital, popularly known as Cardinal Beaton's house—a sufficiently humble and unpretending structure, which undoubtedly formed an archiepiscopal residence of no mean character in the sixteenth century. This ancient mansion, however, falls more correctly to be treated of as one of the most interesting among the older features of the Cowgate. The vignette at the beginning of the chapter exhibits the richest group of mottoes to be found on any building in Edinburgh. They formed the decorations on the architrave of a decayed old stone land on the same side, near the head of the wynd. A shield, charged with armorial bearings, was sculptured on the left side of the doorway, as represented in the woodcut, with the initials E. K., and the date 1619. The building above this, at the head of the east side, was one of much more pretension externally, having a front to the wynd of polished ashlar, and a range of unusually large windows,

[1] Genealogie of the Sainte Claires of Rosslyn, p. 26.

separated only by very narrow uprights. It is decorated with string courses and rich mouldings, and forms a fine specimen of an Old-Town mansion of the sixteenth century. It is stated by Chambers to be entailed with the estate of the Clerks of Pennycuik, and to have formed the town residence of their ancestors. This we presume to have been the later residence of Alexander, fifth Lord Home; the same who entertained Queen Mary and Lord Darnley in his lodging near the Tron in 1565, and who afterwards turned the fortune of the field at the Battle of Langside, at the head of his border spearmen. He was one of the noble captives who surrendered to Sir William Durie on the taking of Edinburgh Castle in 1573. He was detained a prisoner, while his brave companions perished on the scaffold; and was only released at last after a tedious captivity, to die a prisoner at large in his own house—the same, we believe, which stood in Blackfriars' Wynd. A contemporary writer remarks:—"Wpoun the secund day of Junij [1575], Alexander Lord Home wes relevit out of the Castell of Edinburgh, and wardit in his awne lugeing in the heid of the Frier Wynd, quha wes carijt thairto in ane bed, be ressone of his great infirmitie of seiknes."[1]

Scarcely another portion of the Old Town of Edinburgh was calculated to impress the thoughtful visitor with the same melancholy feelings of a departed glory, replaced by squalor and decay, which he experienced after exploring the antiquities of the Blackfriars' Wynd. There stood the deserted and desecrated fane; the desolate mansions of proud and powerful nobles and senators; and the degraded Palace of the Primate and Cardinal, where even Scottish monarchs have been fitly entertained; and it seemed for long as if the ground which Alexander II. bestowed on the Dominican Monks, as a special act of regal munificence, was not possessed of value enough to tempt the labours of the builder.

Emerging again through the archway at the head of the wynd, which the royal master-printer *flitted* at his pleasure above three centuries ago, an ancient, though greatly modernised, tenement in the High Street to the east of the wynd attracted the notice of the local historian as the mansion of Lord President Fentonbarns, a man of humble origin, the son of a baker in Edinburgh, whose eminent abilities won him the esteem and the suffrages of its contemporaries. He owed his fortunes to the favour of James VI., by whom he was nominated to fill the office of a Lord of Session, and afterwards knighted. We are inclined to think that it is to him Montgomerie alludes in his satirical sonnets addressed to *M. J. Sharpe*—in all probability an epithet of similar origin and significance to that conferred by the Jacobites on the favourite advocate of William III. The poet had failed in a suit before the Court of Session, seemingly with James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, and he takes his revenge against "his Adversars Lawyers," like other poets, in satiric rhyme. The lack of "gentle blude" is a special handle against the plebeian judge in the eyes of the high-born poet; and his second sonnet, which is sufficiently vituperative, begins:—

A Baxter's bird, a bluiter beggar borne![2]

This old mansion was the last survivor of all the long and unbroken range of buildings between St Giles's Church and the Nether Bow. In its original state it was one of

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 348. [2] Alexander Montgomerie's Poems; complete edition, by Dr Irving, p. 74.

the very finest specimens of this ancient style of building in Edinburgh, having the main timbers and gables of its oaken façade richly carved, in the fashion of some of the magnificent old timber fronts of the opulent Flemings in Bruges or Ghent. The roof was surmounted by a range of crow-steps of the form already described as peculiar to the fifteenth or earlier part of the sixteenth centuries; and an outside stair led to the first floor, whose ancient stone turnpike staircase was decorated with the abbreviated motto, in fine ornamental Gothic characters:—DEO · HONOR · ET · GLIA ·[1] Another inscription, we are told, existed over the entrance from Toddrick's Wynd, being only covered up with plaster by a former tenant to save the expense of a signboard. A little way down this wynd, on the east side, a favourite motto appeared, in bold Roman letters, over an ancient doorway, repeating with slight variation the same sentiment already noticed in other instances. THE FEIR OF THE LORD IS THE BEGENING OF VISDOME. It occurred on an ancient tenement which bore evident tokens of having at one time been the residence of rank and fashion; and an old iron-nobbed door on one of the floors possessed the antiquated appendage of a risping pin. Toddrick's Wynd acquired a special interest from its association with a memorable deed in the bloody annals of our national history. It was by this ancient alley that the Earl of Bothwell and his merciless accomplices and hirelings proceeded towards the gate of the Blackfriars' Monastery, in the Cowgate, on the 9th of February 1567, to fire the powder by which the house of the Provost of the Kirk-of-Field was blown into the air, and Lord Darnley, with his servant, Taylor, slain.

The closes between this and the Netherbow mostly exist in the same state as they have done for the two last centuries or more, though woefully contaminated by the slovenly habits of their modern inmates; this portion of the town being occupied now by a lower class than many of the ancient alleys described in the higher part of the town. South Gray's, or the Mint Close, however, forms an exception. It is a comparatively spacious and aristocratic looking alley; and some feeble halo of its ancient honours still lingers about its substantial and picturesque mansions. It affords a curious instance of a close retaining for centuries the name of a simple burgess, while it has been the residence of nobles and representatives of ancient families, in striking contrast to the variable nomenclature of most of the alleys of the Old Town. It is mentioned by its present name in a charter dated 1512, in which "*umq*^{le} John Gray, burgess of Edinburgh," is the author of earlier titles referred to. By an older deed, the ground on which it is built appears to have formed part of the lands of the Monastery of Greyfriars. In "the Inventer and

[1] This ancient tenement is thus described in a disposition by Sir Michael Preston to Lawrence Kenrison, dated 1626, and preserved in the Burgh Charter Room:—"That tenement or land, some time waste and burnt be the English; some time pertaining to umquile Mr John Preston, some time President of the College of Justice, and my father; on the south part of the King's High Street, and on the east side of the trance of the wynd, called the Blackfriars' Wynd, betwixt the said trance and land above, pertaining to the heirs of umquile Walter Chepman, upon the west," &c. It is pointed out in Chambers's Traditions as that of Lord Fentonbarns. The allusion to its burning shows the date of its erection to be somewhat later than 1544. But it again suffered in the civil wars that followed, though probably not so completely as to preclude repair, notwithstanding its appearance among the list of houses destroyed during the siege of Edinburgh in 1572:—"Thir ar the houssis that wer distroyit this moneth (May); to wit, the Erle of Maris, now present Regent, lugeing in the Cowgait, Mr Johne Prestonis in the Frier Wynd, David Kinloch Baxteris house in Dalgleish Closs," &c.—(Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 299.) The last mentioned is that of a wealthy burgess of the period, whose name was borne by the close immediately below Niddry's Wynd, the same, we presume, that is alluded to here. Its site is now occupied by the east side of Niddry Street.

Wryts of ane lodging," &c., on the east side of the close, a charter is mentioned, dated 1456, "granted be David Rae, vicar generall; Ffindlay Ker, prior; and the rest of the Convent of Graifriers att Edinburgh, to Andrew Mowbray, burgess," of a certain piece of land on which it is built, bounded by the king's wall on the south. About halfway down the close, on the east side, stands the ancient mansion of the Earls of Selkirk, having a large garden to the south, while the principal entrance is from Hyndford's Close. The building has the appearance of great antiquity. The ground floor of the south front seems to have been an open arcade or cloister, and on the west wall a picturesque turret staircase projects from the first floor into the close. This ancient tenement has successively formed the residence of the Earls of Stirling, of the Earl of Hyndford, and, at a still later period, of Dr Rutherford, the maternal grandfather of Sir Walter Scott. Hyndford's Close, which forms the main approach to the house, retains its antique character, having on the west side a range of singularly picturesque overhanging timber gables. It is neatly paved, terminating in a small court, open at one side, and altogether presents a very pleasing specimen of the retired, old-fashioned gentility which once characterised these urban retreats. The fine old house described above, which forms the chief building in the close, possesses peculiar interest as a favourite haunt of Scott during his earlier years. Its vicinity to the High School gave it additional attractions to him, while pursuing his studies there, and he frequently referred in after life to the happy associations he had with this alley of the Old Town. A very pleasing view of the house from the garden is given in the Abbotsford edition of the great novelist's works.

To the south of this mansion, in the Mint Close, a lofty tenement, enclosing a small paved area, still bears the name of Elphinstone's Court, having been built by Sir James Elphinstone in 1679. From him it passed to Sir Francis Scott of Thirlstane, by whom it was sold to Patrick Wedderburn, Esq., who assumed the title of Lord Chesterhall on his elevation to the Bench in 1755. His son Alexander, afterwards the celebrated Lord Loughborough, Lord High Chancellor of England, disposed of it shortly after his father's death to Lord Stonefield, who sat as a judge in the Court of Session during the long period of thirty-nine years, and died in the Mint Close at the beginning of the present century; so recent is the desertion of this ancient locality by the grandees of the capital.

Various ancient tenements are to be found in the adjoining closes, of which tradition has kept no note, and we have failed to obtain any other clue to their history. One large mansion in South Foulis Close bears the date 1539 over its main doorway, with two coats of arms impaled on one large shield in the centre, but all now greatly defaced. Another, nearly opposite to it, exhibits an old oak door, ornamented with fine carving, still in tolerable preservation, although the whole place has been converted into storerooms and cellars. But adjoining this is a relic of antiquity, beside which the works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries appear but as things of yesterday, and even the ancient chapel of St Margaret in the Castle becomes a work of comparatively recent date.

In the front of a tall and narrow tenement at the Nether Bow, nearly opposite to John Knox's house, a piece of ancient sculpture has long formed one of the most noted

of the antiquities of Edinburgh. It consists of two fine profile heads, in high relief and life size, which the earliest writers on the subject pronounce to be undoubted specimens of Roman art. It was first noticed in 1727, in Gordon's valuable work on Roman Antiquities, the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, accompanied by an engraving, where he remarks:—"A very learned and illustrious antiquary here, by the ideas of the heads, judges them to be representations of the Emperor SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, and his wife JULIA. This is highly probable and consistent with the Roman history; for that the Emperor, and most of his august family, were in Scotland, appears plain in Xephiline, from Dio."[1] This idea, thus first suggested, of the heads being those of Severus and Julia, is fully warranted by their general resemblance to those on the Roman coins of that reign, and has been confirmed by the observation of every antiquary who has treated of the subject. A tablet is inserted between the heads, containing the following inscription, in antique characters:—

In sudore vultus tui vescris, pane tuo. · G · 3.[2]

This quotation from the Latin Bible, of the curse pronounced on our first parents after the fall, is no doubt the work of a very different period, and was the source of the vulgar tradition gravely combated by Maitland, our earliest local historian, that the heads were intended as representations of Adam and Eve. These pieces of ancient sculpture, which were said in his time to have been removed from a house on the north side of the street, have probably been discovered in digging the foundations of the building, and along with them the Gothic inscription—to all appearance a fragment from the ruins of the neighbouring convent of St Mary, or some other of the old monastic establishments of Edinburgh. The words of the inscription exactly correspond with the reading of Gutenberg's Bible, the first edition, printed at Mentz in 1455, and would appear an object worthy of special interest to the antiquary, were it not brought into invidious association with these valuable relics of a remoter era. The characters of the inscription leave little reason to doubt that it is the work of the same period, probably only a few years later than the printing of the Mentz Bible.

The old tenement, which is rendered interesting as the conservator of these valuable monuments of the Roman invasion, and is thus also associated in some degree with the introduction of the first printed Bible into Scotland, appears to be the same, or at least occupies the same site, with that from whence Thomas Bassendyne, our famed old Scottish typographer, issued his beautiful folio Bible in 1574. The front land, which contains the pieces of Roman sculpture, is proved from the titles to have been rebuilt about the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the room of an ancient timber-fronted land, which was "lately, of need, taken down," having no doubt fallen into ruinous decay. The back part of the tenement, however, retains unequivocal evidence of being the original building. It is approached by the same turnpike stair from the Fountain Close as gives access to

[1] Itiner. Septent. p. 186.

[2] Maitland and others have mistaken the concluding letters of the inscription, as a contraction for the date, which the former states as 1621, and a subsequent writer as 1603. Mr D. Laing was the first to point out its true meaning as a contracted form of reference to Genesis, chapter 3.—*Vide* Archæologia Scotica, vol. iii. p. 287, where a very accurate and spirited engraving of the Sculpture, by David Allan, is introduced.

the front land; and owing to the alteration in the level of floors, and other changes consequent on the wedding of this wrinkled dowager of the sixteenth century with its spruce partner of the eighteenth, an explorer of its intricate labyrinths finds himself beset by as many inconveniences as Mr Lovel experienced on his first introduction to the mitred Abbot of Trotcosey's Grange, at Monkbarns. On ascending the winding stair, by which he reaches the door of the first floor, he has then to descend another; and after threading a dark passage on this lower level, somewhat in the form of the letter Z, he reaches a third flight of steps equally zigzag in their direction, whose ascent—if he have courage to persevere so far, lands him in "that other tenement of land, commonly called the Fountain, a little above the Nether Bow, on the south side of the High Street of Edinburgh; and which tenement of land, formerly called the Backland, some time belonged to Nicol and Alexander Bassandene, lawful sons to Michael Bassandene, lying in the closs called Bassandene's Closs," &c. Such is the description of this ancient fabric, as given in the earlier title-deeds of the present proprietor. The same building is repeatedly referred to in the evidence of the accomplices of the Earl of Bothwell in the murder of Darnley, an event which took place in the lifetime of the old printer. In the deposition of George Dalgleish, one of those who was executed for his share in that crime, it is stated, that "eftir thay enterit within the [Nether Bow] Port, thai zeid up abone Bassyntine's house, on the south side of the gait, and knockit at ane dur beneth the sword slippers, and callit for the Laird of Ormestounes, and one within answerit he was not thare; and thai passit down a cloiss beneth Frier Wynd, and enterit in at the zet of the Black Friers."[1] This reference clearly indicates the tenement which we have described; the only question is, whether it was that of Thomas Bassendyne, the printer, referred to in the imprint of his rare 4to edition of Sir David Lindsay's Poems, printed in 1574, while "dwelland at the Nether Bow." In the statement of debts appended to his will,[2] there was "awand to Alesoun Tod, mother to the defunct, for half ane zeiris male of the house iiii l.;" while there was due to him, "be Michael Bassinden, bruther to the said vmquhile Thomas, of byrun annuellis, the soume of ane hundreth ten pundis." From this, it seems probable that his mother was liferented in that part of the house which formed the printer's dwelling and establishment, while the remainder, belonging to himself, was occupied by his brother. At all events he leaves in his will, "his thrid, the ane half thairof to his wyf, and the vthir half to his mother, and Michael, and his bairnes;" in which we presume to have been included the house, which we find both he and *his bairns* afterwards possessing, and for which no rent would appear to have been exacted during the lifetime of the printer.

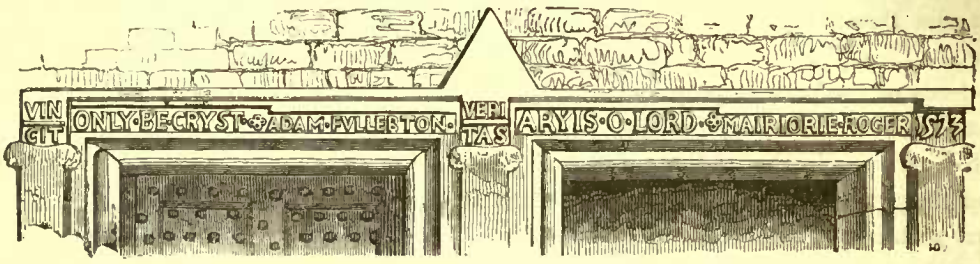
The name of the Fountain, by which the old tenement is distinguished in the titles, is curious. The well, which now bears the same name, had in all probability formerly stood either in front of this building, or more probably—from the speciality of the name, and the narrowness of the street at that point—it had formed a portion of the building itself; for it is not styled the Fountain Land, according to usual custom, but simply *The Fountain.* In the evidence of the Earl of Bothwell's accomplices, already referred to, it is stated by William Powrie, that after "thai hard the crack, thai past away togidder out at the Frier Yet, and sinderit quhen thai came to the Cowgate, pairt up the Blackfrier

[1] Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, Supplement, p. 495.

[2] Bannatyne Misc., vol. ii. p. 202.

Wynd, and pairt up the cloiss which is under the Endmyleis Well."[1] Whether this be the same well is doubtful, as no close lower down appears as a thoroughfare in early or later maps; it is evident, however, that the name of the Fountain Close is derived from some other, and probably much more important, conduit than the plain structure beside John Knox's house, which has long borne the same designation.

On the east side of the close, directly opposite the entrance to Bassendyne's house, an ancient entrance of a highly ornamental character appears. It consists of two doorways, with narrow pilasters on each side supporting the architrave, which is adorned with a variety of inscriptions, as represented in the accompanying woodcut, and altogether forms a remarkably neat and elegant design. This is the mansion of Adam Fullerton, whose



name is carved over the left doorway—an eminent and influential citizen in the reign of Queen Mary, and an active colleague and coadjutor of Edward Hope in the cause of the Reformation. In 1561, his name appears as one of the bailies of Edinburgh, who, along with Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, the provost, laid hold of a poor craftsman who had been guilty of the enormity of playing Robin Hood, and condemned him to be hanged—a procedure which ended in the mob becoming masters of the town, and compelling the magistrates to sue for the mediation of the Governor of the Castle, and at length fairly to succumb to the rioters.[2] Only two months after this commotion, Queen Mary landed at Leith, and was loyally entertained by the town of Edinburgh—Adam Fullerton, doubtless, taking a prominent part among her civic hosts. In the General Assembly held at Leith, January 16, 1571, his name occurs as commissioner of the town of Edinburgh.[3] On the 23d of June following, during the memorable siege of Edinburgh by the Regent Mar, in the name of the infant King, the burgesses of the capital who favoured the Regent, to the number of two hundred men, united themselves into a band, and passing privately to Leith, which was then held by the Regent's forces; they there made choice of Adam Fullerton for their captain.[4] The consequence of this was his being "denuncit our souerane ladies rebell, and put to the horne" on the 18th of August following;[5] and "vpoun the tuantie nynt day of the said moneth, James Duke of Chattellarault, George Erle of Huntlie, Alexander Lord Home, accumpanyit with diuerse prelatis and barronis, past to the tolbuith of Edinburgh; and thair sittand in parliament, the thrie estaitts being convenit, foirfaltit Matho Erle of Lennox, James Erle of Mortoun, John Erle of Mar," and many other nobles, knights, and burgesses, of the Parliament, foremost among the latter of whom is Adam Fullerton, burgess of Edinburgh, "and decernit ilk ane of thame to

[1] Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, Supplement, p. 567.
[2] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 283; ante, p. 69.
[3] Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 208.
[4] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 227. Ibid, p. 239.

have tint and foirfaltit thair lyvis, lands, aud guidis, aud ordaynit thair armes to be riffin, and thair names and armes to be eleidit out of the buikis thairof for euer."[1] The outlawed burgess's house in the Fountain Close appears to have been immediately seized by his opponents as a forfeiture to the Queen, in whose name they acted, and to have been converted into a battery and stronghold for assailing the enemy, for which its lofty character and vicinity to the city wall peculiarly fitted it. A contemporary historian relates that "the Regent, Johne Erle of Mar, for beseageing of the toun of Edinburgh, cawsit nyne pece of ordonance, great aud small, be broght to the Cannogait, to have assailzeit the east port of the toun; bot that place was not thoght commodious, wharefore the gunnis war transportit to a fauxburg of the toun, callit Pleasands; and thairfra they laid to thair batterie aganis the toun walls, whilk began the tent of September, and shot at a platfurme whilk was erectit upon a housheid, perteining to Adame Fullartoun."[2]

This desperate and bloody civil war was happily of brief duration. Adam Fullarton speedily returned to his house at the Nether Bow; and while the English forces under Sir William Durie were casting up trenches and planting cannon for the siege of Edinburgh Castle in the name of the young King, he was again chosen a burgess of the Parliament which assembled in the Tolbooth on the 26th of April 1573.[3] This date corresponds with that carved on the lintel of the old mansion in the Fountain Close. It may be doubted, however, whether it indicates more than its repair, as it is expressly mentioned by the contemporary already quoted, that "thaj did litill or na skaith to the said hous and platforme."[4] We can hardly doubt that this ancient tenement will be viewed with increasing interest by our local antiquaries, associated as it is with so important a period of national history. The *vincit veritas* of the brave old burgher acquires a new force when we consider the circumstances that dictated its inscription, and the desperate struggle in which he had borne a leading part, before he returned to carve these pious aphorisms over the threshold that had so recently been held by his enemies. It only remains to be mentioned of the Fountain Close, that it formed, at a very recent period, the only direct access from the High Street to the Cowgate Chapel, while that was the largest and most fashionable Episcopal Chapel in Edinburgh.

Immediately below this is the Marquis of Tweeddale's Close, whose large mansion still remains at the foot of it, though long since deserted by its noble occupants. It is mentioned by Defoe among the princely buildings of Edinburgh, "with a plantation of lime trees behind it, the place not allowing room for a large garden."[5] This, however, must have been afterwards remedied, as its pleasure grounds latterly extended down to the Cowgate. Successive generations of the Tweeddale family have occupied this house, which continued to be their town residence till the general desertion of the Scottish capital by the nobility soon after the Union. The old mansion still retains many traces of former magnificence, notwithstanding the rude changes to which it has been since subjected. Its builder and first occupant was Lady Yester, the pious founder of the church in Edinburgh that bears her name.[6] By her it was presented to her grandson, John, second Earl of

[1] Diurn. of Occurrents, p. 244. [2] Hist. of James the Sext, Bann. Club, p. 94.
[3] Diurn. of Occ., p. 331. [4] Hist. of James the Sext, p. 251. [5] Defoe's Tour, vol. iv. p. 86.
[6] Dame Margaret Ker, Lady Yester, third daughter of Mark, first Earl of Lothian, was born in 1572, the year of John Knox's death, so that Tweeddale House is a building of the early part of the seventeenth century. Among the

Tweeddale, a somewhat versatile politician, who joined the standard of Charles I. at Nottingham, in 1642, during the lifetime of his father. He afterwards adopted the popular cause, and fought at the head of a Scottish troop at the Battle of Marston Moor. He assisted at the coronation of Charles II. at Scone, and sat thereafter in Cromwell's Parliament as member for the county of Haddington. He was sworn a privy councillor to the King on his restoration, and continued in the same by James VII. He lived to take an active share in the Revolution, and to fill the office of High Chancellor of Scotland under William III., by whom he was created Marquis of Tweeddale, and afterwards appointed High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament in 1695, while the grand project of the Darien expedition was pending. He died at Edinburgh before that scheme was carried out, and is perhaps as good a specimen as could be selected of the *weathercock politician* of uncertain times. The last noble occupant of the old mansion at the Nether Bow was, we believe, the fourth Marquis, who held the office of Secretary of State for Scotland from 1742 until its abolition. The fine old gardens, which descended by a succession of ornamental terraces to the Cowgate, were destroyed to make way for the Cowgate Chapel, now also forsaken by its original founders. This locality possesses a mysterious interest to our older citizens, the narrow alley that leads into Tweeddale Court having been the scene, in 1806, of the murder of Begbie, a porter of the British Linen Company's Bank—an occurrence which ranks, among the gossips of the Scottish capital, with the Ikon Basilike, or the Man in the Iron Mask. Tweeddale House was at that time occupied by the British Linen Banking Company, and as Begbie was entering the close in the dusk of the evening, having in his possession £4392, which he was bringing from the Leith Branch, he was stabbed directly to the heart with the blow of a knife, and the whole money carried off, without any clue being found to the perpetrator of the deed. A reward of five hundred guineas was offered for his discovery, but although some of the notes were found concealed in the grounds of Bellevue, in the neighbourhood of the town, no trace of the murderer could be obtained. There is little doubt, however, that the assassin was James Mackoull, a native of London, and "a thief by profession," who had the hardihood to return to Edinburgh the following year, and take up his residence in Rose Street under the name of Captain Moffat. He was afterwards implicated in the robbery of the Paisley Union Bank, when £20,000 were successfully carried off; and though, after years of delay, he was at length convicted and condemned to be executed, the hardy villain obtained a reprieve, and died in Edinburgh Jail fourteen years after the perpetration of the undiscovered murder. The exact spot on which this mysterious deed was effected is pointed out to the curious. The murderer must have stood within the entry to a stair on the right side of the close, at the step of which Begbie bled to death undiscovered, though within a few feet of the most crowded thoroughfare in the town. The lovers of the marvellous may still be found occasionally recurring to this riddle, and not-

list of Lady Yester's "Mortifications" (MS. Advoc. Lib.) is the following:—"At Edinburgh built and repaired ane great lodging, in the south side of the High Street, near the Nether Bow, and mortified out of the same ane yearly an: rent 200 m. for the poor in the hospital beside the College kirk y^{r}; and yrafter having resolved to bestow ye s^{d} lodging, with the whole furniture yrin to Jo: now E. of Tweeddale, her oy, by consent of the Town Council, ministers, and kirk sessions, she redeemed the s^{d} lodging, and freed it, by payment of 2000 merks, and left the s^{d} lodging only burdened with 40 m. yearly."

withstanding the elucidation of it referred to above, the question remains with most of them as interesting and mysterious as at first, "Who murdered Begbie?"

This eastern nook of the Old Town has other associations with men eminent for talents and noted for their deeds, though tradition has neglected to assign the exact tenements wherein they dwelt of yore, while mingling with the living crowd. Here was the abode of Robert Lekprevik, another of our early Scottish printers, to whom it is probable that Bassendyne succeeded, on his removal to St Andrews in 1570. Here, too, appears to have been the lodging of Archbishop Sharp. Nicoll tells us that the newly-consecrated bishops, on the 8th of May 1662, "being all convenit in the Bishop of St Androis hous, neir to the Neddir Bow, come up all in their gownis, and come to the Parliament, quha wer resavit with much honour, being convoyit fra the Archebischop of Sant Androis hous with 2 erles, viz., the Erle of Kellie and the Erle of Weymis." Of scarce less interest is the history of a humble barber and wig-maker, who carried on business at the Nether Bow, where his gifted son, William Falconer, the author of "The Shipwreck," is believed to have been born about 1730. Here, at least, was his home and playground during his early years, while he shared in the sports and frolics of the rising generation; all but himself long since at rest in forgotten graves.

World's End Close is the appropriate title of the last alley before we reach the site of the Nether Bow Port, that terminated of old the boundaries of the walled capital, and separated it from its courtly rival, the Burgh of Canongate. It is called, in the earliest title-deed we have seen connected with it, Sir James Stanfield's Close;[1] and though the greater part of it has been recently rebuilt, it still retains a few interesting traces of former times. Over the doorway of a modern land, a finely carved piece of open tracery is built into the wall, apparently the top of a very rich Gothic niche, similar to those in Blyth's Close and elsewhere; and on the lintel of an old land at the foot of the close, there is a shield of arms, now partly defaced, and this variation of the common motto:—PRAISZE . THE . LORD . FOR . AL . HIS . GIFTIS . M . S . With which pious ascription we bid adieu for a time to Old Edinburgh, properly so called, and pass into the ancient Royal Burgh of Canongate.

[1] This, we presume, was Sir James Stanfield of Newmills, or Amesfield, whose death took place in 1688, under circumstances of peculiar mystery. He was found drowned, and suspicion being excited by a hasty funeral, and the fact, as was alleged, that his wife had the grave clothes all ready for him before his death, the Privy Council appointed two surgeons to examine the body, who reported that the corpse bled on being touched by his eldest son, Philip. His servants were apprehended and put to the torture, without eliciting any further proof, and yet, on very vague circumstantial evidence, added to the miraculous testimony of the murdered man, the son—a notorious profligate—was condemned to death, and hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh. His tongue was cut out for cursing his father, his right hand struck off for parricide, his head exposed on the east port of Haddington, as nearest the scene of the murder, and his body hung in chains on the Gallow-lee, between Edinburgh and Leith. He died denying his guilt, and Fountainhall adds, after recording sundry miraculous evidences against him: "This is a dark case of divination, to be remitted to the great day; only it is certain he was a bad youth, and may serve as a beacon to all profligate persons."

CHAPTER VII.

THE CANONGATE AND ABBEY SANCTUARY.

THE ancient Burgh of Canongate may claim as its founder the sainted David I., by whom the Abbey of Holyrood was planted in the Forest of Drumselch early in the twelfth century, as a shrine for the miraculous cross which the royal hunter so unexpectedly obtained within its sylvan glades. It sprung up wholly independent of the neighbouring capital, gathering as naturally around the consecrated walls of the monastery, whose dependents and vassals were its earliest builders, as did its warlike neighbour shelter itself under the overhanging battlements of the more ancient fortress. Something of a native-born character seems to have possessed these rivals, and exhibited itself in very legible phazes in their after history; each of them retaining distinctive marks of their very different parentage.[1]

In the year 1450, when James II. granted to the lieges his charter, empowering them "to fosse, bulwark, wall, toure, turate, and otherwise to strengthen" his Burgh of Edinburgh, because of their "dreid of the evil and skeith of oure enemies of England," these ramparts extended no further eastward than the Nether Bow. Open fields, in all probability, then lay outside the gate, dividing from it the township of the neighbouring Abbey; and although at a later period a suburb would appear to have been built beyond the walls, so that the jurisdiction of the towu was claimed within the Burgh of Canongate so far as St John's Cross, no attempt was made to secure or to

[1] The Magistrates of the Canongate claimed a feudal lordship over the property of the burgh, as the successors of its spiritual superiors, most of the title-deeds running thus:—"To be holden of the Magistrates of the Canongate, as come in place of the Monastery of Holycross."

VIGNETTE—Canongate Tolbooth.

protect it in any later extension of the fortifications of the capital. Towards this suburb, the Burgh of the Canons of Holyrood gradually progressed westward, until, as now, one unbroken line of houses extended from the Castle to the Abbey.

It seems strange that no attempt should have been made, either in the disastrous year 1513, when the Cowgate was enclosed, or at any subsequent period, to include the Canongate and the royal residence within the extended military defences. It only affords, however, additional evidence that the marked difference in the origin of each maintained an influence even after the lapse of centuries.[1] The probability is, that greater confidence was reposed both by clergy and laity in the sanctity of the monks of Holyrood than in the martial prowess of their vassals. Nor did such reliance prove misplaced, until, in the year 1544, the hosts of Henry VIII. ravaged the distracted and defenceless kingdom, under the guidance of the Earl of Hertford, to whom the Monk's cowl and the Abbot's mitre were even less sacred than the jester's suit of motley. There is little reason to think that a single fragment of building prior to that invasion exists in the Canongate, apart from the remains of the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood. The return of Queen Mary, however, to Scotland in 1561, and the permanent residence of the Court at Holyrood, gave a new impetus to the capital and its suburban neighbour. The earliest date now to be found on any private building is that of 1565, which occurs on an ancient tenement at the head of Dunbar's Close; and is characterised by features of antiquity no less strongly marked than those on any of the most venerable fabrics in the burgh.

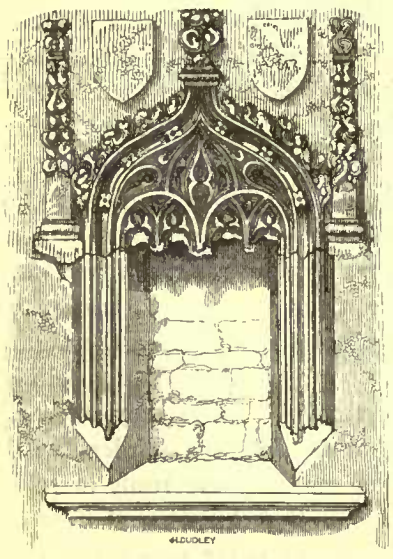
The rival Parliament which assembled here during the siege of the capital in 1571, under the Regent Lennox, "in William Oikis hous in the Cannongat, within the freidom of Edinburgh, albeit the samyne wes nocht within the portis thairof," has already been referred to.[2] But an ingenious stratagem which was tried by the besiegers shortly afterwards, for the purpose of surprising the town, forms one of the most interesting incidents connected with this locality. This "slicht of weir" is thus narrated by the contemporary diarist already quoted:—Upon the 22d day of August 1571, my Lord Regent and the nobles professing the King's authority, seeing they could not obtain entry into the burgh of Edinburgh, caused several bands of soldiers to proceed from Leith during the night and conceal themselves in the closes and adjoining houses immediately without the Nether Bow Port, while a considerable reserve force was collected at the Abbey, ready on a concerted signal from their trumpets to hasten to their aid. On the following morning, about five o'clock, when it was believed the night watch would be withdrawn, six soldiers, disguised as millers, approached the Port, leading a file of horses laden with sacks of meal, which were to be thrown down as they entered, so as to impede the closing of the gates; and while they assailed the warders with weapons they wore concealed under their disguise, the men in ambush were ready to rush out and storm the town. But, says the diarist, "the eternall God, knawing the cruell murther that wald haue bene done and committit vpoun innocent pover personis of the said burgh, wald not thole this interpryse to tak successe, bot eviu quhen the said meill

[1] The Canongate appears to have been so far enclosed as to answer ordinary municipal purposes. It had its gates, which were shut at night, as is shown further on, but the walls do not seem to have partaken in any degree of the character of military defences, and were never attempted to be held out against an enemy.

[2] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 214; *vide* ante, p. 82.

wes almaist at the port, and the said men of weare standand in clois heids in readines to haue enterit at the bak of the samyne, movit Thomas Barrie to pass furth of the port, doun to the Cannogait, to have sene his awne hous, quhair in his said passage he persavit the saidis ambushmentis of men of weare, and with celeritie returnit and warnit the watchemen and keiparis of the said port; quhilk causit thame to steik the samin quicklie, and sua this devyse and interpryse tuke na prosperous effect."[1] The citizens took warning from this, and built another gate within the outer port to secure them against any such surprise. There is something amusingly simple both in the ambuscade of the besiegers, and its discovery by the honest burgher while taking his quiet morning's stroll beyond the walls. But the whole incidents of the siege display an almost total ignorance of the science of war, or of the use of the engines they had at command. The besiegers gallop up Leith Wynd and down St Mary's Wynd, on their way to Dalkeith, seemingly unmolested by the burgher watch, who overlooked them from the walls; or they valorously drag their artillery up the Canongate, and after venturing a few shots at the Nether Bow they drag them back, regarding it as a feat of no little merit to get them safely home again.

Many houses still remain scattered about the main street and the lanes of the Canongate which withstood these vicissitudes of the Douglas wars; and one which has been described to us by its owner as of old styled *the Parliament House*, may possibly be that of William Oikis, wherein the Regent Lennox, with the Earls of Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Crawford, Menteith, and Buchan; the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay and others assembled, and after pronouncing the doom of forefaulture against William Maitland, younger of Lethington, and the chief of their opponents, adjourned the Parliament to meet again at Stirling. This house,[2] which was situated on the west side of the Old Flesh Market Close, presented externally as mean and uninviting an appearance as might well be conceived. An inspection of its interior, however, furnished unquestionable evidence both of its former magnificence and its early date. The house before its entire demolition was in the most wretched state of decay, and was one of the very last buildings in Edinburgh that a superficial observer would have singled out for any assemblage except a parliament of jolly beggars; but on penetrating to an inner lobby of its gloomy interior, a large and curiously carved niche was discovered, of the same character as those described in the Guise Palace. The workmanship of it, as will be seen in the accompanying view, though in a style apparently somewhat later, is much more elaborate than any of those previously noticed, except the largest one on the east side of



[1] Diurn. of Occurrents, pp. 239, 240.

[2] The house, with several of the adjoining closes here referred to, has been taken down, at the instance of the City Improvements' Commission.

Blyth's Close. Directly opposite to this, but separated from it by modern partitions, a large Gothic fireplace remained, decorated with rich mouldings and clustered pillars at the sides. On the occasion referred to, the burgesses and the garrison of the Castle used their utmost efforts to compel the Regent's advisers to adjourn. Cannon were planted in the Blackfriars' Yards, as well as on the walls, to batter this novel Parliament House; and the Castle guns were plied with such effect as "did greit skaith in the heid of the Cannogait to the houssis thairof.[1]"

The adjoining closes to the eastward abounded, a few years since, with ancient timber-fronted tenements of a singularly picturesque character; but the value of property became for a time so much depreciated in this neighbourhood that the whole were abandoned by their owners to ruinous decay. When making a drawing of a group of them some years ago, which presented peculiarly attractive features for the pencil, we were amused to observe more than one weather-worn intimation of *Lodgings to Let*, enlivening the fronts of tenements which probably not even the most needy or fearless mendicant would have ventured to occupy, though their hospitable doors stood wide to second the liberal invitation. When we next visited them, the whole mass had tumbled to ruin, leaving only here and there a sculptured doorway and a defaced inscription to indicate their importance in other times, several of which remained till lately both in Coul's and the Old High School Closes. To the east of the latter there stood, till within the last few years, a fine old stone land, with its main front in Mid Common Close, adorned with dormer windows, string courses, and other architectural decorations of an early period. Over one of the windows on the first floor, the following devout confession of faith was cut in large Roman characters:—I . TAKE . THE . LORD . JESVS . AS . MY . ONLY . ALL . SVFFICIENT . PORTION . TO . CONTENT . ME . 1614. This tenement, however, shared the fate of its less substantial neighbours, having been pulled down for other buildings.

The Old High School Close derived its name from a large and handsome mansion which stood in an open court at the foot, and was occupied for many years as the High School of the Burgh. The building was ornamented with dormer windows, and a neat pediment in the centre, bearing a sun dial, with the date 1704. The school dated from a much remoter era, however, than this would imply; it appears to have been founded in connection with the Abbey, long before a similar institution existed in the capital. It is referred to in a charter granted by James V. in 1529; and Henryson, once the pupil of Vocat, clerk and orator of the Convent of Holyrood, is named as having successfully taught the Grammar School of the Burgh of Canongate. Repeated notices of it occur in the Burgh Records, *e.g.*:—"5 *April* 1580.—The quhilk day compeirit Gilbert Tailyeour, skuilmaister, and renuncit and dimittit his gift grauntit to him be Adame Bischope of

[1] Contemporary allusions to this Parliament render it more likely that its place of meeting was on the south side of the street, as it was battered from the Blackfriars' Yards. Moreover, it seems probable that the whole of the north side was an undisputed part of the Burgh of Canongate, as it now is of the parish; while on the south its parochial bounds extend no further westward than St John's Cross. In the Act of Parliament of 1540 (ante, p. 44), the Abbot of Holyrood is referred to as the acknowledged superior of the east side of Leith Wynd. The old house is, at any rate, one which existed at the period, and was then a mansion of no mean note. The occupants of it some thirty years ago used to tell the usual story of Queen Mary having resided there, and professed to point out her chapel, with the confessional—a place certainly constructed with some suitableness for such a purpose—the site of the altar, the priest's robing-room, &c., and all in a crazy attic, which, long before its final destruction, seemed to have been deserted as past hope of repair.

Orkney, of the ryght of the Grammar Schole during his lyftyme, in favouris of the baillies and counsall," who accordingly restored it to him, "to be haldin of thame, as thai quha hes undoutit ryght to dispone the samyne."[1] At the head of Rae's Close, a little further to the eastward, another long and interesting inscription of the same period, though earlier in its style, is inscribed over the entrance to the close. It consists of the following prayer:—

MISERERE MEI DOMINE; A PECATO, PROBRO, DEBITO,
ET MORTE SUBITA, ME LIBERA. 1·6·1·8·

This, which is one of the most beautiful inscriptions of the Old Town, has been recently partially concealed by a modern shop front; but the whole is given, with a slight variation, in the *Theatrum Mortalium*.[2] Immediately adjoining this, another stone tenement of similar character presents its antique gabled façade to the street, adorned with a curious figure of a turbaned Moor occupying a pulpit, projecting from a recess over the second floor. Various romantic stories are told of the Morocco Land, as this ancient tenement is styled. The following is as complete an outline of the most consistent of them as we have been able to gather, though it is scarcely necessary to premise that it rests on very different authority from some of the historical associations previously noticed:—

During one of the tumultuous outbreaks for which the mob of Edinburgh has rendered itself noted at all periods, and which occurred soon after the accession of Charles I. to his father's throne, the provost—who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the rioters—was assaulted, his house broken into and fired, and mob law completely established in the town. On the restoration of order several of the rioters were seized, and, among others, Andrew Gray, a younger son of the Master of Gray, whose descendants now inherit the ancient honours and title of that family. He was convicted as the ringleader of the mob, and, notwithstanding the exertions of powerful friends, such was the influence of the provost—who was naturally exasperated by the proceedings of the rioters—that young Gray was condemned to be executed within a day or two after his trial. The last day of his doomed life had drawn to a close, and the scaffold was already preparing at the Cross for his ignominious death; but the Old Tolbooth showed, as usual, its proper sense of the privileges of gentle blood. That very night he effected his escape by means of a rope and file conveyed to him by a faithful vassal, who had previously drugged a posset for the sentinel at *the Purses*, and effectually put a stop to his interference. A boat lay at the foot of one of the neighbouring closes, by which he was ferried over the North Loch; and long before the town gates were opened on the following morning, a lessening

[1] Register of the Burgh of the Canongate; Maitland Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 345.

[2] Monteith's *Theatrum Mortalium*, p. 248, where the last two words are incorrectly transposed. Rae's Close appears, from repeated references to it in the Register of the Burgh, to have been the only open thoroughfare at that period between Leith Wynd and the Water Gate. *e.g.*, Orders are given, 6th December 1568, "to caus big vpe the fuit of Ra Close." Again, 18th October 1574, "The Baillois and Counsale ordains thair Thesaurer to big and upput ane yett upon Rais Close, and mak the samyn lokfast," a charge for which afterwards appears in the Treasurer's accounts. Malt. Misc. vol. ii. pp. 316, 330, 336. Even in 1647, when Gordon's bird's-eye view was drawn, only one other thoroughfare appears, and nearly the whole ground lying behind the row of houses in the main street consists of open gardens, with a wall running along the North Back of the Canongate.

sail near the mouth of the Firth told to the watchful eye of his vassal that Andrew Gray was safe beyond pursuit.

Years passed over, and the sack of the obnoxious Provost's house, as well as the escape of the ringleader, had faded from the minds of all save some of his own immediate relatives. Gloom and terror now pervaded the streets of the capital. It was the terrible year 1645—the last visitation of the pestilence to Edinburgh—when, as tradition tells us, grass grew thickly about the Cross, once as crowded a centre of thoroughfare as Europe had to boast of. Maitland relates that, such was the terror that prevailed at this period, debtors incarcerated in the Tolbooth were set at large; all who were not freemen were compelled, under heavy penalties, to leave the town; until at length, "by the unparalleled ravages committed by the plague, it was spoiled of its inhabitants to such a degree that there were scarce sixty men left capable of assisting in defence of the town, in case of an attack."[1] The common council ordered the town walls to be repaired, and a party of the train bands to guard them, an immediate attack being dreaded from the victorious army of Montrose. They strove to provide against the more insidious assaults of their dreadful enemy within, by agreeing with Joannes Paulitius, M.D., to visit the infected, on a salary of eighty pounds Scots per month.[2] In the midst of all these preparations, a large armed vessel of curious form and rigging was seen to sail up the Firth, and cast anchor in Leith Roads. The vessel was pronounced by experienced seamen to be an Algerine rover, and all was consternation and dismay, both in the seaport and the neighbouring capital. A detachment of the crew landed, and proceeded immediately towards Edinburgh, which they approached by the Water Gate, and passing up the High Street of the Canongate, demanded admission at the Nether Bow Port. The Magistrates entered into parley with their leader, and offered to ransom the city on exorbitant terms, warning them, at the same time, of the dreadful scourge to which they would expose themselves if they entered the plague-stricken city—but all in vain.

Sir John Smith, the Provost at the time, withdrew to consult with the most influential citizens in this dilemma, who volunteered large contributions towards the ransom of the town. He returned to the Nether Bow, accompanied by a body of them, among whom was his own brother-in-law, Sir William Gray, one of the wealthiest citizens of the period. Negotiations were resumed, and seemingly with more effect. A large ransom was agreed to be received, on condition that the son of the Provost should be delivered up to the leader of the pirates. It seems, however, that the Provost's only child was a daughter, who then lay stricken of the plague, of which her cousin, Egidia Gray, had recently died. This information seemed to work an immediate change on the leader of the Moors. After some conference with his men, he intimated his possession of an elixir of wondrous potency, and demanded that the Provost's daughter should be entrusted to his skill; engaging, if he did not cure her, immediately to embark with his men, and free the city without ransom. After considerable parley, the Provost proposed that the leader should enter the city, and take up his abode in his house; but this he peremptorily refused, rejecting at the same time all offers of still higher ransom, which the distracted father was now prepared to make.

[1] Maitland, p. 85.

[2] Ibid, p. 85.

Sir John Smith at length yielded to the exhortations of his friends, who urged him in so dreadful an alternative to accept the offer of the Moor. The fair invalid was borne on a litter to the house near the head of the Canongate where he had taken up his abode, and, to the astonishment and delight of her father, she was restored to him shortly afterwards safe and well.

The denouement of this singular story bears that the Moorish leader and physician proved to be Andrew Gray, who, after being captured by pirates, and sold as a slave,[1] had won the favour of the Emperor of Morocco, and risen to rank and wealth in his service. He had returned to Scotland, bent on revenging his own early wrongs on the Magistrates of Edinburgh, when, to his surprise, he found in the destined object of his special vengeance, a relative of his own. The remainder of the tale is soon told. He married the Provost's daughter, and settled down a wealthy citizen of the Burgh of Canongate. The house to which his fair patient was borne, and whither he afterwards brought her as his bride, is still adorned with an effigy of his royal patron, the Emperor of Morocco; and the tenement has ever since borne the name of Morocco Land. It is added that he had vowed never to enter the city but sword in hand; and having abandoned all thoughts of revenge, he kept the vow till his death, having never again passed the threshold of the Nether Bow Port. We only add, that we do not pretend to guarantee this romantic legend of the Burgh; all we have done has been to put into a consistent whole the different versions related to us. We have had the curiosity to obtain a sight of the title-deeds of the property, which prove to be of recent date. The earliest, a disposition of 1731, so far confirms the tale, that the proprietor at that date is John Gray, merchant, a descendant, it may be, of the Algerine rover and the Provost's daughter. The figure of the Moor has ever been a subject of popular admiration and wonder, and a variety of legends are told to account for its existence. Most of them, however, though differing in almost every other point, seem to agree in connecting it with the last visitation of the plague.

A little to the eastward of Morocco Land, two ancient buildings of less dimensions in every way than the more recent erections beside them, and the eastern one, more especially of a singularly antique character, form striking features among the architectural elevations in the street. The latter, indeed, is one of the most noticeable relics of the olden time still remaining among the private dwellings of the burgh. It is described in the titles as that tenement of land called Oliver's Land, partly stone and partly timber; and is one of the very best specimens of this mixed style of building that now remains. The gables are finished with the earliest form of crowstep, considerably ornamented. A curiously moulded dormer window, of an unusual form, rises into the roof; while, attached to the floor below,

[1] Numerous references will be found in the records of the seventeenth century to similar slavery among the Moors. In "Selections from the Registers of the Presbytery of Lanark," Abbotsford Club, 1839, is the following:—"27th Oct. 1625.—The quilk day ane letter ressavit from the Bishope for ane contributioun to be collectit for the releaff of some folks of Queinsfarie and Kingorne, deteinet under slaverie by the Turks at Salie." Again, in the "Minutes of the Synod of Fyfe," printed for the same Club:—"2d April 1616, Anent the supplication proponed be Mr Williame Wedderburne, minister at Dundee, making mentione, that whairas the Lordis of his Hienes' Privie Counsell being certanelie informed that Androw Robertson, Johne Cowie, Johne Dauling, James Pratt, and their complices, marineris, indwellaris in Leyth, being laitlie upon the coast of Barbarie, efter ane cruell and bloodie conflict, were overcome and led into captivitie be certane merciless Turkes, who presented them to open mercatt at Algiers in Barbarie, to be sawld as slaves to the cruell barbarians," &c.

an antique timber projection is thrown out as a covered gallery, within which there is a very large fireplace on the external front of the stone wall, proving, as previously pointed out, that the timber work is part of the original plan of the building. The first floor is approached as usual by an outer stair, at the top of which a very beautifully moulded doorway affords entrance to a stone turnpike, forming the internal communication to the different floors. A rich double cornice encircles this externally, and beneath it is the inscription in antique ornamental characters:—SOLI · DEO · HONOR · ET · GLORIA. Owing to the protection afforded by the deep mouldings and the timber additions, this inscription has been safely preserved from injury, and remains nearly as sharp and fresh as when cut. The character of the letters corresponds with other inscriptions dating early in the sixteenth century, and the whole building is a very perfect specimen of the best class of mansions at that period. The interior, though described in the titles as having "a fore chamber and gallery, a chamber of dais," &c., has in reality accommodations only of the very homeliest description, each floor consisting of a simple and moderately-sized single apartment, subdivided by such temporary wooden partitions as the convenience of later tenants has suggested. It appears to have been the mansion of John the second son of Lawrence, fourth Lord Oliphant, an active adherent of Queen Mary. His elder brother, who is styled Master of Oliphant, joined the Ruthven conspirators in 1582, and perished shortly afterwards with the vessel and whole crew, when fleeing from the kingdom. The other tenement, apparently of equal antiquity, and similar in style of construction, though with fewer noticeable features, adjoins it on the west. It formed, at a somewhat later date, the residence of Lord David Hay of Belton, to whom that barony was secured in succession by a charter granted to his father, John, second Earl of Tweeddale, in 1687. The locality, indeed, appears from the ancient deeds to have been one of honourable resort down to a comparatively recent period, as knights and men of good family occur among the occupants during the eighteenth century. The boundaries of the house are defined on the north "by the stone tenement of land some time belonging to the Earl of Angus." Only a portion of the walls of this noble dwelling now remains, which probably was the town residence of David, the eighth Earl, and brother of the Regent Morton. At the latest, it must have formed the mansion of his son Archibald, ninth Earl of Angus, the last of the Douglases who bore that title. As nephew and ward of the Regent Morton, he was involved in his fall. After his death he fled to England, where he was honourably entertained by Queen Elizabeth, and became the friend and confident of Sir Philip Sidney while writing his Arcadia.[1] He afterwards returned to Scotland, and bore his full share in the troubles of the time. He died in 1588, the victim, as was believed, of witchcraft. Godscroft tells that Barbara Napier in Edinburgh was tried and found guilty, though she escaped execution; and "Anna Simson, a famous witch, is reported to have confessed at her death that a picture of wax was brought to her, having A.D. written on it, which, as they said to her, did signify Archibald Davidson; and she, not thinking of the Earl of Angus, whose name was Archibald Douglas, and might have been called Davidson, because his father's name was David, did consecrate, or execrate it after her form, which, she said, if she had known to have represented him, she would not have done it

[1] Hume of Godscroft's History of the Douglases, p. 362.

for all the world."[1] It was the fate of this old mansion of the Earls of Angus to be linked at its close in the misfortunes of a Douglas. It formed during last century the banking-house of Douglas, Heron, & Company, whose failure spread dismay and suffering through a widely-scattered circle, involving both high and low in its ruin. The Chapel of Ease in New Street, erected in 1794, now partly occupies the site. Several other interesting relics of the olden time were destroyed to make way for this ungainly ecclesiastical edifice. One of these appears from the titles to have been the residence of Henry Kinloch, a wealthy burgess of the Canongate, to whose hospitable care the French ambassador was consigned by Queen Mary in 1565. An old diarist of the period relates, that "Vpoun Monunday the ferd day of Februar, the zeir of God foirsaid, thair come ane ambassatour out of the realm of France, callit Monsieur Rambollat, with xxxvj horse in tryne, gentilmen, throw Ingland, to Halyrudhous, quhair the King and Queenis Majesties wes for the tyme, accumpanyit with thair nobillis. And incontinent efter his lychting the said ambassatour gat presens of thair graces, and thairefter depairtit to Henrie Kynloches lugeing in the Cannogait besyid Edinburgh." A few days afterwards, "The Kingis Majestie [Lord Darnley], accumpanyit with his nobillis in Halyrudhous, ressavit the ordour of knychtheid of the cokill fra the said Rambollat, with great magnificence. And the samin nycht at evin, our soueranis maid ane banket to the ambassatour foirsaid, in the auld chappell of Halyrudhous, quhilk wes reapparrellit with fyne tapestrie, and hung magnificentlie, the said lordis maid the maskery efter supper in ane honrable manner. And vpoun the ellevint day of the said moneth, the King and Quene in lyik manner bankettit the samin ambassatour; and at evin our soueranis maid the maskrie and mumschance, in the quhilk *the Queenis grace, and all her maries and ladies wer all cled in men's apperrell;* and everie ane of thame presentit ane quhingar, bravelie and maist artificiallie made and embroiderit with gold, to the said ambassatour and his gentlemen."[2] On the following day the King and Queen were entertained, along with the ambassador and his suite, at a splendid banquet provided for them in the Castle by the Earl of Mar; and on the second day thereafter, Monsieur Rambollat bade adieu to the Court of Holyrood. It is to be regretted that an accurate description cannot now be obtained of the burgher mansion which was deemed a fitting residence for one whom the Queen delighted to honour, and for whose entertainment such unwonted masquerades were enacted. It was probably quite as homely a dwelling as those of the same period that still remain in the neighbourhood. The sole memorial of it that now remains is the name of the alley running between the two ancient front lands previously described, through which the ambassador and his noble visitors must have passed, and which is still called Kinloch's Close after their burgher host.

New Street, which is itself a comparatively recent feature of the old burgh, is a curious sample of a fashionable *modern* improvement, prior to the bold scheme of the New Town. It still presents the aristocratic feature of a series of detached and somewhat elegant mansions. Its last century occupants were Lord Kames—whose house is at the head of the street on the east side—Lord Hailes, Sir Philip and Lady Betty Anstruther, and Dr

[1] Hume of Godscroft's History of the Douglases, p. 432.

[2] Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 86, 87. There appears, indeed (Maitland, p. 149), to have been another Kinloch's lodging near the palace, but the correspondence of name and date seems to prove the above to be the one referred to.

Young, a celebrated physician of the period, with others of wealth and influence, among whom may be mentioned Miss Jean Ramsay, a daughter of the poet, who lived there till a very advanced age, in the second house below the chapel.

A lofty stone tenement on the south side of the main street, to the east of Gillon's Close, was erected by Charles, fourth Earl of Traquair, and formed the residence of his twin daughters, Lady Barbara and Lady Margaret Stewart. They both died there at a very advanced age—Lady Margaret in 1791, and her sister in 1794. They must have been born very early in the eighteenth century, as Dr Archibald Pitcairn, who died in 1713, made them the subject of some elegant Latin verses. They were till lately remembered as two kindly, but very precise old ladies, the amusement and main business of whose lives consisted in dressing and nursing a family of little dolls—a recreation by no means unusual among the venerable spinsters of former days. The date over the main doorway of the building is 1700. A little farther to the eastward, and almost directly opposite the head of New Street, is the Playhouse Close, within the narrow alley of which the stage was established in 1747, on such a footing as was then deemed not only satisfactory but highly creditable to the northern capital, where the drama had skulked about from place to place ever since its denouncement by the early reformers, finding even the patronage of royalty, and the favour of the vice-regal Court of Holyrood, hardly sufficient to protect it from ignominious expulsion.

The history of the Scottish drama is one of very fitful and stinted encouragement, and of correspondingly meagre results. The first approach to regular dramatic composition, after the period when religious mysteries and moralities were enacted under the sanction of the Church,[1] was Sir David Lindsay's "Plesant Satyre of the Three Estaitis;" and this so effectually aided the work of the Reformers, under whose care the stage was immediately placed, that it may be styled the first and last effort of dramatic genius in Scotland, almost to our own day. It was "playit besyde Edinburgh in 1544, in presence of the Quene Regent," as is mentioned by Henry Charteris, the bookseller, who sat patiently for nine hours on the bank at Greenside to witness the play. It so far surpasses any effort of contemporary English dramatists, that it renders the barrenness of the Scottish muse in this department afterwards the more apparent. Birrell notes on the 17th January 1568:—"A play made by Robert Semple, and played before the Regent [Murray] and divers uthers of the nobilitie." This has been affirmed, though seemingly on very imperfect evidence, to have been *Philotus*, a comedy printed at Edinburgh by Robert Charteris in 1603, the author of which is not named. It exhibits, both in plan and execution, a much nearer approach to the modern drama than Sir David Lindsay's Satire, and is altogether a work of great merit. In the same year there issued from the Edinburgh press, *Darius*, a tragedy written by "that most excellent spirit and earliest gem of

[1] A few extracts from the Treasurers' accounts will afford a hint of the dawn of theatrical amusements at the Scottish court in the reign of James IV., January 1, 1503:—"Item, ye samyn nycht to ye gysaris that playit to ye King, 4l. 4s. Feb. 8.—To ye menis that brocht in ye Morice Dance, and to ye menstralis in Strevelin, 42s. Feb. 18.—To ye QUENE OF YE CANONGAIT, 14s." This character repeatedly occurs in the accounts, and seems to have been a favourite masker. "1504, Jan. 1.—To Hog the tale-tellar, 14s. Jan. 3.—Yat samyn day to Thos. Bosuell and Pate Sinclair to by yaim daunsing gere, 28s. Yat day to Maister Johne to by beltis for ye Merise Danse, 28s. Yat samyne nycht to ye GYSARIS OF YE TOUNE OF EDINBURGH, 8 fr. cr. [French crowns.] June 10.—Payit to James Dog that he laid doune for girse one Corpus Christi day, at the play to the Kingis and Quenis chameris, 3s. 4d." &c.

our north,"[1] Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling. His tragedies, however, are dramatic only in title, and not at all adapted for the stage. James VI. endeavoured to mediate between the clergy and the encouragers of the drama, and, by his royal authority, stayed for a time their censure of theatrical representations. In the year 1592, a company of English players was licenced by the King to perform in Edinburgh, against which an act of the *kirk-sessions* was forthwith published, prohibiting the people to resort to such profane amusements.[2] The King appears to have heartily espoused the cause of the players a few years later, as various entries in the treasury accounts attest, *e.g.* :— "Oct. 1599.—Item, Delyuerit to his hienes selff to be gevin to ye Inglis commeidianis xiij crownes of ye sone, at iijli. ijs. viijd. ye pece. Nov.—Item. Be his Ma^ties^ directioun gevin to S^r^ George Elphingstoun, to be delyuerit to ye Inglis commedians, to by timber for ye preparatioun of ane hous to thair pastyme, as the said S^r^ George ticket beiris, xl. li. ;" and again a sum is paid to a royal messenger for notifying at the Cross, with sound of trumpet, "his Ma^ties^ plesour to all his lieges, that ye saidis commedianis mycht vse thair playis in Ed^r^," &c. In the year 1601, an English company of players visited Scotland, and appeared publicly at Aberdeen, headed by "Laurence Fletcher, comediane to his Majestie." The freedom of that burgh was conferred on him at the same time that it was bestowed on sundry French knights and other distinguished strangers, in whose train the players had arrived. Mr Charles Knight, in his ingenious life of Shakspeare, shows that this is the same player whose name occurs along with that of the great English dramatist, in the patent granted by James VI., immediately after his arrival in the southern capital in 1603, in favour of the company at the Globe ; and from thence he draws the conclusion that Shakspeare himself visited Scotland at this period, and sketched out the plan of his great Scottish tragedy amid the scenes of its historic events. By the same course of inference, Shakspeare's name is associated with the ancient Tennis Court at the Water Gate, as it cannot be doubted that his Majesty's players made their appearance at the capital, and before the Court of Holyrood, either in going to or returning from the northern burgh, whither they had proceeded by the King's special orders ; but it must be confessed the argument is a very slender one to form the sole basis for such a conclusion.

The civil wars in the reign of Charles I., and the striking changes that they led to, obliterated all traces of theatrical representations, until their reappearance soon after the Restoration. One curious exhibition, however, is mentioned in the interval, which may be considered as a substitute for these forbidden displays. "At this tyme," says Nicoll, in 1659, "thair wes brocht to this nationn ane heigh great beast, callit ane Drummodrary, quhilk being keipit clos in the Cannogate, nane haid a sight of it without thrie pence the persone, quhilk producit much gayne to the keipar, in respect of the great numberis of pepill that resoirtit to it, for the sight thairof. It wes very big, and of great height, and cloviu futted lyke unto a kow, and on the bak ane saitt, as it were a sadill, to sit on. Thair wes brocht in with it ane liytill baboun, faced lyke unto a naip."[3]

[1] Drummond of Hawthornden's Letters, Archæol. Scot. vol. iv. p. 83.

[2] "Nov. 1599.—Item, to Wm. Forsy^t^, messenger, passand with lettres to the mercat croce of Ed^a^, chairging ye elderis and deacouns of the haill four sessionis of Ed^a^. to annull thair act maid for ye discharge of certane Inglis commedianis, x. s., viiij. d."—Treasurers' accounts.

[3] Nicoll's Diary, p. 226.

During the government of the Earl of Rothes as High Commissioner for Scotland, a play called "Marciano, or the Discovery," by Sir Thomas Sydserff, was acted on the festival of St John, before his Grace and his Court at Holyrood,[1] and at the Court of the Duke of York, at a somewhat later period, a regular company of actors were maintained, and the Tennis Court fitted up for their performances, in defiance of the scandal created by such innovations.[2] Lord Fountainhall notes among his "Historical Observes,"[3]—"15th Novembris 1681, being the Quean of Brittain's birthday, it was keeped by our Court at Halirudhouse with great solemnitie, such as bonfyres, shooting of canons, and the acting of a comedy, called *Mithridates King of Pontus*, before ther Royall Hynesses, &c., wheirin Ladie Anne, the Duke's daughter, and the Ladies of Honor ware the onlie actors." Not only the canonists, both Protestant and Popish—adds my Lord Fountainhall, in indignant comment—"but the very heathen roman lawyers, declared all scenicks and stage players infamous, and will scarce admit them to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper"—a somewhat singular mark of disapprobation from heathen lawyers! The Revolution again banished the drama from Scotland, and we hear no more of it till the year 1714, when the play of Macbeth was performed at the Tennis Court, in presence of a number of the Scottish nobility and gentry assembled in Edinburgh for a grand archery meeting. Party politics ran high at the time, some of the company present called for the favourite song, "*May the King enjoy his ain again*,"[4] while others as stoutly opposed it, and the entertainments wound up in a regular *mêlée*, anticipatory of the rebellion which speedily followed.

Allan Ramsay's unfortunate theatrical speculation has already been referred to. But the scene of his successful patronage of the drama appears to have been first chosen by Signora Violante, an Italian dancer and tumbler, who afterwards took the legitimate drama under her protection and management. This virago, as Arnot styles her,[5] returned to Edinburgh, "where she fitted up that house in the foot of Carrubber's Close, which has since been occupied as a meeting-house by successive tribes of sectaries." Driven from this quarter, as we have seen, the players betook themselves to the Taylor's Hall, in the Cowgate, and though mere strolling bands, they were persecuted into popularity by their opponents, until this large hall proved insufficient for their accommodation. A rival establishment was accordingly set agoing, and in the year 1746, the foundation-stone of the first regular theatre in Edinburgh was laid within the Play-house Close, Canongate, by Mr John Ryan, then a London actor of considerable repute. Here the drama had mainly to contend with the commoner impediments incidental to the proverbial lack of prudence and thrift in the management of actors, until the year 1756, when, on the night of the 14th December, the tragedy of Douglas, the work of a clergyman of the Kirk, was first presented to an Edinburgh audience. The clergy anew returned to the assault with redoubled zeal, and although they were no longer able to chase the players from the stage, John Home, the author of the obnoxious tragedy,

[1] Campbell's Journey, vol. ii. p. 163.

[2] *Vide*, vol. i. p. 103.

[3] Fountainhall's Historical Observes, p. 51. Tytler concludes his account of the Duke's theatrical entertainment with the following inference, which would have done credit to a history of the Irish stage:—"*Private* balls and concerts of music, it would seem, were now the only species of *public* entertainments amongst us!"—Archæol. Scot. vol. i. p. 504.

[4] Campbell's History of Poetry in Scotland, p. 353.

[5] Arnot, p. 366.

deemed it prudent to renounce the orders that had been tarnished by a composition so unwonted and unclerical.

The more recent history of the Edinburgh stage is characterised by no incidents of very special note, until the year 1768, when it followed the tide of fashionable emigration to the New Town, and the Theatre Royal was built in the Orphan's Park,[1] which had previously been the scene of Whitfield's labours during his itinerant visits to Edinburgh. The eloquent preacher is said to have expressed his indignation in no measured terms when he found the very spot which had been so often consecrated by his ministrations thus being set apart to the very service of the devil.

The front land in the Canongate through which the archway leads into the Play-house Close is an exceedingly fine specimen of the style of building prevalent in the reign of Charles I. The dormer windows in the roof exhibit a pleasing variety of ornament, and a row of storm windows above them gives a singular, and, indeed, foreign air to the building, corresponding in style to the steep and picturesque roofs that abound in Strasbourg and Mayence. A Latin inscription on an ornamental tablet, over the doorway within the close, is now so much defaced that only a word or two can be deciphered. The building where Ryan, Digges, Bellamy, Lancashire, and a host of nameless actors figured on the stage, to the admiring gaze of fashionable audiences of last century, has long since been displaced by private erections.

Nearly fronting the entrance to this close, a radiated arrangement of the paving indicates the site of St John's Cross, the ancient eastern boundary of the capital. It still marks the limit of its ecclesiastical bounds on the south side of the street, and here, till a comparatively recent period, all extraordinary proclamations were announced by the Lion Heralds, with sound of trumpets, and the magistrates and public bodies of the Burgh of Canongate joined such processions as passed through their ancient jurisdiction in their progress to the Abbey. A little further eastward is St John's Close, an ancient alley, bearing over an old doorway within it, the inscription in bold Roman characters :—THE . LORD . IS . ONLY . MY . SVPORT . Immediately adjoining this is St John Street, a broad and handsome thoroughfare, forming the boldest scheme of civic improvement effected in Edinburgh before the completion of the North Bridge, and the rival works on the south side of the town. This aristocratic quarter of last century was in progress in 1768, as appears from the date cut over a back doorway of the centre house ; and soon afterwards the names of the old Scottish aristocracy that still resided in the capital—Earls, Lords, Baronets, and Lords of Session—are found among its chief occupants. Here, in No. 13, was the residence of Lord Monboddo, and the lovely Miss Burnet, whose early death is so touchingly commemorated by the Poet Burns, a frequent guest at St John Street during his residence in the capital; and within a few doors of it, at No 10, resided James Ballantyne, the partner and confidant of Sir Walter Scott in the literary adventures of the *Great Unknown*. Here was the scene of those assemblies of select and favoured guests to whom the hospit-

[1] So called from its vicinity to the Orphan's Hospital, a benevolent institution which obtained the high commendations of Howard and the aid of Whitfield during the repeated visits made by both to Edinburgh. A very characteristic portrait of the latter is now in the hall of the new Hospital erected at the Dean. The venerable clock of the Nether Bow Port has also been transferred from the steeple of the old building to an elegant site over the pediment of the new portico, where, notwithstanding such external symptoms of renewing its youth, it still asserts its claim to the privileges and immunities of age by frequent aberrations of a very eccentric character.

able printer read snatches of the forthcoming novel, and whetted, while he seemed to gratify their curiosity, by many a shrewd wink, and mysterious hint of confidential insight into the literary riddle of the age. The scene, indeed, has melancholy associations with the great novelist. It is a place which he often visited as an honoured guest, while yet with sanguine mind and fertile imagination he was anticipating the realisation of dreams as wild as his most fanciful legends; but it is far more nearly allied to those mournful years, when the brave man looked on the sad realities of ruined hopes, and bent himself sternly to rebuild and to restore. The house at the head of the street, facing the Canongate, where James Earl of Hopetoun resided previously to 1788, is associated with another of the most eminent Scottish poets and novelists, the precursor of Scott in the popular field of romance. The first floor of this house was the residence of Mrs Telfer, of Scotstown, the sister of Smollett, during his second visit to his native country in 1766; and here he resided for some time, and though in an infirm state of health, mixed in the best society of the Scottish capital, and treasured up those graphic pictures of men and manners which he afterwards embodied in his last and best novel, "Humphrey Clinker."

At the foot of the Pleasance, and extending between that ancient thoroughfare and the valley that skirts the base of Salisbury Crags, is a rising ground called St John's Hill, which, from its vicinity to the places already described, may be presumed to have derived its name from the same cause. The knights of St John of Jerusalem, who succeeded to the forfeited possessions of the Templars, it is well-known held lands in almost every shire in Scotland, and claimed a jurisdiction, even within the capital, over certain tenements built on their ground, some of which, now remaining in the Grassmarket, still bear the name of Temple Lands. In the absence of all evidence on this subject, we venture to suggest the probability of a similar proprietorship having been the source of this name. In the earliest map of Edinburgh which exists, that of 1544, a church of large dimensions appears occupying the exact site of St John's Hill, but this is no doubt intended for the Blackfriars' Monastery which stood on the opposite side of the Pleasance. It is possible that some early deeds or charters may yet be discovered to throw light on this subject, though we have been unsuccessful in the search. The Templars, indeed, would seem to have had an establishment at Mount Hooly on the southern verge of St Leonard's Hill. "On the eastern side of Newington," says Maitland, "on a gentle eminence denominated *Mons Sacer*, or Holy Mount, now corruptly Mount Hooly, was situate a chapel, which, from the position of the bodies buried cross-legged ways, with their swords by their sides, which were found lately in digging there, I take to have belonged to the Knights Templars." It is difficult now to fix the exact site of this interesting spot, owing to the changes effected on the whole district by the extended buildings of the town.[1]

On the north side of the Canongate, opposite to St John Street, a large and lofty stone tenement bears the name of Jack's Land, where the lovely Susannah, Countess

[1] Maitland, p. 176, where a reference is made to the Council Registers, but we have searched them in vain for any notice of it under the date assigned. The fact of cross-legged corpses with swords by their sides being dug up, is, to say the least of it, somewhat marvellous, and merited a more elaborate narrative from that careful historian. Perhaps, however, it should be understood as referring to sculptured figures.

of Eglinton, resided during her latter years, and was visited by Lady Jane Douglas, as appears in the evidence of the Douglas Cause. The other tenants of its numerous *flats* were doubtless of corresponding importance in the social scale;[1] but its most eminent occupant was David Hume, who removed thither from Riddle's Land, Lawnmarket, in 1753, while engaged in writing his History of England, and continued to reside at Jack's Land during the most important period of his literary career. Immediately behind this, in a court on the east side of Big Jack's Close, there existed till a few years since some remains of the town mansion of General Dalyell, commander of the forces in Scotland during most of the reign of Charles II., and the merciless persecutor of the outlawed Presbyterians during that period. The General's dwelling is described in the Minor Antiquities[2] as "one of the meanest-looking buildings ever, perhaps, inhabited by a gentleman." In this, however, the author was deceived by the humble appearance of the small portion that then remained. There is no reason to believe that the stern *Muscovite*—as he was styled from serving under the Russian Czar, during the Protectorate—tempered his cruelties by any such Spartan-like virtues. The General's residence, on the contrary, appears to have done full credit to a courtier of the Restoration. We owe the description of it, as it existed about the beginning of the present century, to a very zealous antiquary[3] who was born there in 1787, and resided in the house for many years. He has often conversed with another of its tenants, who remembered being taken to Holyrood when a child to see Prince Charles on his arrival at the palace of his forefathers. The chief apartment was a hall of unusually large dimensions, with an arched or waggon-shaped ceiling adorned with a painting of the sun in the centre, surrounded by gilded rays on an azure ground. The remainder of the ceiling was painted to represent sky and clouds, and spangled over with a series of silvered stars in relief. The large windows were closed below with carved oaken shutters, similar in style to the fine specimen still remaining in Riddle's Close, and the same kind of windows existed in other parts of the building. The kitchen also was worthy of notice for a fire-place, formed of a plain circular arch of such unusual dimensions that popular credulity might have assigned it for the perpetration of those rites it had ascribed to him, of spiting and roasting his miserable captives![4] Our informant was told by an intelligent old man, who had resided in the house for many years, that a chapel formerly stood on the site of the open court, but all traces of it

[1] The following advertisement will probably be considered a curious illustration of the Canongate aristocracy at a still later period:—"A negro runaway.—That on Wednesday the 10th current, an East India negro lad eloped from a family of distinction residing in the Canongate of Edinburgh, and is supposed to have gone towards Newcastle. He is of the mulatto colour, aged betwixt sixteen and seventeen years, about five feet high, having long black hair, slender made and long limbed. He had on, when he went off, a brown cloth short coat, with brass buttons, mounted with black and yellow button-holes, breeches of the same, and a yellow vest with black and yellow lace, with a brown duffle surtout coat, with yellow lining, and metal buttons, grey and white marled stockings, a fine English hat with yellow lining, having a gold loop and tassle, and double gilded button. As this negro lad has carried off sundry articles of value, whoever shall receive him, so that he may be restored to the owner, on sending notice thereof to Patrick M'Dougal, writer in Edinburgh, shall be handsomely rewarded."—*Edinburgh Advertiser*, March 12th, 1773. An earlier advertisement in the *Courant*, March 7th, 1727, offers a reward for the apprehension of another runaway:—"A negro woman, named Ann, about eighteen years of age, with a green gown, and a brass collar about her neck, on which are engraved these words, 'Gustavus Brown in Dalkeith, his negro, 1726.'"

[2] Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh, p. 230.

[3] Mr Wm. Rowan, librarian, New College.

[4] Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 159. Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 334.

were removed in 1779. It is not at all inconsistent with the character of the fierce old cavalier that he should have erected a private chapel for his own use. Death fortunately stepped in, says his fellow-soldier, Captain Crichton, in allusion to the dilemma in which the General was placed on the accession of James VII., and "rescued him from the difficulties he was likely to be under, between the notions he had of duty to his prince on one side, and *true zeal for his religion* on the other."[1] The main idea that seems to have guided him through life was a chivalrous loyalty. He allowed his beard to grow as a manifestation of his grief on the beheading of King Charles, and retained it unaltered till his death, though it latterly acquired a venerable amplitude that attracted a crowd whenever he appeared in public. The early history of chivalry furnishes many examples in proof of the perfect compatibility of such devoted loyalty with the cruelties which have rendered his name infamous to posterity.

The Shoemakers' Lands, which stand to the east of Jack's Land, are equally lofty and more picturesque buildings. One of them especially, immediately opposite to Moray House, is a very singular and striking object in the stately range of substantial stone tenements that extend from New Street to the Canongate Tolbooth. A highly-adorned tablet surmounts the main entrance, enriched with angels' heads, and a border of Elizabethan ornament enclosing the Shoemakers' Arms, with the date 1677. An open book is inscribed with the first verse of the Scottish metre version of the 133d Psalm,—a motto that appears to have been in special repute, towards the close of the seventeenth century, among the suburban corporations, being also inscribed over the Tailors' Hall of Easter Portsburgh and the Shoemakers' Land in the West Port. The turnpike stair—the entrance to which is graced by this motto, and the further inscription, in smaller letters, IT IS AN HONOUR FOR MAN TO CEASE FROM STRIFE—rises above the roof of the building, and is crowned with an ogee roof of singular character, flanked on either side by picturesque gables to the street. The first of the two tenements to the west of this, at the head of Shoemakers' Close, has an open pannel on its front, from which the inscription appears to have been removed; but the other, which bears the date 1725, is still adorned with the same arms, and the following moral aphorism:—

BLESSED IS HE THAT WISELY DO
TH THE POOR MAN'S CASE CONSIDER.

The hall of the once wealthy Corporation of Cordiners or Shoemakers of Canongate, to whom this property belonged, stood on the west side of Little Jack's Close, adorned with the insignia of the Souters' Craft, and furnished for the convivial meetings of the fraternity with huge oaken tables and chairs; and with a substantial carved oaken throne, adorned with the arms — a paring knife surmounted by a crown — and the date 1682, for the inauguration of King Crispin on the 25th of October, or St Crispin's Day. It was long the annual custom of the craft to elect a king, who was borne through the town, attended by his subjects, dressed in all sorts of fantastic and showy attire; after which he held his court at the Corporation Hall, and celebrated his coronation with royal festivities. Unhappily for the Cordiners of Canongate, the sumptuary laws

[1] Memoirs of Captain Crichton, Swift's works, London, 1803, vol. xiv. p. 318.

of the old Scottish Parliaments were not framed to curb the excesses of *cobbler kings*. King Crispin and his train grew more extravagant every year. He latterly rode in this fantastic annual pageant in ermined robes, attended by prince, premier, champion in armour, and courtiers of all degrees, mounted on horseback, and decked in the most gaudy costume they could procure, until at length the whole wealth and property of the corporation were dissipated in this childish foolery, and King Crispin retired to private life, and the humbler relaxation of cobbling shoes! Mrs Malcolm, an old dame of a particularly shrewish disposition, who inhabited an attic in the Shoemakers' Land towards the close of last century, was long known by the title of the *Princess*, her husband having for many years represented *the Black Prince*, and she his sable consort—two essential characters in King Crispin's pageant. There can be little doubt that this frivolous sport was a relic of much earlier times, when the Cordiners of the neighbouring capital, incorporated in the year 1449, proceeded annually, on the anniversary of their patron saint, to the altar of St Crispin and St Crispinian, founded and maintained by them in the collegiate church of St Giles.[1] Nor is it improbable, that in the *Princess* a traditional remembrance was preserved of the *Queen of the Canongate*, mentioned in the Treasury accounts of James IV.

The Canongate Tolbooth—a view of which heads this chapter—has long been a favourite subject for the artist's pencil, as one of the most picturesque edifices of the Old Town. It formed the court-house and jail of the burgh, erected in the reign of James VI., soon after the abolition of religious houses had left this ancient dependency of the Abbey free to govern itself. Even then, however, Adam Bothwell, the Protestant commendator of Holyrood, retained some portion of the ancient rights of his mitred predecessors over the burgh. The present structure is the successor of a much earlier building, probably on the same site. The date on the tower is 1591; and preparations for its erection appear in the Burgh Register seven years before this, where it is enacted that no remission of fees shall be granted to any one, "unto the tyme the tolbuith of this burch be edefeit and biggit."[2] Nevertheless, we find by the Burgh Registers for 1561, "Curia capitalis burgi vici canonicorum Monasterii Sancte Crucis prope Edinburgh, *tenta in pretorio ejusdem;*" and frequent references occur to the *tolbuith*, both as a court-house and prison, in the Registers and in the Treasurer's accounts, *e.g.*, 1574, "To sax pynouris att the bailleis command for taking doun of the lintall stane of the auld tolbuith windo, iijs. vjd." The very next entry is a fee "to ane new pyper," an official of the Burgh of whom various notices are found at this early period.

The *Hotel de Ville* of this ancient burgh is surmounted by a tower and spire, flanked by two turrets in front, from between which a clock of large dimensions projects into the street. This formerly rested on curiously-carved oaken beams, which appear in Storer's views published in 1818, but they have since been replaced by plain cast-iron supports. The building is otherwise adorned with a variety of mottoes and sculptured devices in the

[1] Maitland, p. 305. The earliest notice we have found of the Cordiners of Canongate occurs in the Burgh Register, 10th June 1574, where "William Quhite, being electit and chosin diacone of the cordonaris be his brethir for this present yeir, . . . is ressavit in place of umquhill Audro Purves." From this they appear to have been then an incorporated body.—Canongate Burgh Register; Mait. Misc. vol. ii. p. 329.

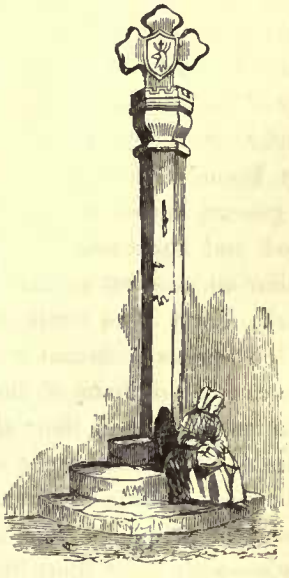
[2] Canongate Burgh Register, 13th October 1584; Ibid, p. 353.

style that prevailed at the date of its erection. Between the windows of the first and second floor of the tower an ornamental sun-dial appears, and underneath the lower window a carved tablet bears the following inscription :—

☞ S. L. B.
PATRIÆ ET POSTERIS, 1591.

There are two bells in the tower, the oldest of which has this favourite motto, with the date, cast on it :—SOLI DEO HONOR ET GLORIA, 1608. The larger bell, as appears from its inscription, was cast in 1796. Over the inner doorway, which leads both to the court-house and the prison, are these appropriate words—ESTO FIDUS ; and on the most conspicuous part of the edifice, between the large windows of the council hall, a highly ornamental panel, surmounted by a pediment adorned with a large thistle, bears the following legend :—J. R. 6. JUSTITIA ET PIETAS VALIDE SUNT PRINCIPIS ARCES. Within the panel the burgh arms are emblazoned, viz.—a stag's head with a cross between the tynes, in commemoration of the monastic legend to which the origin of Saint David's Abbey and its burgh is referred ; and underneath the motto, SIC ITUR AD ASTRA ; an unfailing subject of mirth to the profane wits of the capital, as an avowal by the old vassals of the Church that they now seek the way to heaven through the burgh jail.

The independence of the burgh of Canongate was of brief duration, the magistrates of Edinburgh having purchased the superiority of it from the Earl of Roxburgh, and procured a charter of confirmation from Charles I. in 1636. It was till lately governed by its own magistrates, and a baron bailie elected by the Edinburgh Town Council, who thus came in the place of the Abbot of Holyrood as over-lords of the burgh. These held weekly courts for the punishment of petty offenders, and the settlement of disputed questions on small debts ; and in general exercised full control over the public affairs of the burgh.



The ancient market cross formerly stood nearly opposite to the Tolbooth. It is represented in Gordon's map, as mounted on a stone gallery somewhat similar to that of the neighbouring capital, though on a smaller scale. This has long since disappeared, but the elegant cross, represented in the accompanying vignette, still exists attached to the south-east corner of the Tolbooth. Its chief use in latter times was as the pillory ; and the iron staple remains to which the culprit used to be secured by an iron collar round the neck, styled *the Jougs*, a species of punishment which continued in use within the recollection of some of our older citizens.[1]

[1] "31st October, 1567. The quhilk daye Bessie Tailzefeir being accusit be the bailleis and counsall of the sclandring of Thos. Huntar, baillie, . . . thairfoir ordanit the said Bessie to be brankit the morne and set upone

Moray House, which is one of the most remarkable objects of interest in the Canongate, formed until 1835 part of the entailed estate of the noble house of Moray, in whose possession it remained exactly two hundred years, having become the property of Margaret, Countess of Moray, in 1645, by an arrangement with her younger sister, Anne, then Countess of Lauderdale, and co-heiress with her of their mother, the Countess of Home, by whom Moray House was built.[1] This noble mansion presents more striking architectural features than any other private building in Edinburgh, and is associated with some of the most interesting events in Scottish history. It was erected in the early part of the reign of Charles I. by Mary, Countess of Home, the eldest daughter of Edward, Lord Dudley, and then a widow. Her initials, M. H., are sculptured over the large centre window of the south gable, surmounted by a ducal coronet; and over the corresponding window to the north are the lions of Home and Dudley, impaled on a lozenge, in accordance with the ancient laws of heraldry. The house was erected some years before the visit of Charles I. to Scotland, and his coronation at Holyrood in 1633. It can scarcely, therefore, admit of doubt that its halls have been graced by the presence of that unfortunate monarch, though the Countess soon after contributed largely towards the success of his opponents, as appears by the repayment by the English Parliament, in 1644, of seventy thousand pounds which had been advanced by her to the Scottish Covenanting Government—an unusually large sum to be found at the disposal of the dowager of a Scottish earl.

On the first visit of Oliver Cromwell to Edinburgh, in the summer of 1648, he took up his residence at "the Lady Home's lodging, in the Canongate," as it then continued to be called; and entered into friendly negotiations with the nobles and leaders of the extreme party of the Covenanters. According to Guthrie, "he did communicate to them his design in reference to the King, and had their assent thereto;"[2] in consequence of which "the Lady Home's house, in the Canongate, became an object of mysterious curiosity, from the general report at the time that the design to execute Charles I. was there first discussed and approved."[3] This, however, which, if it could be relied on, would add so peculiar an interest to the mansion, must be regarded as the mere cavalier gossip of the period. Even if we could believe that Cromwell's designs were matured at that time, he was too wary a politician to hazard them by such premature and profitless confidence; but there can be no doubt of the future measures of resistance to the King having formed a prominent subject in their discussions.

In the year 1650, only two years after the Parliamentary General's residence in the Canongate, the fine old mansion was the scene of joyous banquetings and revelry on the occasion of the marriage of Lord Lorn—afterwards better known as the unfortunate Earl of Argyle—with Lady Mary Stuart, the eldest daughter of the Earl of Moray. The wedding-feast took place on the 13th of May, and the friends were still celebrating the auspicious

the croce of this bruche, thair to remane the space of ane houre." On the 6th October 1572, the treasurer is ordered "to vpput and big sufficiently the corce," which had probably suffered in some of the reforming mobs, and may have been then, for the first time, elevated on a platform.—Canongate Burgh Register, Mait. Misc. vol. ii. pp. 303, 326.

[1] The entail was broke by a clause in one of the Acts of the North British Railway Company, who had purchased the ancient Trinity Hospital for their terminus, and proposed to fit up Moray House in its stead; an arrangement which it is to be regretted has not been carried into effect. The name of *Regent Murray's House*, latterly applied to the old mansion, is a spurious tradition of very recent origin.

[2] Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 298.

[3] Napier's Life of Montrose, p. 441.

alliance of these two noble families, when, on Saturday the 18th of May, the already excommunicated and doomed Marquis of Montrose was brought a captive to Edinburgh. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the magistrates and guard received their prisoner at the Water Gate, and, after reading to him his barbarous sentence, he was ignominiously bound to a low cart provided for the occasion. The common hangman, who acted as master of the ceremonies, having uncovered the Marquis, he mounted the horse before him, and the melancholy procession moved slowly up the Canongate, a band of meaner prisoners, bound two and two, going bareheaded before him.

The striking contrast presented in this scene is painfully illustrative of the vicissitudes that accompany civil war. Montrose had fought with and overthrown his great rival the Marquis of Argyle, father of the young Lord Lorn, and had driven him almost a solitary fugitive to the sea, while he wasted his country with fire and sword. As the noble captive was borne beneath the windows of Moray House, the wedding guests, including the Earl of Loudoun, then Lord Chancellor, Lord Warriston, and the Countess of Haddington, along with the Marquis of Argyle, and the bride and bridegroom,[1] stepped out on the fine old stone balcony that overhangs the street to gaze upon their prostrate enemy. It is said that the Lady Jane Gordon, Countess of Haddington, Argyle's niece, so far forgot her sex as to spit upon him as he passed, in her revengeful triumph over their fallen foe. But the marriage party quailed before the calm gaze of the noble captive. Though suffering from severe wounds, in addition to the mortification and insult to which he was exposed, he preserved the same composure and serenity with which he afterwards submitted to a felon's death, appearing even on the scaffold—as Nicoll relates—in a style "more becoming a bridegroom, nor a criminal going to the gallows."[2] On Montrose turning his eye on the party assembled on the balcony at Moray House to rejoice over his fall, they shrank back with hasty discomposure, and disappeared from the windows, leaving the gloomy procession to wend onward on its way to the Tolbooth.[3] This remarkable incident acquires a deeper interest, when we consider that three of these onlookers, including the gay and happy bridegroom, perished by the hand of the executioner on the same fatal spot to which the gallant Marquis was passing under their gaze.

The period of which we write was one of rapid change. Little more than four months had elapsed when the army of the Covenanters, with Leslie at its head, was signally defeated at Dunbar, and the victorious General Cromwell entered the Scottish capital as a conqueror, and once more took up his quarters at Moray House. Throughout the winter of 1650, its stately halls were crowded with Parliamentary commissioners and military and civil courtiers attendant on the General's levee.[4] Its next occupant of note was the Lord Chancellor Seafield, who appears to have resided there at the period of the Union, and peopled its historic halls with new associations, as the scene of the numerous secret deliberations that preceded the ratification of that treaty. The stately old terraced gardens remain nearly in the same state as when the peers and commoners of the last Scottish Parliament frequented its avenues. The picturesque summer-house, adorned with

[1] "It was reported that, in 1650, when the Marquis of Montrose was brought up prisoner from the Water Gate in a cart, this Argile was feeding his eyes with the sight in the Lady Murrayes balcony in the Canongate, with hir daughter, his lady, to whom he was new married, and that he was seen playing and smiling with her."—Fountainhall's Historical Observes, 1685, p. 185.

[2] Nicoll's Diary, p. 13.

[3] Wigton Papers; Mait. Misc. vol. ii. pp. 482, 483.

[4] Ante, p. 95.

its quaint old lions, in which the Unionists are said to have been scared while signing some of their preliminary treaties, is still there. The upper terrace is shaded by a magnificent thorn tree, which appears to be much older than the house; on the second, a curious arbour has been constructed by the interlacing stems of trees, twisted into the fantastic forms in which our ancestors delighted; and on the lowest terrace, a fine fountain of clear water is guarded by the marble statue of a little fisher, with his basket at his feet, filled with the mimic spoils of the rod and line. The garden has a southern aspect, and is of large dimensions, and both it and the house might still afford no unsuitable accommodation to the proudest Earl in the Scottish Peerage.[1]

Directly opposite to the Old Tolbooth, and not far removed from the stately mansion of the Earls of Moray, is an antique fabric of a singularly picturesque character, associated with the name of one of the adversaries of that noble house—George, first Marquis of Huntly, who murdered the Bonny Earl of Moray in 1591. The evidence, indeed, is not complete which assigns this as the dwelling of the first marquis, but it is rendered exceedingly probable from the fact that his residence was in the Canongate, and that this fine old mansion was occupied at a later period by his descendants. In June 1636, he was carried from his lodging in the Canongate, with the hope of reaching his northern territories before his death, but he got no farther than Dundee, where he died in his seventy-fourth year.[2] The same noble lodging was the abode of the unfortunate Marquis, who succeeded to his father's title, and perished on the block at the Cross of Edinburgh in 1649. Ten years before that, their old mansion in the Canongate was the scene of special rejoicing and festivity, on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest daughter, Lady Ann with the Lord Drummond, afterwards third Earl of Perth, "who was ane preceise puritane, and therfore weill lyked in Edinburgh."[3] The house was occupied, when Maitland wrote, by the Duchess-Dowager of Gordon; and through a misinterpretation of the evidence given by some of the witnesses concerned in the murder of Darnley in 1567, he pronounces it to have been the Mint Office of Scotland at that period. If the date on the building, which is 1570, be that of its erection, it settles the question. But, at any rate, an examination of the evidence referred to leaves no doubt that the Mint was situated at the period entirely without the Canongate, and in the outer court of the Palace of Holyoood,[4] though this has not prevented the historian being followed, as usual, without investigation by later writers. We have engraved a view of this curious old mansion as it appears from the Bakehouse Close. It presents an exceedingly picturesque row of timber-fronted gables to the street, resting on a uniform range of ornamental corbels projecting from the stone basement story. A series of sculptured tablets adorn the front of the building, containing certain pious aphorisms, differing in style from those so frequently occurring on the buildings of the sixteenth century. On one is inscribed:—"CONSTANTI PECTORI RES MORTALIVM

[1] Moray House was for some time occupied by the British Linen Company's Bank; and, since 1847, has been used as the Free Church Normal School, and the fine terraced gardens described above transformed into a playground for the scholars.

[2] Spalding's History of the Troubles, vol. i. p. 42.

[3] Ibid, vol. i. p. 177.

[4] "Incontinent the Erle [Bothwell], French Paris, William Powry, servitor and porter to the said Erle, Pat. Wilsoun, and the deponar, geid down the turnpike altogidder, and endlong the back of the Queenis garden *quhill zow cum to the Cunzie-Hous*, and the back of the stabilis [seemingly what is now called the Horse Wynd], quhill zow cum to the Cannongate foreanent the Abbey zet."—Deposition of George Dalgleish; Crim. Trials, Supp. p. 495.

VMBRA." On another:—"UT TU LINGVÆ TVÆ, SIC EGO MEAR: AVRIUM DOMINVS SVM." A third tablet bears the date, with an inscription of a similar character; but these have long been concealed by a painting of Lord Nelson, which forms the sign of a tavern now occupying a portion of the old Marquis's mansion. On an upright tablet, at the west end, is the ingenious emblem of the resurrection referred to in the description of an edifice in the Old Bank Close, which was similarly adorned.

On the east side of the Bakehouse or Hammermen's Close, an ornamental archway, with pendant keystone, in the fashion prevalent towards the close of James VI.'s reign, forms the entrance to a small enclosed court, surrounded on three sides by the residence of Sir Archibald Acheson of Glencairney, one of the Lords of Session appointed soon after the accession of Charles I. He was created by the King a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1628, and was afterwards appointed one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland. Over the pediment above the main entrance the Baronet's crest, a Cock standing on a Trumpet, is cut in bold relief; and below, the motto *vigilantibus*, with a cypher containing the letters A. M. H., being the initials of Sir Archibald Acheson, and Dame Margaret Hamilton his wife. The date on the building is 1633, the same year in which Charles I. paid his first visit to his native capital. The building is a handsome erection in the style of the period; though a curious proof of the rude state in which the mechanical arts remained at that date is afforded by the square hole being still visible at the side of the main doorway, wherein the old oaken bar slid out and in for securely fastening the door. The three sides of the court are ornamented with dormer windows, containing the initials of the builder and his wife, and other architectural decorations in the style of the period.

The range of houses to the eastward of the patrician mansions described above still includes many of an early date, and some associated with names once prominent in Scottish story. Milton House, a handsome large mansion, built in the somewhat heavy style which was in use during the eighteenth century, derived its name from Andrew Fletcher of Milton, Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland, who succeeded the celebrated Lord Fountainhall on the Bench in the year 1724, and continued to preside as a judge of the Court of Session till his death in 1766. He was much esteemed for the mild and forbearing manner with which he exercised his authority as Lord Justice-Clerk after the Rebellion of 1745. He sternly discouraged all informers, and many communications, which he suspected to have been sent by over-officious and malignant persons, were found in his repositories after his death unopened.[1] He was a nephew of the patriotic Fletcher of Salton, and an intimate friend and coadjutor of Archibald, Duke of Argyle, during whose administration he exercised a wise and beneficial control over the government patronage in Scotland. The old mansion which thus formed the mimic scene of court levees, where Hanoverian and Jacobite candidates for royal favour elbowed one another in the chase, still retains unequivocal marks of its former grandeur, notwithstanding the many strange tenants who have since occupied it. The drawing-room to the south, the windows of which command a beautiful and uninterrupted view of Salisbury Crags and St Leonard's Hill, has its walls very tastefully decorated with a series of designs of landscapes and allegorical figures, with rich borders of fruit and flowers, painted in distemper.

[1] Brunton and Haig's Senators of the College of Justice, p. 499.

They are said to be the work of a foreign artist, and are executed with great spirit. From the style of the landscapes more especially, we feel little hesitation in ascribing the whole to the pencil of Francesco Zuccherelli, who had a high reputation in England during the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Interspersed among the ornamental borders there are various grotesque figures, which have the appearance of being copies from an illuminated missal of the fourteenth century. They represent a cardinal, a monk, a priest, and other churchmen, painted with great humour and extreme drollery of attitude and expression. They so entirely differ from the general character of the composition, that their insertion may be conjectured to have originated in a whim of Lord Milton, which the artist has contrived to execute without sacrificing the harmony of his design. An elegant cornice, finished with painting and gilding, and a richly stuccoed ceiling, complete the decorations of this fine apartment.

The house was occupied for some time as a Roman Catholic School, under the care of the Sisters of Charity of St Margaret's Convent. The pupils particularly attracted the attention of her Majesty Queen Victoria on her visit to the capital in 1842, as they strewed flowers in her path on her approach from the palace of her ancestors by the ancient royal thoroughfare of the Canongate. It has since been used as a Deaf and Dumb School, and was afterwards appropriated to the benevolent objects of the Royal Maternity Hospital, but is now the property of a large engineering firm.

The fine open grounds which surround Milton House, with the site on which it is built, formed a large and beautiful garden attached to the mansion of the Earls of Roxburghe. Lord Fountainhall reports a dispute, in 1694, between the Trades of Canongate and the Earl of Roxburghe, in which the Lords declared his house in the Canongate free, and himself empowered, by right of certain clauses in a contract between the Earl, the Town of Edinburgh, and Heriot's Hospital, to employ artificers on his house who were not freemen of the burgh.[1] Such contentions, originating in the jealousy of the Corporations of the Canongate, are of frequent occurrence at the period, and show with how despotic a spirit they were prepared to guard their exclusive rights. On the 2d June 1681, a complaint was laid before the Privy Council by the celebrated Lord Halton, afterwards Earl of Lauderdale,[2] stating that he was then building a lodging for himself in the Canongate, and having employed some country masons, the craftsmen of the burgh assaulted them, and carried off their tools. In the evidence, it is shown that even a freeman of the capital dared not encroach on the bounds of the Canongate; and that, "in 1671, the Privy Council fined David Pringle, chirurgeon, for employing one Wood, an unfree barber, to exerce his calling in polling the children's heads in Heriot's Hospital!"[3] In this case Lord Halton seems also to have been left free to employ his own workmen; but the craftsmen were declared warranted in their interference, and therefore free from the charge of rioting. The Earl of Roxburghe's mansion appears, from Edgar's map, to have stood on the west side of the garden, and to have been afterwards occupied by his brother John, the fifth

[1] Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 614.

[2] Queensberry House having been built on ground purchased from the Lauderdale family (Traditions, vol. i. p. 280), it seems probable that that ducal mansion occupies the site of Lord Halton's house.

[3] Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 138–9.

Earl, who took an active share in promoting the Union. He was soon after elevated to a dukedom in the British Peerage, and successively filled the offices of Keeper of the Privy Seal and Secretary of State for Scotland.

At the head of Reid's Close stands the ancient and picturesque stone tenement, designated in the accompanying engraving Nisbet of Dirleton's House, which appears by the date on it to have been erected in the year 1624. Its basement story is substantially arched with stone, in accordance with the fashion of that age, when a citizen's mansion had occasionally to be made his castle, in a very different sense from that which is now maintained as the theory of British law. This edifice, which was probably reared by some courtier of note and influence at that period, afterwards became the residence of Sir John Nisbet, who was promoted to the Bench in 1664, under the title of Lord Dirleton, and was the last who held the office of Lord Advocate conjointly with that of a Judge. He was the predecessor of Sir George Mackenzie as Lord Advocate, and is accused, both by Kirkton and Wodrow, of making himself the tool of the Bishops. The latter relates a curious instance of his zeal in persecuting the unfortunate Covenanters. Robert Gray having been brought before the Council, and examined as to his knowledge of the hiding places of some of the leaders of that party, without their succeeding in obtaining from him the desired information, Sir John took a ring from the man's finger and sent it to Mrs Gray by a trusty messenger, who informed her that her husband had told all he knew of the Whigs, and that he sent this ring to her in token that she might do the same. Deceived by this ingenious fraud, the poor woman revealed their places of concealment; but her husband was so affected that he sickened and died a few days after. The south front of the house appears in the engraving of Reid's Close, and is singularly picturesque, and somewhat unique in its character.

A little further to the eastward, on the same side, is the huge mansion erected by William, first Duke of Queensberry, the builder of Drumlanrig Castle, who exercised almost absolute power in Scotland during the latter years of the reign of Charles II., and presided as High Commissioner in the first Parliament of James VII. He afterwards took an active share in the revolution that placed the Prince of Orange on the throne; a step which did not prove sufficient to redeem him from the hatred of the Presbyterian party, against whom his power had been used in a very cruel and arbitrary manner. He died in the Canongate in 1695. His character was made up of the strangest contradictions; a great miser, yet magnificent in buildings and pleasure grounds; illiterate, yet a collector of books, and commanding in his letters—which he dictated to a secretary—a style that is admirable.[1] His son, the active promoter of the union, and the Lord High Commissioner under whose auspices it was accomplished, kept court here during that stormy period, and frequently found his huge mansion surrounded by the infuriated mob who so pertinaciously pursued every abettor of that hated measure.[2] But the most

[1] A collection of his letters now in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq., would form a curious and valuable acquisition to the literary world if published.

[2] A mysterious and horrible story is related in the "Traditions of Edinburgh," concerning the Duke's eldest son, Lord Drumlanrig, an idiot, who, being deserted by his keeper on the day the union was passed—the whole household having gone off, with the exception of a little kitchen boy—escaped from his confinement, murdered the boy, and was found roasting him at the fire when the domestics returned in triumph from the Parliament Close. The dreadful tale soon became known, and it was universally regarded as a judgment on the Duke for his share in the union.

eminent occupants of Queensberry House are Charles, the third Duke, who was born there in 1698, and his celebrated Duchess, Lady Catherine Hyde, the patroness of the poet Gay, and the beauty of the court of George I., whose sprightliness and wit have been commemorated in the numbers of Pope, Swift, and Prior; and whom Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, celebrated in her old age as—

Prior's Kitty, ever fair!

The eccentric beauty espoused the cause of Gay with such warmth, that on the Lord Chamberlain refusing to sanction the representation of *Polly*, a piece intended as a continuation of the Beggar's Opera, she received the poet into her house as her private secretary, and both she and the Duke withdrew in high dudgeon from court. Gay accompanied his fair patroness to Edinburgh, and resided some time at Queensberry House. His intercourse with the author of "the Gentle Shepherd," has already been referred to, as well as his frequent visits to the poet's shop at the cross.[1] We furnish a view of another and much humbler haunt of the poet during his residence in Edinburgh. It is a small lath and plaster edifice of considerable antiquity, which still stands directly opposite Queensberry House, and is said to have been a much frequented tavern in Gay's time, kept by an hospitable old dame, called Janet Hall; and, if tradition is to be believed, *Jenny Ha's change-house* was a frequent scene of the poet's relaxations with the congenial wits of the Scottish capital.[2]

The huge dimensions of Queensberry House are best estimated from the fact of its having been subsequently converted into barracks and an hospital. The latest purpose to which this once magnificent ducal residence has been applied, as a "House of Refuge for the Destitute," seems to complete its descent in the scale of degradation. Little idea, however, can now be formed, from the vast and unadorned proportions which the ungainly edifice presents both externally and internally, of its appearance while occupied by its original owners. The whole building was then a story lower than it is at present. The wings were surmounted with neat ogee roofs. The centre had a French roof, with storm windows, in the style of the Palace of Versailles, and the chimney stalks were sufficiently ornamental to add to the general effect of the building, so that the whole appearance of the mansion, though plain, was perfectly in keeping with the residence of a nobleman and the representative of majesty. The internal decorations were of the most costly description, including very richly carved marble chimney pieces. On the house being dismantled, many of these were purchased by the Earl of Wemyss, for completing his new mansion

[1] Ante, p. 199.

[2] Traditions, vol. i. p. 291.

of Gosford House, near Edinburgh; but his successors have continued to prefer the old mansion, which stands only a few hundred yards from the modern pile; and it is left accordingly in a more desolate state even than the deserted edifice in the Canongate, with whose spoils it should have been adorned.

On the site now occupied by a brewery, a little to the eastward of Queensberry House, formerly stood Lothian Hut, a small but very splendidly finished mansion, erected by William, the third Marquis of Lothian, about 1750, and in which he died in 1767. His Marchioness, who survived him twenty years, continued to reside there till her death, and it was afterwards occupied by the Lady Caroline D'Arcy, Dowager Marchioness of the fourth Marquis. The scene of former rank and magnificence would have possessed a deeper interest had it now remained, from its having formed for many years the residence of the celebrated philosopher, Dugald Stewart, and the place where he carried on many of his most important literary labours.

At the head of Panmure Close, on the north side of the street, an ancient edifice of the time of Queen Mary still exists. It has already been referred to as bearing the earliest date on any private building in the Canongate. It consists, like other buildings of the period, of a lower erection of stone with a fore stair leading to the first floor, and an ornamental turnpike within, affording access to the upper chambers of the building. At the top of a very steep wooden stair, constructed alongside of the latter, a very rich specimen of carved oak panneling remains in good preservation, adorned with the Scottish lion, displayed within a broad wreath, and surrounded by a variety of ornament. The doorway of the inner turnpike bears on the sculptured lintel the initials I. H., a shield, charged with a cheveron and a hunting horn in base; and the date 1565, which leaves little reason to doubt that its builder was John Hunter, a wealthy burgess, who filled the office of treasurer of the burgh in 1568. The name of Panmure Close is derived from its having been the access to Panmure House, an old mansion, part of which still remains at the foot of Monroe's Close, now occupied as an iron foundry. It formed the town residence of the Earl of Panmure, who was succeeded in it towards the middle of last century by the Countess of Aberdeen. At that time it was pleasantly surrounded by open garden ground, and was deemed a peculiarly suitable mansion; and towards the close of the century it was occupied by the celebrated Dr Adam Smith, who spent there the last twelve years of his life. It is now as melancholy a looking abode as could well be assigned for the residence even of a poor author.

John Paterson's House, or the Golfer's Land, as it is now more generally termed, forms a prominent object among the range of ancient tenements on the south side of the Canongate, and is associated with a romantic tale of the Court of James VII., during his residence at Holyrood, as Duke of York. The story narrated in the "Historical Account of the Game of Golf," privately printed by the Leith Club of Golfers, bears that, during the residence of the Duke in Edinburgh, the question was started on one occasion by two English noblemen, who boasted of their own expertness in the game, as to whether the ancient Scottish amusement was not practised at an equally early date in England. The Duke's fondness for the game has already been referred to,[1] and he was

[1] Ante, p. 104.

now stimulated to its defence as a national amusement peculiar to Scotland, from his earnest desire to win the popular favour, in which he was no way more likely to succeed than by flattering their prejudices on any question of nationality, and becoming their champion in its defence. The antiquity of the Scottish game is proved by a statute, passed in the reign of James II., 1457, forbidding the practice of both "fute-ball and golfe," under the penalty of the *Baron's unlaw*, and enacting the use of the Bow in its stead. The evidence on the English side not being so readily forthcoming, the Englishmen offered to rest the legitimacy of their national pretensions on the result of a match to be played by them against his Royal Highness and any Scotsman he chose to select. The Duke immediately accepted the challenge, and, after careful inquiry, selected as his partner John Paterson, a poor shoemaker of the Canongate, whose ancestors had been celebrated for centuries as proficients in the game, and who then enjoyed the honour of being considered the best golfer of his day. The match was played by the Duke and his partner against their English challengers on the Links of Leith; heavy stakes were risked by the Duke and his noble opponents on the results; and after a hard-fought field, the royal champion of Scotland and his humble squire carried the day triumphantly. The poor shoemaker was rewarded with a large share of the stakes forfeited by the challenger, and with this he built the substantial tenement which still records his name, and commemorates his victory over the impugners of the national sports.

A large and handsome tablet on the front of the mansion bears the Paterson Arms—three pelicans feeding their young, with three mullets on a chief; and surmounted by a knight's helmet, and a defaced crest, said to be a hand grasping a golfer's club. Over the ground floor, a plain slab is inscribed with the following epigram, from the pen of the celebrated Dr Pitcairn, commemorative of the heroic deeds of the builder, and the national claims which he successfully asserted:—

Cum victor ludo, Scotis qui proprius, esset,
Ter tres victores post redemitos avos,
Patersonus, humo tunc educebat in altum
Hanc, quæ victores tot tulet una, domum.

The letters of this elegant distich were formerly gilded so as to attract the notice of the passer, but this has entirely disappeared, and the inscription no longer challenges the attention of any but the curious antiquary. Underneath is placed the philanthropic declaration I HATE NO PERSON, which might be supposed the very natural sentiment of one who had achieved such unexpected honour and reward. It proves, however, to be merely the transposition of the letters of his own name into an anagram, according to the quaint fashion of the age. The ancient tenement appears in the accompanying engraving, and the inscriptions upon it leave no reasonable doubt of the traditional fame of the Canongate Golfer. We are sorry in any degree to disturb a tradition backed by such incontrovertible evidence; but it appears probable, from the evidence of the title-deeds, that the Golfer's Land was lost, instead of won, by the gaming propensities of its owner. It was acquired in 1609 by Nicol Paterson, maltman in Leith, from whom it passed in 1632 to his son, John Paterson, and Agnes Lyel, his spouse. He died in 1663, as appears by the epitaph

on his tomb—which existed in Maitland's time in the cemetery attached to Holyrood Abbey—after having several times filled the office of bailie of Canongate.[1] Both of these, we may infer from the inscription on the old tenement, were zealous and successful wielders of the Golfing Club—a virtue which they bequeathed to the younger John Paterson, the hero of the traditional tale, along with the old land which bears his name. The style of the building confirms the idea of its having been rebuilt by him, with the spoils, as we are bound to presume, which he won on Leith Links from "our auld enemies of England." The title-deeds, however, render it probable, as we have hinted, that other stakes had been played for with less success. In 1691, he grants a bond over the property for £400 Scots. This is followed by letters of caption and horning, and other direful symptoms of legal assault, which pursue the poor golfer to his grave, and remain behind as his sole legacy to his heirs. Paterson appears, from other evidence, to have been immediately succeeded in the old mansion by John, second Lord Bellenden, who died there in 1704; since which time the Golfer's Land has run its course, like the other tenements of this once patrician burgh, and is now occupied by the same class of plebeian tenants as has everywhere succeeded to the old courtiers of Holyrood.[2]

Whiteford House, a comfortable modern mansion, originally occupied by Sir John Whiteford, stands immediately behind Janet Hall's humble dwelling, surrounded by open gardens, forming the sight of the ancient mansion of the Earls of Wintoun. George, the fifth Earl, was attainted in consequence of his share in the ill-concerted insurrection of 1715, and the old edifice, being then forsaken by its noble owners, was abandoned to solitude and decay. The ground is marked in Edgar's map as the ruins of the Earl of Wintoun's house; and from the importance of the family, and their love of sumptuous buildings, as well as the extensive space the ruins appear to have occupied, it may be presumed that "my Lord Seaton's house in the Canongate," where the French Ambassador Manzeville lodged in 1582,[3] in no way belied the charming glimpse of its gloomy quadrangle, with its heavy architraves adorned with armorial bearings and religious devices, afforded in the lively pages of the "Abbot;" or of its lofty hall, surrounded with suits of ancient and rusty armour, interchanged with huge massive stone escutcheons, blazoned with the Seton Arms; all which were so utterly thrown away on the headstrong young page, Roland Græme. Whiteford House was latterly occupied for many years—till his death in 1823—by Sir William Macleod Bannatyne, a remarkably pleasing specimen of a gentleman of Old Edinburgh, before its antique mansions and manners had altogether fallen under the ban of modern fashion. He was a nephew of Lady Clanranald, who was confined in the Tower for affording protection to Prince Charles during his wanderings

[1] Maitland, p. 160.

[2] The funeral letter of Lord Bellenden, from whence we have derived the information in the text, affords an evidence of the change of manners since it was issued. It is as follows:—"The honour of your presence to accompany the corps of my Lord Bellenden, my father, from his lodgings in Paterson's Land, near the Canongate foot, to his burial place in the Abay Church, upon Sunday the 3d instant, at 8 of the clock in the morning, is earnestly desired by John Bellenden." Some curious information is given in an "Act in favors of James Donaldson, to print Buriall Letters, Mar. 10, 1699;" wherein it appears "That the petitioner hath fallen upon a device for printing or stamping them in a fine wryt character, . . . by this device the leidges may be both cheiper and sooner served than ordinar, Buriall Letters being oft times in haste; *besides the decency and ornament of a border of skeletons' mortheads, and other emblems of mortality*, which the Petitioner has so contrived that it may be added or abstracted at pleasure!"—Documents relative to Scottish printing. Mait. Misc. vol. ii. p. 233–4.

[3] Moyse's Memoirs, p. 77.

—so nearly connected are these romantic incidents with our own day. He was raised to the Bench on the death of Lord Swinton, and took his seat as Lord Bannatyne in 1799. He was the last survivor of the Mirror Club, and one of the contributors to that early periodical. His conversational powers were great, and his lively reminiscences of the eminent men, and the leading events of last century, are referred to by those who have enjoyed his cheerful society, when in his ninetieth year, as peculiarly vivid and characteristic. The house is now used as a manufactory.

Among the antique groups of buildings in the Canongate, scarcely any one has more frequently attracted the artist by the picturesque irregularity of its features than the White Horse Close—an ancient hostelry to which a fresh interest has been attached by the magic pen of Scott, who peopled anew its deserted halls with the creations of his fertile genius. Tradition, with somewhat monotonous pertinacity, affirms that it acquired its name from a celebrated and beautiful white palfrey belonging to Queen Mary.[1] There is no reason, however, to think, from the style and character of the building, that it is any older than the date 1623, which is cut over a dormer window on its south front. The interest is much more legitimate which associates it with the cavaliers of Prince Charles's Court, as the quarters of Captain Waverley during his brief sojourn in the capital. It forms the main feature in a small paved quadrangle near the foot of the Canongate. A broad flight of steps leads up to the building, diverging to the right and left from the first landing, and giving access to two singularly-picturesque timber porches which overhang the lower story, and form the most prominent features in the view. A steep and narrow alley passes through below one of these, and leads to the north front of the building, which we have selected for our engraving, as an equally characteristic and more novel scene. Owing to the peculiar slope of the ground, the building rises on this side to more than double the height of its south front; and a second tier of windows in the steep roof give it some resemblance to the old Flemish hostels, still occasionally to be met with by the traveller in Belgium. But while the travellers' quarters are thus crowded into the roof, the whole of the ground floor is arched, and fitted up with ample accommodation for his horses—an arrangement thoroughly in accordance with the Scottish practice in early times. In an Act passed in the reign of James I., 1425, for the express encouragement of innkeepers, all travellers stopping at burgh towns are forbid to lodge with their acquaintance or friends, or in any other quarters, but in "the hostillaries," with this exception:—"Gif it be the persones that leadis monie with them in companie"—*i.e.*, Gentlemen attended with a numerous retinue—"thai sall have friedome to harberie with their friends; swa that their horse and their meinze be harberied and lu*d*ged in the commoun hostillaries." Almost immediately adjoining the north front of the White Horse Inn was a large tank or pond for watering horses, from whence the name of the principal gate of the burgh was derived. Here, therefore, was the rendezvous for knights and barons, with their numerous retainers, and the chief scene of the arrival and departure of all travellers of rank and importance during the seventeenth century, contrasting as strangely with the provisions of modern refinement as any relic that survives of the Canongate in these good old times.

The court-yard of the White Horse Inn is completed by an antique tenement towards

[1] Chambers's Traditions, vol. ii. p. 295.

the street, which tradition points out as the residence of Bishop Paterson, one of the latest Episcopal dignitaries of the Established Church, and a special subject of scandal to the Covenanters. He was formerly chaplain to the Duke of Lauderdale, and was currently reported to have owed his promotion to the favour of the Duchess.[1] A little to the eastward of the White Horse Close, and immediately adjoining the Water Gate, a plain modern land occupies the site of St Thomas's Hospital, founded by George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, in 1541, and dedicated to God, the Virgin Mary, and all saints. It consisted of a chapel and almshouse, which were purchased by the Magistrates of Canongate in the year 1617, from the chaplains and bedesmen, with the consent of David Creichton of Lugtoun, the patron, who probably retained possession of the endowments. Its new patrons converted it into an hospital for the poor of the burgh, and invited the charity of the wealthy burghers of Canongate, by placing the following inscription over the entrance, surmounted with the figures of two cripples, an old man and woman, and the Canongate Arms :—HELPE HERE THE POORE, AS ZE VALD GOD DID ZOV. JUNE 19, 1617. When Maitland wrote, the chapel had been converted into a coach-house, and both it and the hospital were in a very ruinous state; and, in 1778, it was entirely demolished, and its site occupied by private dwellings.[2]

The Water Gate formed the chief entrance to the burgh of Canongate, and the main approach to the capital previous to the erection of the North Bridge. It is a port of considerable antiquity, being represented as such in the maps of 1544 and 1573; and in the Registers of the Burgh for 1574, the Treasurer is ordered "to bye ane lok and key to the Wattir Yet."[3] Through it the Earl of Hertford entered with the army of Henry VIII. in the former year; and, at the same place, the Marquis of Montrose, the Earl of Argyle, and others of less note, were received on their capture, with all the ignominy that party rancour could devise.[4] Perhaps, however, the following unauthorised entrance by the same public thoroughfare, in the year 1661, may be considered no less singular than any of which it has been the scene. In the City Records of Edinburgh, after a gift of escheat granted by the Council to the Baron Bailie of Canongate, of all heritable and movable goods belonging to the witches thereof, a report follows by the Bailie concerning Barbara Mylne, whom Janet Allen, burnt for witchcraft, "did once see come in at the Water Gate in likeness of a catt, and did change her garment under her awin staire, and went into her house."[5] Such residenters were not effectually expelled by the gift of escheat,

[1] An anonymous letter, addressed to the Bishop by some of his Presbyterian revilers in 1681, is preserved among the collection of original documents in the City Chambers. It supplies a sufficiently minute narrative of his proceedings both in Edinburgh and elsewhere; of his escape from an enraged husband by leaping the Water of Errie, thenceforth called "Paterson's Loup;" of his dealings with "that Jezebel the Dutchess;" the Town Guard of Edinburgh, &c., all told in somewhat too plain language for modern ears.

[2] Maitland, p. 155. Arnot, p. 249. The property of this pious foundation appears to have been alienated long before. We have found, in the Burgh Charter Room, "A disposition of house near the ground of the Holy Cross. John Patersone to Andrew Russell," dated 1628, which runs thus:—"All and hail, that fore huith and dwelling-house, and back vault of the same, lying contiguous thereto; lying in the ground pertaining to the land sometime pertaining to the puir Bedemen of the Hospital, founded beside the Abbey of the Holy Cross, by umquhile George, Bishop of Dunkeld; and under the nether fore stair of the same, with the pertinents, and free ish and entry thereto; which tenement lies within the said Burgh, on the south side of the King's High Street thereof, at the head of the wynd called Bell's Wynd." The name of St Thomas does not occur in the charter of foundation as given by Maitland.

[3] Register of the Burgh of the Canongate, 18th Oct. 1574.

[4] Fountainhall's Hist. Observes, pp. 185–190.

[5] Law's Memorials, Pref. p. lxix.

though it is probable their worldly circumstances were thereby left more dependent on their own peculiar resources. We are informed by an intelligent lady who resided in the Canongate in her younger years, that one Christian Burns, who then dwelt in Strachie's Close, enjoyed the universal reputation of a witch; and on one occasion within her recollection was *scored aboon the breath—i.e.*, had a deep cut made in her forehead by a neighbouring maltster, whose brewing, as he believed, had been spoiled by her devilish cantrips.

The Water Gate has long since ceased to be a closed port, but the Canongate dues were still for some time after collected there on all goods entering the burgh. Its ancient site was marked, till a few years since, by a pointed arch constructed of wood, and surmounted with the Canongate Arms. This ornamental structure having been blown down in 1822, the fishwives of Newhaven and Musselburgh unanimously rebelled, and refused to pay the usual burghal impost levied on their burdens of fish. The warfare was unflinchingly maintained by these amazons for some time, and the Magistrates were at length compelled to restore peace to their gates, by replacing the decorated representative of the more ancient structure. This, however, has again been removed, in consequence of the demolition of an antique fabric on the east side of the gateway; and such was the apathy of the then generation that not even a patriotic fishwife was found to lift her voice against the sacrilegious removal of this time-honoured landmark!

A radiated arrangement of the paving in the street, directly opposite to the Water Gate, marks the site of the Girth Cross, the ancient boundary of the Abbey Sanctuary. It appears in the map of 1573, as an ornamental shaft elevated on a flight of steps; and it existed in nearly the same state about 1750, when Maitland wrote his History of Edinburgh. Every vestige of it has since been removed, but the ancient privileges, which it was intended to guard, still survive as a curious memorial of the ecclesiastical founders of the burgh. Within the sacred enclosures that once bounded the Abbey of Holyrood, and at a later period formed the chief residence of the Scottish Court, the happy debtor is safe from the assaults of inexorable creditors, and may dwell at ease in his city of refuge, if he have been fortunate enough to bear off with him the necessary spoils. It is, in truth, an *imperium in imperio*, an ancient royal burgh, with its own courts and judges and laws, its claims of watch and ward, and of feudal service during the presence of royalty, the election of peers, or like occasions of state, which every householder is bound to render as a sworn vassal of the Abbey. Endowed with such peculiar privileges and immunities, it is not to be wondered at that its inhabitants regard the ancient capital and its modern rival with equal contempt, looking upon them with much the same feeling as one of the court cavaliers of Charles II. would have regarded some staid old Presbyterian burgher or spruce city gallant in his holiday finery. In truth, it is scarcely conceivable to one who has not taken up his abode within the magic circle, how much of the fashion of our ancestors, described among the things that were in our allusions to the Cape Club and other convivial assemblies of last century, still survives in undiminished vigour under covert of the Sanctuary's protection.

On the south side of the main street, adjoining the outer court-yard of the Palace, a series of pointed arches along the wall of the Sanctuary Court-House indicate the remains of the ancient Gothic porch and gate-house of Holyrood Abbey, beneath whose groined

roof the dignitaries of the Church, the nobles attending on the old Scottish Kings, and the beauties of Queen Mary's Court, passed and repassed into the Abbey Close. This interesting and highly ornamental portion of the ancient monastic buildings was, in all probability, the work of the good Abbot Ballantyne, who rebuilt the north side of the church in the highly ornate style of his time, about 1490, and erected the chapel of St Ninian, North Leith, and the old stone bridge that led to it, which was demolished in 1789 to make way for the present upper drawbridge. Adjoining this ancient porch, formerly stood Abbot Ballantyne's "great house or lodging, with the yard thereof, lying beside the port of Holyrood House, on the north side of the street." The groined archway of the fine old porch, with the remains of the good Abbot's lodging, forming, with the exception of the chapel, the most ancient portions of the Abbey Palace that then remained, were recklessly demolished by the hereditary keeper in 1753, in order, it is said, to transfer his apartments from the gate-house to the main building of the Palace. A small and unpretending dwelling, which now occupies part of the site of the Abbot's mansion, may perhaps excite some interest in the minds of certain curious readers as having once been the house of the notorious *Lucky Spence*, celebrated in the verses of Allan Ramsay in terms somewhat more graphic than poetical.[1] A singular discovery was made about fourteen years since, during the progress of some alterations on this building, which furnishes a vivid illustration of the desperate deeds occasionally practised under the auspices of its former occupant. In breaking out a new window on the ground floor, a cavity was found in the solid wall, containing the skeleton of a child, with some remains of a fine linen cloth in which it had been wrapped. Our authority, a worthy shoemaker, who had occupied the house for forty-eight years, was present when this mysterious discovery was made, and described very graphically the amazement and horror of the workman, who threw away his crow-bar, and was with difficulty persuaded to resume his operations.

At the corner of the Horse Wynd, and immediately to the west of the Abbey Court-House, a dilapidated mansion of considerable extent is pointed out traditionally as the residence of the unfortunate Rizzio, though it is an erection of probably a century later than the bloody deed that has given so much interest to the name of the Italian favourite. A curious and exceedingly picturesque court is enclosed by the buildings behind, and bore in earlier times the name of the Chancellor's Court, having probably at some period formed the residence of that eminent official dignitary. It is described in the title-deeds as bounded by "the veuall leading to the king's stables on the south, and the Horse Wynd on the west parts;" a definition which clearly indicates the site of the royal mews to have been on the west side of the Abbey Close. More recent and trustworthy traditions than those above referred to, point out a large room on the first floor of this house as having been the scene of some interesting proceedings connected with the rehearsal of Home's Douglas, in which the reverend author was assisted by sundry eminent lay and clerical friends. In the cast of the piece furnished by Mr Edward Hislop—a good authority on Scottish theatricals—Principal Robertson, David Hume, Dr Carlyle of Inveresk, and the author, take the leading male parts, while the ladies are represented by Professor Ferguson and Dr Blair, the eminent divine! Notwithstanding, however, the

[1] Lucky Spence's Last Advice. Ramsay's Poems, 4to, p. 33.

authority on which this rests, it is probable that the utmost countenance afforded by these divines was their presence at the rehearsal, and the dinner which succeeded it in the Erskine Club, at the Abbey.[1] The old tenement, wherein this singular assemblage took place, has been entirely demolished to make way for a chapel and school founded by the Duchess of Gordon for the inhabitants of the Sanctuary. The antique building to the south, separated from this by the vennel mentioned above, appears from the titles to have been the residence of Francis Lord Napier at the memorable era of the Union Parliament.

The ancient Tennis Court, the frequent scene of the dramatic amusements of the royal occupants of Holyrood, which survives now only in name, immediately without the Water Gate, has been repeatedly referred to in the course of the work.[2] The game of Tennis, which was a favourite sport throughout Europe during last century, is now almost unknown. Its last most celebrated Scottish players are said to have been James Hepburn, Esq. of Keith, and the famous John Law, of Laurieston, afterwards Comptroller-General of the finances in France.[3] The whole ground to the eastward of the Tennis Court appears in Edgar's map as open garden ground attached to the Palace, with the exception of the small building known as Queen Mary's Bath; but shortly after Lord Adam Gordon, Commander of the Forces in Scotland, took up his residence at Holyrood Palace in 1789, he granted permission to several favourite veterans, who had served under him abroad, to erect small booths and cottages along the garden wall; and they so effectually availed themselves of the privilege that several of the cottages have since risen to be substantial three and four storied lands. John Keith, a favourite subaltern, obtained at that time the piece of ground immediately adjoining Queen Mary's Bath, and in the course of rearing the large building, which now remains in the possession of his daughters, he had to demolish part of a turret staircase which led to the roof of the Bath. Here, on removing a portion of the slating, a richly-inlaid dagger of antique form, and greatly corroded with rust, was found sticking in the sarking of the roof. It remained for many years in the possession of the veteran owner, and used to hang above the parlour fire-place along with his own sword. His daughter, to whom we owe these particulars, described the ancient weapon "as though it had the king's arms on it, done in gold." It was finally lent to a young friend, to add to his other decorations, preparatory to his figuring in one of the processions during the visit of George IV. to Edinburgh in 1822, and was lost through the carelessness of the borrower. This very curious relic of antiquity has been supposed, with considerable appearance of probability, to have formed one of the weapons of the murderers of Rizzio, who are known to have escaped through this part of the royal gardens.[4] This curious and exceedingly picturesque lodge of the ancient Palace is well worthy of preservation, and it is to be hoped will meet with due care in any projected improvements in the neighbourhood of Holyrood House. The tradition of its having been used as a bath by the Scottish Queen is of old standing. Pennant tells us

[1] *Vide* Burton's Life of Hume, vol. i. p. 420, where it is shown that Dr Robertson was not then principal, nor Dr Ferguson, professor; though this is of little account, if they lived at the time in friendship with Home. Among the company at the Abbey were Lord Elibank, Lord Milton, Lord Kames, and Lord Monboddo.

[2] Ante, p. 103.

[3] Archæol. Scot., vol. i. p. 508.

[4] Ante p. 76. We have made this curious discovery the subject of careful investigation, and feel assured that no one who makes the same inquiries at the respectable proprietors of the house will entertain any doubt on the subject.

seriously that Mary is reported to have used a bath of white wine to exalt her charms, a custom, he adds, strange, but not without precedent.[1] Other no less efficacious means have been assigned as the expedients resorted to by Queen Mary for shielding her beauty against the assaults of time, but the existence of a very fine spring of water immediately underneath the earthen floor might reasonably suggest her use of the pure and limpid element.

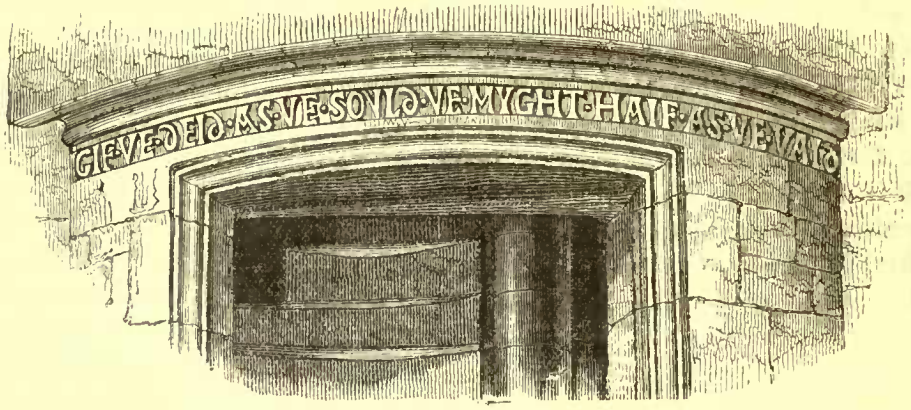
Beyond this lies the district of Abbey Hill, an old-fashioned suburb that has risen up around the outskirts of the Palace, and includes one or two ancient fabrics that have probably formed the residence of the courtiers of Holyrood in days of yore. Here is a narrow lane leading into St Anne's Park, which bears the curious Gaelic title of *Croft-an-righ*, or the King's Field; a name that furnishes very intelligible evidence of its former enclosure within the royal demesnes. One ancient tenement near the Palace has the angles of its southern gable flanked with large round turrets, in the castellated style of James VI.'s reign, while the north front is ornamented with dormer windows. This antique fabric answers generally to the description of the mansion purchased by William Graham, Earl of Airth, from the Earl of Linlithgow, at the instigation of his *woefull wyse wyfe*. It is described by him as the house at the back of the Abbey of Holyrood House, which sometime belonged to the Lord Elphinstone; and though, he adds, "within two years after, or thereby, that house took fyre accedintallie, and wes totallie burned, as it standeth now, like everie thing that the unhappie woman, my wyfe, lade hir hand to,"[2] many of our old Scottish houses have survived such conflagrations, and still remain in good condition.

[1] Pennant's Tour, vol. i. p. 71.

[2] Minor Antiquities, p. 271.

CHAPTER VIII.

ST LEONARD'S, ST MARY'S WYND, AND THE COWGATE.



THE date of erection of the first houses in the ancient thoroughfare of the Cowgate may be referred, without hesitation, to the reign of James III., when the example of the King, who, as Drummond relates, "was much given to buildings, and trimming up of chappels, halls, and gardens," was likely to encourage his courtiers in rearing elegant and costly mansions; and when, at the same time, the frequent assembling of the Parliament and the presence of the Court at Edinburgh, were calculated to drive them beyond the recently-built walls of the capital. Evidence, indeed, derived from some early charters, seems to prove the existence of buildings beyond the range of the first wall, prior to its erection, but these were at most one or two isolated and rural dwellings, and cannot be considered as having formed any part of the street.

The whole southern slope of the Old Town, on which the steep closes extending between the High Street and the Cowgate have since been reared, must then have formed a rough and unencumbered bank, surmounted by the massive wall and towers erected by virtue of the charter of James II. in 1450, and skirted at its base by the open roadway that led from the Abbey of Holyrood to the more ancient Church of St Cuthbert, below the Castle rock. It requires, indeed, a stretch of the imagination to conceive this crowded steep, which has rung for centuries with the busy sounds of life and industry, a rugged slope, unoccupied save by brushwood and flowering shrubs; yet the change effected on it in the fifteenth century was only such another extension as many living can remember to have witnessed on a greater scale over the downs and cultivated fields now occupied by

VIGNETTE—Ancient Doorway, foot of Horse Wynd, Cowgate.

the modern town. To the same period may be referred, with much probability, the erection of houses along the ancient roadway from Leith that skirted the east wall of the town; and probably also the founding of the nunnery from whence the southern portion of it derived its name, although Chalmers, seemingly on insufficient evidence, assigns the origin of the latter to "the uncertain piety of the twelfth century."[1] Spottiswoode remarks, "in the chartularies of St Giles's, the Nuns of St Mary's Wynd in the City of Edinburgh are recorded. The chapel and convent stood near to the walls of the garden belonging at present to the Marquis of Tweeddale, and from its being consecrated to the Virgin Mary, the street took its name which it still retains."[2] A curious allusion to this chapel occurs in the statutes of the burgh of Edinburgh, enacted during the dreadful visitation of the plague in 1530, where Marione Clerk is convicted by an assize of concealing her infection, and of having "past amangis the nychtbouris of this toune to the chapell of Sanct Mary Wynd on Sonday to the mess, and to hir sisteris house and vther placis," the pestilence being upon her, and thereby, as the statute says, doing all that was in her to have infected the whole town. The unhappy woman, convicted of the crime of going to church during her illness, is condemned to be drowned in the Quarell holes, and there can be no doubt that the cruel and barbarous sentence was carried into execution.[3] The salary of the chaplain of St Mary's Nunnery was, in 1490, only sixteen shillings and eightpence sterling yearly; and its whole revenues were probably never large, the most of them having apparently been derived from voluntary contributions.[4] The site of this ancient religious foundation was on the west side of the wynd, where it contracts in breadth, a few yards below the Nether Bow. Of its origin or founders nothing further is known, but it was most probably dismantled and ruined in the Douglas wars, when the houses in St Mary's and Leith Wynds were unroofed and converted into defensive barriers by the beleaguered citizens.[5]

[1] Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 761. [2] Spottiswoode's Religious Houses, 1755, p. 283.

[3] Acts and Statutes of the Burgh of Edinburgh; Mait. Misc. vol. ii. p. 115. This proceeding is by no means a solitary case. The following, which is of date August 2, 1530, is rendered more noticeable by the reasons for *mercy* that follow:—"The quhilk day forsamekle as it wes perfytlie vnderstaud and kend that Dauid Duly, tailyour, has haldin his wif seyk in the contagius seiknes of pestilens ij dayis in his house, and wald nocht revele the samyn to the officiaris of the toune quhill scho wes deid in the said seiknes. And in the meyn tyme the said Dauid past to Sanct Gelis Kirk quhilk was Sonday, and thair said mess amangis the cleyne pepill, his wif beand *in extremis* in the said seiknes, doand quhat was in him till haif infekkit all the toune. For the quhilk causis he was adiugit to be hangit on ane gebat befor his awin durr, and that wes gevin for dome."

The following notice of same date proves the execution of this strange sentence on the unfortunate widower, though he happily survived the effects:—"The quhilk day fforsamekle as Dauid Duly was decernit this day, befor none, for his demeritis to be hangit on ane gebbat befor his dure quhar he duellis, nochtwithstanding *because at the will of God he hes eschapit, and the raip brokin, and fallin of the gibbat, and is ane pure man with small barnis, and for pete of him*, the prouest, ballies, and counsall, bannasis the said Dauid this toune for all the dais of his lyf, and nocht to cum tharintill in the meyn tyme vnder the pain of deid."—Ibid, pp. 107, 108. [4] Arnot, p. 247.

[5] The following is the reference to the chapel in the titles of the property occupying its site:—"All and hail these two old tenements of land lying together on the west side of St Mary's Wynd, near the head of the same; the one on the south of old pertaining to Robert and Andrew Harts, and the other on the north called Crenzén's Land; and that laigh dwelling-house, entering from St Mary's Wynd, on the west side thairof, in the south part of the tenement, of old called St Mary's Chapel." In the *Inventarium Jocalium Altaris Monasterii Sancte Crucis*, 1493 (Bann. Misc. vol. ii. p. 24), there is mentioned "vna reliquia argentea pro altari Sancte Katerine cum osse eiusdem, quam fecit dominus Iohannes Crunzanne, quondam Vicarius de Vre." [Aberdeenshire.] It is possible this may have been the chaplain of the nunnery from whence the neighbouring tenement derived its name. Besides Alterages dedicated to the Virgin, there were in Edinburgh and its neighbourhood the Abbey Church of Holyrood, founded in honour of the Holy Cross, the Blessed Virgin, and all saints; Trinity College Church, in honour of the Holy Trinity, the ever blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, &c.; the large Collegiate Church of St Mary in the Fields; St Mary's Chapel and Nunnery in St Mary's Wynd; St Mary's

The tenement directly opposite to the site of St Mary's Chapel, and forming the south side of the alley leading into Boyd's Close, is curious, as having been the residence of James Norrie, painter, the celebrated decorator during the earlier part of last century, to whom we have already frequently referred. His workshops lay immediately behind, and adjoining to the coach-house of Lord Milton, as appears from the titles of the property. Both of them were afterwards converted into stabling for Boyd's celebrated White Horse Inn. This street then formed the approach to the town by one of the great roads from the south of Scotland; and here, accordingly, were several of the principal inns. At the foot of the wynd was Mr Peter Ramsay's famed establishment, from which he retired with an ample fortune, and withdrew to his estate of Barnton, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, still possessed by his descendants. A large and handsome edifice, with considerable pretensions to architectural ornament, near the foot of the Pleasance, was the Black Bull Inn, another of these commodious and fashionable establishments, which the erection of the North and South Bridges ruined, by diverting the current of visitors to the capital into a new channel.

Nicoll reports, in 1650, that "the toun demolished the haill houssis in St Marie Wynd, that the enymie sould haif no schelter thair, bot that thai mycht haif frie pas to thair cannoun, quhilk thai haid montit upone the Neddir Bow."[1] The earliest date now observable is that of 1680, cut over the doorway of a house about the middle of the wynd, on the east side, but one or two other tenements present features of an earlier character. At the foot of the wynd was situated the Cowgate Port, one of the city gates, constructed with the extended wall in 1513; and, at a later period, another was erected across the wynd at its junction with the Pleasance, which was known as St Mary's or the Pleasance Port. This was the frequent scene of exposure of the dismembered limbs of political offenders, as in the case of Garnock and other Covenanters, whose heads were ordered "to be struck off, and set up upon pricks upon the Pleasance Port of Edinburgh."[2] The old Port was demolished on the approach of the rebels in 1715, from the difficulty of maintaining it in case of assault;[3] but part of the wall remained, surmounted by one of the iron spikes, until it was demolished in 1837 to make way for the new Heriot's School. This ancient thoroughfare is commended in Ferguson's address to Auld Reekie, as the unfailing resort of threadbare poets and the like patrons of the Edinburgh rag-fair. It still continues to be the mart for such miscellaneous merchandise, flaunting in the motley colours of cast-off finery, and presided over by

"St Mary, broker's guardian saunt."[4]

Beyond St Mary's Port, lay the Nunnery dedicated to Sancta Maria de Placentia. It stood about sixty yards from the south-east angle of the city wall, not far from the foot of Roxburgh Street; but of this ancient religious foundation little more is known than the

Chapel, Niddry's Wynd; the Virgin Mary's Chapel, Portsburgh; the Hospital of Our Lady, Leith Wynd; the Chapel and Convent of St Mary de Placentia in the Pleasance; the great Church at Leith, of old styled St Mary's Chapel; and the Collegiate Church of Restalrig, the seal of which—now of very rare occurrence—bears the figure of the Virgin and Child, under a Gothic canopy.

[1] Nicoll's Diary, p. 24. [2] Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 159. [3] Keith's Hist. Spottiswoode Soc., vol. ii. p. 619.

[4] The east side of this narrow wynd has now been entirely removed, and a spacious street substituted, named St Mary's Street.

name.[1] This district anciently formed a part of the town of St Leonards, as it is styled in the charter of Charles I. confirming the superiority of it to the magistrates of Edinburgh; and the name of Pleasance, that early superseded its quaint title of Dearenough, and by which the main thoroughfare of this ancient village is still known, preserves a solitary memorial of its long extinct convent. Some singularly primitive erections, which remain on the east side of the street, undoubtedly belong, at the latest, to the early part of the sixteenth century. A plain but very substantial substructure of stone is surmounted by a timber superstructure mainly consisting of a long sloping roof, pierced with irregular windows and loopholes wherever convenience has suggested an opening; while the whole plan of domestic architecture is evidently the result of a state of society when it was no unusual occurrence for the villager to carry off his straw roof along with him, and leave the enemy to work their will on the deserted walls.[2]

St John's Hill and the village of Pleasance form a portion of the long ridge which skirts the valley at the base of Salisbury Crags. The whole of this ground appears to have been ecclesiastical property in early times, and appropriated to various religious foundations, all of which were subject to the canons of Holyrood.[3] St Leonard's Lane bounded it on the south, separating it on that side from the Borough Muir. At the junction of these lands there stood, in ancient times, a cross, which is understood to have been erected in memory of one Umfraville, a person of distinction, who was slain on the spot in some forgotten contest.[4] The shaft of the cross had long disappeared, having probably been destroyed at the Reformation; but the base, a large square plinth, with a hollow socket in which it had stood, was only removed in the early part of the present century. On an eminence at the end of the lane stood the chapel and hospital of St Leonard, but not a fragment of either is now left, though the font and holy water stoup remained in Maitland's time, and the enclosed ground was then set apart as a cemetery for self-murderers. The hospital was one of those erected for the reception of strangers, and the maintenance of the poor and infirm, and near to it there was another on the road betwixt Edinburgh and Dalkeith, founded by Robert Ballantyne, Abbot of Holyrood, for seven poor people. Of these hospitals, which were governed by a superior who bore the title of *Magister*, Spottiswoode enumerates twenty-eight in Scotland at the period of the Reformation.[5] St Leonard's Chapel was the scene of a traitorous meeting of the Douglases, held on the 2d of February 1528, to concert the assassination of their

[1] Maitland, p. 176. Piacenza, or Placentia, is now the second town in the Duchy of Parma. The Church of S. Maria di Campagna, belongs to the Franciscan Friars. It was made the subject of special privileges by Pope Urban II., owing to his mother being buried there.

[2] A relic of a remoter era, a copper coin of the Roman Emperor Vespasian, was found in a garden in the Pleasance, and presented to the Society of Antiquaries in 1782.—Account of the Society, p. 72.

[3] The following names of property in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh occur in the Stent Rolls of Holyrood, 1578-1630:—"The Kirkland of Libertoun, the landis callit Pleasance and Deiranewch, the aikeris callit Biedmannis Croft of Sanct Leonardis gait, the landis of Bonyngtoun, the landis of Pilrig and commoun mvir, the landis of Wareistoun, the laudis of Brochtoun, the landis of Coittis, the laudis of Sauchtonhall and Sauchton," &c.—Liber Cartarum, p. cxvii.

[4] Maitland, p. 276, Umfraville was the name of an old border family of note, whose Castle of Harbottle, in the middle marches, passed by marriage into the Talbois family. Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Umfraville, knight of Harbottle, is mentioned by Wood as married, about 1430, to Sir John Constable of Halsham, ancestor of the Viscounts Dunbar.

[5] Spottiswoode's Religious Houses, p. 291.

sovereign, James V.[1] They were to enter the palace by a window at the head of the King's bed, which was pointed out by Sir James Hamilton, one of their accomplices, who used to be the King's bedfellow, according to the homely fashion of the times. The energetic measures which were adopted on the discovery of this plot greatly tended to secure the peace and good government of the capital.

At the foot of the Pleasance was the Cowgate Port, one of the principal gates of the city, which afforded access to the ancient street from whence it derived its name. Alexander Alesse, a canon of St Andrew's, who left Scotland in 1532 to escape the persecution to which he was exposed in consequence of adopting the principles of the early Reformers, describes the Cowgate thus:—"Infiniti viculi, qui omnes excelsis sunt ornati ædibus, sicut et Via Vaccarum; in qua habitant patricii et senatores urbis, et in qua sunt principum regni palatia, ubi nihil est humile aut rusticum, sed omnia magnifica." Mean and degraded as this ancient thoroughfare now is, there are not wanting traces of those palmy days when the nobles and senators of the capital had there their palaces, whose magnificence excited the admiration of strangers, though now its name has almost passed into a byeword. A little to the westward, beyond a slight but picturesque old fabric which forms the north side of the Cowgate Port, the large old gateway remains which gave access to the extensive pleasure grounds attached to the Marquis of Tweeddale's residence. In Edgar's map, this garden ground appears rising in a succession of terraces towards the noble residence, and thickly planted in parts with trees; nevertheless, the whole area had been covered at an earlier period with the crowded dwellings of the ancient capital, as appears from Gordon's view of 1647; and now the noble gardens are anew giving place to rude masonry. The Cowgate Chapel occupies one large portion, and manufactories, with meaner buildings, hem it in on nearly every side. Towards the west, at the foot of Gray's Close, is Elphinstone's Court, already described, and beyond it the Mint Court still stands, with its sombre and massive turret of polished ashlar work protruding into the narrow thoroughfare of the Cowgate.

The venerable quadrangle of the Scottish Mint is formed by an irregular assemblage of buildings of various ages and styles, yet most of them still retaining some traces of the important operations once carried on within their walls. The Mint House was on the west side of the Abbey Close at Holyrood Palace, in the earlier part of Queen Mary's reign, as appears from evidence previously quoted. From thence it was removed for greater safety to the new Mint House, erected in the Castle in 1559;[2] and although, during the troubled period that followed soon after, the chief coining operations were carried on at Dalkeith and elsewhere, Sir William Kirkaldy still made use of "the cunzie hous in the Castle of Edinburgh, quilk cunzet the auld cunzie of the Queen."[3] No other Mint House was permanently established in Edinburgh until the almost total destruction of the buildings in the Castle during the memorable siege of 1572. The date over the main entrance to the most ancient portion of buildings in the Cowgate, at the foot of Toddrick's Wynd,

[1] Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 615.

[2] In the Treasurers' accounts, the following entry occurs: February 1562-3:—"Item, allowit to the Comptar, be payment maid be Johne Achesoun, Maister Cwnzeour, to Maister William M'Dowgale, Maister of Werk, for expensis maid be him vpon the bigging of the Cwnze-hous, within the Castell of Edinburgh, and beting of the Cwnze-hous within the Palace of Halierudhouse, fra the xi day of Februar 1559 zeris, to the 21 of April 1560, £460, 4s. 1d."

[3] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 291.

is 1574, showing that their erection took place almost immediately after the demolition of the Castle.

This remnant of one of the most important Government Offices of Scotland at that early date is a curious sample of the heavy and partially castellated edifices of the period. The whole building was probably intended, when completed, to form a quadrangle surrounded on every side by the same substantial walls, well suited for defence against any ordinary assault; while its halls were lighted from the enclosed court. The small windows in this part of the building remain in their original state, being divided by an oaken transom, and the under part closed with a pair of folding shutters. The massive ashlar walls are relieved by ornamental string courses, and surmounted with crow steps of the earliest form, and of elegant proportions. The original entrance, which is on the west side of the projecting turret, has long been closed up, and its sill is now sunk considerably below the level of the paving owing to the gradual rising of the street, so common in earlier times, and of which we shall hereafter refer to much more surprising proofs. It bears on its lintel the following legend neatly cut in Roman characters :— BE · MERCIFVL · TO · ME · O · GOD · 1574, above which is an ornamental niche, not unlikely to have contained a bust of King James. The internal marks of former magnificence are still more interesting than these external ones, notwithstanding the humble uses to which the buildings have latterly been applied; in particular, some portions of a very fine oak ceiling still remain, wrought in Gothic panneling, and retaining traces of the heraldic blazonry with which it was originally adorned. Two large and handsome windows above the archway leading to Toddrick's Wynd,[1] give light to this once magnificent hall, which is said to have formed the council-room where the officers of the Mint assembled to assay the metal, and to discuss the general affairs of the establishment. Here was the scene of the splendid banquet given "at the requeist of the Kingis Majestie and for honour of the toun," to the Danish nobles and ambassadors, who came over in the train of Anne, Queen of James VI., in 1590. The King writes, while absent on his matrimonial expedition, to Sir Alexander Lindsay, whom he soon after created Lord Spynie :—"From the Castell of Croneburgh, quhairc we are drinking and dryuing our in the auld maner," and the entertainment of his guests on his return appears to have shown no wish for a change of fashion in this respect. The banquet was furnished on Sunday evening, in the great hall at the foot of Toddrick's Wynd, which was hung with tapestry, and decorated with flowers for the occasion; and the wine and ale form the chief items in the provision ordered by the council for the noble strangers.[2]

In the introductory historical sketch some extracts are given from the very curious

[1] As before mentioned (ante, p. 263), several interesting houses, referred to here and on subsequent pages, have been taken down to make way for City improvements.

[2] 21st May 1590. "The quhilk day, John Arnott, Provest, Henry Charteris, &c., being convenit in the counsall at the requeist of the Kingis Majestie, and for honour of the Toun; It was thocht and agreit to mak ane honourabill banket to the Dence Imbassadours, and the famous persouns of thair company, quha arryvet furth of Denmark with the King and Queynis Majesties, and this upoun the Townis charges and expensis, to be maid in Thomas Aitchisoun's, Master of the Cunyie hous lugeing at Todrik's Wynd fute, upon Sonday at evin next to cum; and for the making of the preparatioun and furnessing thairto, hes set doun and devyset the ordour following; to wit, that the Thesaurer caus bye and lay in four punsheons wyne; John Borthuik, baxter, to get four bunnis of beir, with four gang of aill, and to furneis breid; Henry Charteris and Roger Macnacht to caus hing the hous with tapestrie, set the buirds, furmis, chandleris and get flowres, &c."—*Vide*, p. 88.

poem by John Byrel, written on the occasion of Queen Anne's arrival, and entitled, "The Description of the Qveenis Maiesties maist honourable entry into the tovn of Edinbvrgh." The history of the author is unknown, but we have found among the title-deeds of part of the old property at the foot of Toddrick's Wynd, a disposition of a house by "John Burrell, goldsmith, yane of the printers in his Majestie's cunzie hous," dated 1628, and which, when taken in connection with the profuse and very circumstantial minuteness with which the poet dwells on the jewellery that was displayed on that occasion, seems to afford good presumptive evidence of this being the same person. After devoting nine stanzas to such professional details, he sums up the inventory by declaring:—

All precius stains micht thair be sene,
Quhilk in the world had ony name,
Save that quhilk Cleopatra Queene
Did swallow ore into hir wame!

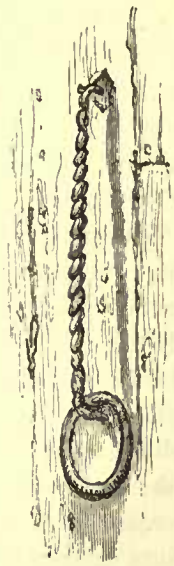
The poet proceeds thereafter to describe, with equal zest, the golden chains and other ornaments made of the precious metals, and concludes with a patriotic supplication to heaven on behalf of the good town. The goldsmiths connected with the Mint would appear to have possessed lodgings either within the building or in its immediate neighbourhood; and it was no doubt owing to George Heriot's professional avocations that he obtained the great tenement forming the north side of the Mint Court, which was afterwards devised by him as the most suitable place for his benevolent foundation.[1] George Heriot's large messuage or tenement was found by his executors to be waste and ruinous, and altogether unsuited for the purposes of his foundation. The buildings that now occupy its site appear to have been erected exactly a century later than the older portion of the Mint Close. An ornamental sun-dial, which decorates the eastern wing, bears the date 1674; and over the main doorway on the first floor, which is approached, in the old fashion, by an outside stair, the letters C. R. II. are sculptured, surmounting a crown, with the inscription and date, GOD SAVE THE KING, 1675. Here was the lodging of the celebrated Earl of Argyle during his attendance on the Scottish Parliament, after Charles II. had unexpectedly restored him to his father's title, as appears from a curious case reported in Fountainhall's Decisions.[2] The date is November 22, 1681, only a few days after the Earl had been committed a prisoner to Edinburgh Castle, from whence he effected his escape under the disguise of a page, holding up the train of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step-daughter. Towards the close of last century, the mansion on the north side of the court was the residence of the eminent physician, Dr Cullen, while Lord Hailes occupied the more ancient lodging on the south, before he removed to the modern dwelling erected for himself in New Street. The west side of the court was at one time the abode of Lord Belhaven; and Lord Haining, the Countess of Stair, Douglas of Cavers, and other distinguished tenants, occupied this fashionable quarter of the town during the last century.

[1] In Heriot's will the property is described as "theis my great tenements of landis, &c., lyand on the south side of the King his Highe Streit thairoff, betwixt the Cloise or Wenall callit Gray's Clois or Coyne Hous Cloise, at the east, the Wynd or Wenell callit Todrig's Wynd at the west, and *the said Coyne Hous Clois at the south.*"—Dr Steven's Life of George Heriot, App. p. 27.

[2] Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 163.

The main entrance on the first floor of the west side is approached, like that on the south, by a broad flight of steps extending into the court. The doorway is furnished with a very substantial iron knocker, of old-fashioned proportions and design; but on the lower entrance, underneath the stair, there remains a fine specimen of the knocker's more ancient predecessor, the Risp, or Tirling Pin, so frequently alluded to in Scottish song, as in the fine old ballad:—

> There came a ghost to Margaret's door,
> Wi' mony a grievous groan;
> And aye he tirled at the pin,
> But answer made she none.[1]



The ancient privilege of sanctuary which pertained to these buildings, as the offices of the Scottish Mint, is curiously illustrated by the case in Lord Fountainhall's Reports referred to above. A complaint was laid before the Privy Council, November 22, 1681, that a cabinet of the Earl of Argyle, which had been poinded forth of the "coin-house" of Edinburgh, for a debt owing by the Earl's bond, had been rescued by open violence. In the debate that follows, its full privileges as "an asyle, refuge, and sanctuary, to protect and defend the persons of the servants employed to work there in the service of the King and kingdom," as well as their tools and instruments, are admitted, and the claims of "the abbey, the coin-house, and such other places as pretend to be sanctuaries," are all placed on the same footing, without any final decision as to their rights.

The Archiepiscopal Palace, whose remains occupied the space between Toddrick's and Blackfriars' Wynd, afforded a striking example of the revolutions effected by time and changing fashions on the ancient haunts of those most eminent for rank and power. No doubt could be entertained, from the appearance of the building, that a large part of it had been rebuilt in a style more adapted to its humble denizens than to the period when, in the Cowgate, "were the palaces belonging to the princes of the land, nothing there being humble or rustic, but all magnificent!" It had originally enclosed a small quadrangle, and nearly the whole of the ground floor was substantially arched with stone, resting on solid piers, well calculated to afford secure protection against such assaults as it was frequently exposed to during the *raids* and *tulzies* of the sixteenth century.[2] The entrance to the inner courtyard was by an arched passage in Blackfriars' Wynd, within which a

[1] These antique precursors of the knocker and bell are still frequently to be met with in the steep turnpikes of the Old Town, notwithstanding the cupidity of antiquarian collectors. The ring is drawn up and down the notched iron rod, and makes a very audible noise within.

[2] "Feb. 8, 1541-2.—Remission to John Lausone, John Scot, John Myllar, and John Scot, sen., for their treasonable besieging and breaking up the gates and doors of the lodging belonging to James (Archbishop) of Sanctandrois, situite in the Blackfriars' Wynd, within the Burgh of Edinburgh, for his capture and apprehension, he being within the said lodging at the time," &c.—Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, p. *257. The Archbishop died in 1539. This was no doubt an Act of Privy Council, applied for thereafter.

broad flight of steps conducted to the main floor of the building. By this mode of construction, common in old times, the approach to the quadrangle could be secured against any ordinary attack, and the indwellers might then hold out, as in their castle, until they made terms with their assailants, or were relieved by a superior force.

The ancient building was erected by James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, as appears from various allusions to it by early writers.[1] He became Lord High Treasurer in 1505, and was promoted to the Archiepiscopate of Glasgow in 1509, so that we may unhesitatingly assign the date of this erection to the beginning of the sixteenth century. He busied himself, after his translation to this see, in promoting many important erections, and greatly enlarged and beautified the Episcopal Palace of Glasgow. Upon all the buildings erected by him his armorial bearings were conspicuously displayed, and a large stone tablet remained till a few years since over the archway of Blackfriars' Wynd, leading into the inner court, blazoned with the Beaton Arms, supported by two angels in Dalmatic habits, and surmounted by a crest, sufficiently defaced to enable antiquaries to discover in it either a mitre or a cardinal's hat, according as their theory of the original ownership inclined towards the Archbishop, or his more celebrated nephew, the Cardinal.[2]

The exterior angle of this building towards the Cowgate was finished with a hexagonal turret, projecting from a stone pillar which sprang from the ground, and formed a singularly picturesque feature in that ancient thoroughfare. We find, however, from the early titles of the property, that the Archbishop's residence and grounds had included not only the buildings between Blackfriars' and Toddrick's Wynds, but the whole of the site occupied by the ancient buildings of the Mint; so that there can be little doubt the Archbishop had extensive gardens attached to his lodgings in the capital. An inspection of the back wall of the Mint in Toddrick's Wynd would confirm the idea of its having succeeded to a more ancient building of considerable architectural pretensions; as, on minute examination, various carved stones will be observed built up among the materials of the rubble work.[3]

Here the Earl of Arran and the chief adherents of his faction were assembled on the 30th of April 1520, engaged in maturing their hastily-concerted scheme for seizing the

[1] "Bischope James Beatoun remained still in Edinburgh in his awin ludging, quhilk he biggit in the Frieris Wynd." —Pitscottie's Chronicles, vol. ii. p. 313.

[2] Nisbet, who is the best of all authorities on such a subject, says:—"With us angels have been frequently made use of as supporters. Cardinal Beaton had his supported by two angels in Dalmatic habits, or, as some say, priestly ones, which are yet to be seen on his lodgings in Blackfriars' Wynd."—Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii. part iv. The stone, which is now in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq., is exceedingly soft and much worn. The crest has most probably been an otter's head, which was that borne by the family. It is certainly neither a mitre nor a cardinal's hat, and indeed the arms are simply those of the family, and not impaled with those of any see, as we might expect them to have been if surmounted with such an official badge.

[3] The following is the definition of the property as contained in a deed dated 1639, and preserved in the Burgh Charter Room:—"Disposition of house, John Sharpe, elder, of Houston, advocate, to Mr J. Sharpe, younger, his son. . . All and hail that great lodging or tenement, back and fore, under and above, biggit and waste, with the yards and pert^{t} some time pertaining to the Archbishop of St Andrew's, thereafter to umq^{le} John Beaton of Capeldraw, thereafter to the heirs of umq Archibald Stewart and Helen Aitchison, and thereafter pertaining to umq^{le} Thomas Aitchison, his Highness Maister Cunzier, lying within the Burgh of Edinburgh, on ye south of the King's High Street thereof, on ye east side of ye trance thereof, betwixt the close called Gray's Close and ye vennel called Toddrick's Wynd upon ye east, the transe of ye said Blackfriers' Wynd on ye west, the High Street of Cowgate on ye south, the yard of umq^{le} John Barclay, thereafter pertaining to umq Alex. Hunter, &c., on ye north," &c.

Earl of Angus, and in all probability putting him to death, when Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, the celebrated author of the *Pallis of Honor*, waited on the Archbishop, to entreat his mediation between the rival chiefs. The result of the interview has been related in the earlier part of this work. The Archbishop was already in armour, though under cover of his rochet, and when they met again after the bloody contest of "Cleanse the Causeway," it was in the neighbouring Church of the Blackfriars', where the poet's interference alone prevented the warlike Bishop from being slain in arms at the altar. After living in obscurity for a time, he was promoted to the Metropolitan See of St Andrew's by the interest of the Duke of Albany, and yet, such were the strange vicissitudes of that age, that he is believed to have escaped the vengeance of the Douglases during their brief triumph in 1525 by literally exchanging his crozier for a shepherd's crook, and tending a flock of sheep upon Bogrian-knowe, not far from his own diocesan capital. His venerable lodging in the capital is styled by Maitland, "The Archiepiscopal Palace, belonging to the See of St Andrews." James V. appears to have taken up his abode there on his arrival in Edinburgh, in 1528, preparatory to summoning a Parliament; and the Archbishop, who had been one of the most active promoters of his liberation from the Douglas faction, became his entertainer and host. The tradition which assigns the same mansion as the residence of Cardinal Beaton, the nephew of its builder, appears exceedingly probable, from his propinquity to the Archbishop, though no mention is made of him in the titles, unless where he may be referred to by the Episcopal designation common to both.[1]

The Palace of the Bishops of Dunkeld, and of Gawin Douglas in particular, the friendly opponent of the Archbishop, stood on the opposite side of the same street, immediately to the west of Robertson's Close, and scarcely an hundred yards from Blackfriars' Wynd.[2] It appears to have been an extensive mansion, with large gardens attached to it, running back nearly to the Old Town wall. Among the pious and munificent acts recorded by Mylne[3] of Bishop Lauder, the preceptor of James II., who was promoted to the See of Dunkeld in 1452, are the purchasing of a mansion in Edinburgh for himself and successors, and the founding of an altarage in St Giles' Church there to St Martin, to which his successor, Bishop Livingston, became also a contributor.[4] The evidence quoted

[1] The ancient mansion of the Beatons possesses an additional interest, as having been the first scene of operations of the High School of Edinburgh, while a building was erecting for its use, as appears from the following notices in the Burgh Record:—"March 12, 1554.—Caus big the grammer skule, lyand on the eist syd of the Kirk-of-Field Wynd. Jun. 14, 1555.—House at the fute of the Blackfrier Wynd tane to be the grammer scole quhill Witsonday nixt to cum, for xvj li. of male." Tabula Naufragii. Motherwell, privately printed. Glas. 1834.

[2] This site of the Bishop of Dunkeld's lodging was pointed out by Mr R. Chambers in a communication read before the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 7, 1847. The following notice, which occurs in a MS. list of pious donations in the Advocates' Library, of a charter of mortification, dated ult. Jan. 1498, confirms the description:—"A charter by Thos. Cameron, mortifying to a chaplain of St Catharine's altar in St Geiles' Kirk, his tenement in Edinburgh, in the Cowgate, on the south side thereof, betwixt the Bishop of Dunkeld's Land on the east, and William Rappillowes on the west, the common street on the north, and the gait that leads to the Kirk-of-Field [*i.e.*, Infirmary Street] on the south." We have referred, however, in a previous chapter to the *Clam-shell Turnpike* in the High Street, as bearing the same designation; and the following applies it to a third tenement seemingly on the north side of the same street:—"A charter be Janet Paterson, reliet of umq" Alex. Lewder of Blyth, mortiefieing to a chaplaine in St Gilies Kirk an ann. rent of 4 merks out of Wm. Carkettel's land in Edinburgh on the north side of the street, betwixt the Bishop of Dunkell's land on the east, and the lo/ St Jo. [Lord St John's] land on the west," dated "20 June, Regni 10," probably 1523. Dec. an. reg. Jac. V.

[3] Vitæ Dunkeldensis Ecclesiæ Episcoporum, p. 24.

[4] "Charter of mortification by Mr Thomas Lauder, canon in Aberdeen [the future bishop, as we presume], to a chap-

below renders it probable that the Episcopal residence in the capital, thus permanently attached to the See of Dunkeld, was the lodging on the south side of the Cowgate; and the same ecclesiastical biographer already referred to mentions as one of the good works of Bishop Brown, the predecessor of Douglas, that he built the south wing of the house at Edinburgh belonging to the Bishops of Dunkeld.[1] It cannot be doubted that the mansion thus gifted and enlarged was a building well suited by its magnificence for the abode of the successive dignitaries of the Church who were promoted to that exalted station, and that it formed another striking feature in this street of palaces. Its vicinity both to the Archiepiscopal residence and to the Blackfriars' Church—the later scene of rescue of Archbishop Beaton by Gawin Douglas—affords a very satisfactory illustration of one of the most memorable occurrences during the turbulent minority of James V. The poet, after his ineffectual attempt at mediation, retired with grief to his own house, and employed himself in acts of devotion suited to the danger to which his friends were exposed; from thence he rushed out, on learning of the termination of the fray, in time to interpose effectually on behalf of the warlike priest, who had been personally engaged in the contest, and, according to Buchanan, "flew about in armour like a firebrand of sedition." This old Episcopal residence has other associations of a very different nature; for we learn from Knox's history that, when he was summoned to appear in the Blackfriars' Church on the 15th of May 1556, and his opponents deserted their intended attack through fear, "the said Johne, the same day of the summondis, tawght in Edinburgh in a greattar audience then ever befoir he had done in that toune: The place was the Bischope of Dunkellis, his great loodgeing, whare he continewed in doctrin ten dayis, boyth befoir and after nune."[2] A modern land now occupies the site of Bishop Douglas's Palace; and the pleasure grounds wherein the poet was wont to stray, and on which we may suppose him to have exercised his refined taste and luxurious fancy in realizing such a "gardyne of plesance" as he describes in the opening stanzas of his *Pallis of Honor*, is now crowded with mean dwellings of the artizan and labourer—too much engrossed with the cares of their own domestic circle to heed the illustrious memories that linger about these lowly habitations.

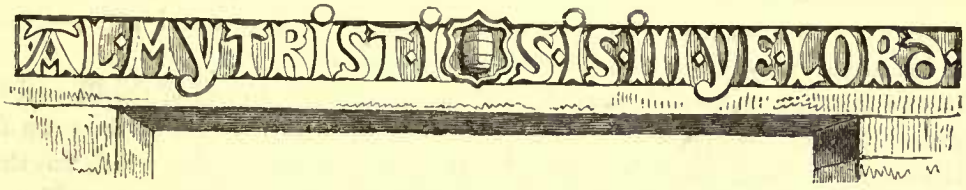
The range of buildings extending from the Cowgate Port to the Old High School Wynd, on the south side of the street, still includes several exceedingly picturesque timber-fronted tenements of an early date; but none of them possess those characteristics of former magnificence which were to be seen in the Mint Close. A finely carved lintel, which surmounted the doorway of one of a similar range of antique tenements to the west of the High School Wynd, has been replaced over the entrance to the modern building, erected on the same site in 1801. The inscription, of which we furnish a sketch, is boldly cut in an unusual

lain in St Geiles Kirk in Edinburgh, of an annual rent of 6 merks out of the tenement of Donald de Keyle on the N. side of the gaite . . . . an annual rent. of 40 sh. out of his own house lyand in the Cowgaite, betwixt the land of the Abbot of Melros on the east, and of George Cochran on the west," &c.—23d Jan. 1449; MS. Advoc. Lib. "A mortification made by James [Livingston] Bishop of Dunkeld, to a chaplain of St Martin and Thomas's Altar, in St Geiles Kirk of Edinburgh, of an annual rent of £10 out of his tenement lying in the said burgh, on the north side of the Hie Street," &c.—Ibid. "Confirmation of a charter granted be Thomas [Lauder] Bishop of Dunkeld, to a chaplain of the Holy Cross Isle, in St Geiles Kirk in Edinburgh," of divers annual rents, dated 17th March 1480.—Ibid.

[1] Vitæ Dunkeld. Episc. p. 46.

[2] Knox's Works, Wodrow Soc., vol. i. p. 251.

character, and with a shield in the centre, the armorial bearings of which have been replaced by a brewer's barrel, the device of its modern owner and occupant. We have found, on examining ancient charters and title-deeds referring to property in the Cowgate, much greater difficulty in assigning the exact tenements referred to, from the absence of such marked and easily recognisable features as serve for a guide in the High Street and Canongate. All such evidence, however, tends to prove that the chief occupants of this ancient thoroughfare were eminent for rank and station, and their dwellings appear to have been chiefly in the front street, showing that, with patrician exclusiveness, traders were forbid to open their booths within its dignified precincts. Another feature, no less



noticeable, is the extensive possessions which the Church held within its bounds. An ancient land, for example, which occupied the site of one now standing at the foot of Blair Street, on the west side, is described in the titles of the adjoining property as pertaining to the Altar of St Katharine, in the Kirk-of-Field. In 1494, Walter Bertram, Provost of Edinburgh, bestowed an annual rent from his tenement in the Cowgate "to a chaplain of St Lawrence's Altar, in St Giles' Church." In 1528, Wm. Chapman "mortified to a chaplain in St Giles' Kirk, at Jesus' Altar, in a chapel built by himself," a tenement and piece of ground in the same street, "reserving to ye patrons y^r of 26s. 8d. for repairing the chapel with skletts and glass." Both Walter Chepman and Thomas Cameron have already been named as similar donors. We shall only notice one more from the same source:—"A mortification made be Janet Kennedy, Lady Bothwell, who was before spouse to Archibald Earl of Angus, mortefeing to a chaplain in the Marie Kirk in the Field, beside Edinburgh, her fore land of umq^le Hew Berries tenement, and chamber adjacent y^r to, lying in the Cowgait, on the south side of the street, betwixt Ja. Earl of Buchan's land on the east, and Thos. Tod's on ye west."[1] We have already referred to "the Erle of Maris, now present Regent, lugeing in the Kowgait," in 1572,[2] and other eminent laymen will presently appear among the residenters in this patrician quarter of the town.

The destruction of an ancient tenement in the Cowgate, in the month of June 1787, when clearing the ground for the building of the South Bridge, brought to light some curious memorials of an earlier age. The workmen employed in its demolition discovered a cavity containing a quantity of money for the reception of which it appeared to have been constructed. The treasure was found, on examination, to consist of a number of small coins of Edward I. commonly called Longshanks, who, in the year 1295, defeated the Scots at Dunbar, and soon after compelled the Castle of Edinburgh to surrender to his

[1] A perfect inventar of Pious Donations. MS. Advocates' Lib.

[2] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 299.

overpowering force. Conjecture is vain as to the depositor of this hidden treasure; but we may fancy the prowess or cunning of some hardy burgher achieving sudden victory over a stray band of the insolent invaders, and concealing here the hard-won spoils, for which he never returned. Beyond the arch of the bridge, from whence the busy crowds of the modern city look down on this deserted scene of former magnificence, we again come to antique memorials of other times. Here was a steep and straiteued alley ascending towards the southern side of the town, which formed in remote times the avenue to the Collegiate Church of St Mary in the Fields; and at a more recent, though still early period, the public approach to the Old College of Edinburgh. This ancient avenue possessed interesting associations with successive generations, from the period when Dominicans and Greyfriars, and the priests and choristers of St Mary's College, clamb the steep ascent, down to a time, not long gone by, when grave professors and wily practitioners of the law shared among them its *flats* and common stairs.

This ancient thoroughfare formerly bore the name of "The Wynd of the Blessed Virgin Mary in-the-Field," as appears from the charters of property acquired by the town for the establishment of King James's College.[1] About the middle of the wynd, on the east side, a curious and antique edifice retained many of its original features, notwithstanding its transmutation from a *Collegium Sacerdotum*, or prebendal building of the neighbouring collegiate church, to a brewers' granary and a spirit vault. Such, at least, we conceive to have been its original destination. The ground floor had been entirely refaced with hewn stone; but over a large window on the first floor there was a sculptured lintel, which is mentioned by Arnot as having surmounted the gateway into the inner court. It bore the following inscription, cut in beautiful and very early characters:—

Ave Maria, Gratia plena, Dominus tecum.

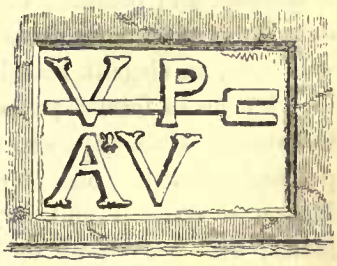
At the close of the chapter, a sketch of a beautiful, though mutilated, Gothic niche is given, which was on the front of the building. It is said to have originally stood over the main gateway above the carved lintel we have described, and without doubt it contained a statue of the Virgin, to whom the wayfarer's supplications were invited. These interesting remains, so characteristic of the obsolete faith and habits of a former age, afforded undoubted evidence of the importance of this building in early times, when it formed a part of the extensive collegiate establishment of St Mary in-the-Fields, founded and endowed apparently by the piety of the wealthy citizens of the capital. To complete the ecclesiastical features of this ancient edifice, a boldly-cut shield on the lower crow-step bore the usual monogram of our Saviour, ihs—and the windows presented the common feature of broken mullions and transoms, with which they had originally been divided. Internally the building presented features of a more recent date, indicating that its earliest lay occupants were worthy neighbours of the aristocratic denizens of the Cowgate. A stucco ceiling in the principal apartment was adorned with a variety of ornaments in the style prevalent in the reign of Charles I., the most prominent among which was the winged

[1] "Shaw's tenement in the Wynd of the Blessed Mary in-the-Field, now the College Wynd. Item, an instrument of sasine, dated 30th June, 1525, of a land built and waste, lying in the Wynd of the Blessed Virgin Mary in-the-Field, on the west side thereof, &c., in favour of Alex. Schaw, son of Wm. Schaw of Polkemmet."—From Descriptive Inventory of Town's purchases for the College, Burgh Charter Room.

and crowned heart, the well-known crest of the Douglases of Queensberry; suggesting the likelihood of its having been the town mansion of one of the first Earls, not improbably William Douglas, Viscount Drumlanrig, created Earl of Queensberry by King Charles I. during his visit to Scotland in 1633. The projecting staircase of the adjoining tenement to the south had a curious ogee arched window, evidently of early character, and fitted with the antique oaken transom and folding shutters below. A defaced inscription and date was decipherable over the lintel of the outer doorway, and one of the doors on the stair possessed the old-fashioned appendage of a tirling-pin. Many of the buildings which remained till the total demolition of the Wynd were of an early character; and some of them bore the initials of their builders on an ornamental shield sculptured on the lowest crow-step, with the date 1736—the only specimens of the kind that were known belonging to the eighteenth century.

At the head of the wynd, on the east side, and on ground partly occupied by North College Street, once stood a house which would now have been regarded with peculiar interest as the birthplace of Sir Walter Scott. The elder Mr Scott then lived, according to the simple fashion of our forefathers, on a *flat* of the old tenement, approached from a little court behind by a turnpike stair, the different floors of which sufficed for the accommodation of equally reputable tenants, until its demolition about eighty years since to make way for the projected extension of the College. Here also, near the top of the wynd, was the residence of the celebrated chemist, Dr Black; and doubtless, many of the learned professors were distributed, with other eminent persons, among the densely-peopled *lands* of this classic locality; where, to complete its literary associations, tradition delights to tell that Oliver Goldsmith lodged, while studying medicine at the neighbouring University.

The accompanying engraving represents a portion of the antique range of edifices that extends between the College and the Horse Wynds. Here again, however, we are baffled in our search after their earlier occupants. The building to the east of St Peter's Close[1] was a very substantial stone edifice of a highly ornamental character, which undoubtedly formed the residence of noble proprietors in early times. It appeared to be an ancient building, remodelled and enlarged, probably about the close of James VI.'s reign. Three large and elegant dormer windows rose above the roof, the centre one of which was surmounted by an escallop shell, while a second tier of windows of similar form appeared behind them, and sprang from what we conceived to have been the original stone front of the building. The antique staircase projected forward in a line with the more recent additions, and on its lintel the initials of the original proprietors, as represented in the accompanying woodcut.



On the other side of St Peter's Pend was the singularly picturesque timber-fronted tenement, the curiously-carved lintel of which forms the vignette at the head of this chapter. An outside stair, constructed in a recess formed by the projection of a neighbouring building,

[1] The College and Horse Wynds have, with the exception of a land of each, suffered at the hands of the Improvements' Commission. St Peter's Close, standing as it did between the two wynds, has been totally extinguished.

led to a very handsome stone turnpike on the first floor. The fine doorway was finished with very rich mouldings, and encircled with the following inscription, of which the woodcut furnishes a fac-simile—a specimen of genuine vernacular which may possibly puzzle some able linguists:—

GIF . VE . DEID . AS . VE . SOVLD . VE . MYCHT . HAIF . AS . VE . VALD .

Literally rendered into modern English, it is, *If we did as we should, we might have as we would.* There can be no question, from the style and character of this inscription, that the building was of great antiquity, and had probably formed the residence of some eminent ecclesiastic, or a noble of the court of James V. It possessed an interest, however, from a recent and more humble occupant. There was the printing establishment of Andrew Symson, a worthy successor of Chepman and Myllar, the first Scottish typographers, whose printing presses were worked within a hundred yards of this spot. Symson was a man of great learning and singular virtue, who, though one of the curates ejected at the Revolution, had escaped the detraction to which nearly all his fellow-sufferers were subjected. We have his own authority for stating that he received a University education, and was a *condisciple* of Alexander, Earl of Galloway, by whose father he was presented to the parish of Kirkinner, in Wigtonshire. He was an author as well as a printer; and his most elaborate work, a poem of great length, and of much more learned ingenuity than poetic merit, is announced in the preface as issued "from my printing-house at the foot of the Horse Wynd, in the Cowgate, Feb. 16, 1705." It is entitled TRIPATRIARCHICON; *or, The Lives of the Three Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, extracted forth of the sacred story, and digested into English verse.* Before this, however, he had acted as amanuensis to the celebrated Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie; and in 1699 he edited and published a new edition of Sir George's work on the Laws and Customs of Scotland, a presentation copy of which still exists in the Advocates' Library in good condition. It is elegantly bound in calf, and bears on the boards the following inscription in gilt Roman characters:—DONUM ANDREÆ SYMSON, AM. VD. MD.

The Horse Wynd no doubt derived its name from its being almost the only descent from the southern suburbs by which a horse could safely approach the Cowgate; and as a spacious and pleasant thoroughfare, according to the notions of former times, it was one of the most fashionable districts of the town. About the middle of the wynd, on the west side, an elegant mansion, finished with a pediment in front surmounted with urns, was known in former years as Galloway House, long the residence of Lady Catherine, Countess of Galloway, who formed the subject of one of Hamilton of Bangour's flattering poetical tributes. She is referred to in a different style in the Ridotto of Holyrood House, a satirical and very free ballad, written about a century ago by three witty ladies, who were wont to bear their part in such gay scenes as it satirises.[1] Lady Galloway is described as

"A lady well known by her airs,
Who ne'er goes to revel but after her prayers!"

[1] The Ridotto, which affords a curious sample of the notions of propriety entertained by the fair wits of last century, was the joint production of Lady Bruce of Kinross, her sister-in-law, the wife of J. R. Hepburn, Esq., of Keith and Riccarton, and Miss Jenny Denoon, their niece, who was counted a great wit in her own day. Some of the most interesting stanzas are quoted in the *Traditions*, vol. ii. p. 39.

She was noted among our precise grandames for her pre-eminent pomp and formality, and would order out her carriage to pay a ceremonious visit to some titled neighbour at the corner of the wynd. Here, too, resided Lord Kennet, Baron Stuart, and other suitable occupants of so aristocratic a quarter. Lord Covington, Lord Minto, and other titled dwellers in the Cowgate and the neighbouring alleys in recent times might be mentioned, but enough has already been said to illustrate the striking revolution that took place in this locality within a very brief period.

Nearly opposite the site of the Old Parliament Stairs, a uniform and lofty range of handsome tenements forms the front of an enclosed quadrangle, which includes within its precincts the Tailors' Hall, by far the most stately of all the corporation halls, if we except St Magdalen's Chapel, and one interestingly associated with important national and civic events. A handsome broad archway, considerably ornamented, forms the entrance through the front tenement to the inner quadrangle. This exterior gateway is surmounted by an ornamental tablet, decorated with a huge pair of shears, the insignia of the craft, and bearing the date 1644, with the following elegant distich :—

ALMIGHTIE GOD WHO FOVND
ED BVILT AND CROVND
THIS WORK WITH BLESSINGS
MAK IT TO ABOVND.

This building, as seen from within the quadrangle, has an exceedingly picturesque and imposing effect. Two loftly crow-stepped gables project, as uniform wings, into the court, and between them is the deep-browed arch leading from the Cowgate, above which rises a double tier of windows, surmounted by a handsome ornamental gable in the roof. All this, however, is the mere vestibule to the Tailors' Hall, which occupies the south and east sides of the court. Here, again, we find evidence that the craft were wont of old, as now, to extend their professional patronage to the muses. The accompanying vignette represents the Hall as it appeared prior to its receiving the addition of another story, to adapt it for its modern use as a brewer's granary; for, alas, the glory has long since departed from the Tailor Craft in Edinburgh! Over the ornamental pediment which surmounts the east wing of the building, the insignia of the shears is again seen, with the date 1621, and this pious inscription :—GOD . GIVE . THE . BLISING . TO . THE . TAILZER . CRAFT . IN THE . GOOD . TOVN . OF . EDINBURGH. On the lowest crow-step beside this is cut the professional device of three balls of thread; and over the main entrance is the following elegant and laudable dedication of the Hall and whole Corporation, as the temple and ministers of virtue. No wonder than good citizens were scandalised when the former was diverted from its legitimate use to the profane orgies of the players :—

TO . THE . GLORE . OF . GOD . AND . VERTEWIS . RENOWNE .
THE . CWMPANIE . OF . TAILZEOVRS . WITHIN . THIS . GOOD . TOVNE .
FOR . MEITING . OF . THAIR . CRAFT . THIS . HAL . HES . ERECTED .
WITH . TRUST . IN . GODS . GOODNES . TO . BE . BLIST . AND . PROTECTED .

Internally this venerable hall has been so entirely altered that no idea can now be

formed of its original appearance. Not long after its erection, it became the scene of very important movements preparatory to the great civil war. On the 27th February 1638, between two and three hundred ministers met there to prepare for the renewal of the Covenant, which was received with such striking demonstrations of popular sympathy on its presentation to the public in the Greyfriars' Church on the following day. We are informed by the Earl of Rothes, who took a prominent share in these proceedings, that he and the Earl of Loudoun were appointed by the nobles to meet with the assembled clergy in the Tailors' Hall, and on that occasion the Commissioners of Presbyteries were first taken aside into a summer-house in the garden, and there dealt with effectually on the necessity of all obstacles to the renewal of the Covenant being withdrawn.[1] The same

means were afterwards successfully resorted to for removing the doubts of all scrupulous brethren.[2] The garden, which was the scene of these momentous discussions, retained till very recently its early character; but now, divested of its shrubs and formal Dutch parterres, it is degraded into a depositary for brewers' barrels. The same Corporation Hall was used in 1656 as the court-house of the Scottish Commissioners appointed by Cromwell for the administration of the forfeited estates.[3] We have already referred to the very different purposes to which it was devoted in more recent times, as the refuge of the Scottish drama. Ramsay prints, in the *Tea-Table Miscellany*, "Part of an Epilogue sung after the acting of the ORPHAN and GENTLE SHEPHERD in Tailors' Hall, by a set of young

[1] Lord Rothes' Relation of Proceedings concerning the affairs of the Kirk, p. 72.

[2] Ibid, p. 79. "Upon Thursday the first of March, Rothes, Lindsay, and Loudoun, and sum of them, went down to Tailyours Hall, wher the ministers mett; and becaus sum wer come to toune since Tuysday last who had sum doubts, efter that they who had bein formerlie resolved wer entered to subscryve, the noblemen went with these others to the yaird, and resolved their doubts; so that towards thrie hundred ministers subscryved that night. That day the commissioners of burrowes subscryved also."

[3] Nicoll's Diary, p. 180.

VIGNETTE—Tailors' Hall.

gentlemen, January 22, 1729;" and Chambers has preserved, in his "Minor Antiquities," the bill of fare presented in the same place on the 20th of March 1747, "By Desire of a Lady of Quality, for the Benefit of a Family in Distress;" probably one of the last performances there by a regular company. A handsome tenement stands immediately to the west of the Tailors' Lands, surmounted with two ornamental gables, bearing on them the initials of the builders, and over the main doorway the following inscription:—

R · H

O MAGNIFIE THE LORD WITH ME
AND LET US EXALT HIS NAME TOGETHER.
ANNO DOMINI 1643.

I · H

Over another door of the same tenement, a sculptured tablet bears the device of two sledemen carrying a barrel between them, by means of a pole resting on the shoulder of each, technically styled a *sting and ling*. It is cleverly executed, and appears from the character and workmanship to be coeval with the date of the building in which it is placed, although the purposes to which the neighbouring property is now applied might suggest a much more recent origin.[1] Various antique tenements of considerable diversity of character remain to the westward of this, all exhibiting symptoms of "having seen better days." The last of these, before we arrive at the arches of George IV. Bridge, is another of the old ecclesiastical mansions of the Cowgate. It is described in an early title-deed as "some time pertaining to umq^le^ Hew M'Gill, prebender of Corstorphine," and, not improbably, a relative of the ancestors of David Macgill of Cranstoun-Riddel, King's Advocate to King James VI., who is said to have died of grief on Sir Thomas Hamilton, the royal favourite—afterwards created Earl of Melrose and Haddington—being appointed his colleague. We find, at least, that the property immediately adjoining it, now demolished, belonged to that family, and came afterwards into the possession of his rival. The operations of the Improvements Commission were no less effectual in the demolition of the interesting relics of antiquity in the Cowgate than elsewhere. Indeed, if we except the old Mint, and the venerable Chapel of St Magdalene, no other site could have been chosen for the new bridge where their proceedings would have been so destructive. On the ground now occupied by its southern piers formerly stood Merchant's Court, a large area enclosed on three sides by antique buildings in a plain but massive style of architecture, and containing internally finely stuccoed ceilings and handsome panneling, with other indications of former magnificence suitable to the mansion of the celebrated Thomas Hamilton, first Earl of Haddington, the favourite of James VI., and one of the most eminent men of his day. Some curious anecdotes of TAM O' THE COWGATE, as the King facetiously styled his favourite, are preserved in the Traditions of Edinburgh, derived from the descendants of the sagacious old peer, and many others that are recorded of him suffice to confirm the character he enjoyed for shrewd wit and eminent ability. Directly opposite to this, a building, characterised by very remarkable architectural features, was peculiarly worthy of the attention of the local antiquary. Tradition, which represented the old Earl of Had-

[1] At Society, in the immediate neighbourhood, a company of brewers was established so early as 1598.—Hist. of King James the Sext, p. 347.

dington's mansion as having been the residence of the French embassy in the reign of Queen Mary, had assigned to this antique fabric the name of "The French Ambassador's Chapel," which we have retained in the accompanying engraving, in the absence of any more distinctive title. An ornamental pediment, which surmounted its western wing, was decorated with the heads of the Twelve Apostles, rudely sculptured along the outer cornice; and on the top a figure was seated astride, with the legs extended on either side of the cornice. It is supposed to have been designed as a representation of our Saviour, but the upper part of the figure had long been broken away. This pediment, as well as the sculptured lintel of the main doorway, and other ornamental portions of the edifice, were removed to Coat's House, and are now built into different parts of the north wing of that old mansion. But the sculpture which surmounted the entrance of this curious building was no less worthy of notice than its singular pediment; for, while the one was adorned with the sacred emblems of the Apostles and the figure of our Saviour, the other exhibited no less mysterious and horrible a guardian than a *Warwolf*. It was, in truth, with its motto, SPERAVI ET INVENI—no unmeet representative of Bunyan's Wicket Gate, with a hideous monster at the door, enough to frighten poor Mercy into a swoon, and nothing but Christian charity and Apostolic graces within; though the latter, it must be confessed, did not include that of beauty. "I shall end here four-footed beasts," says Nisbet, "only mentioning one of a monstrous form carried with us. Its body is like a wolf, having four feet with long toes and a tail; it is headed like a man;—called in our books a warwolf *passant*,—and three stars in chief argent; which are also to be seen cut upon a stone above an old entry of a house in the Cowgate in Edinburgh, above the foot of Libberton's Wynd, which belonged formerly to the name of Dickison, which name seems to be from the Dicksons by the stars which they carry."[1] Who the owner of these rare armorial bearings was does not now appear from the titles, but the style of ornament that prevailed on the building renders it exceedingly probable that it formed the residence of some of the eminent ecclesiastical dignitaries with which the Cowgate once abounded. The destruction of the venerable alley, Libberton's Wynd, that formed the chief thoroughfare to the High Street from this part of the Cowgate, involved in its ruin an old tenement situated behind the curious building described above, which possessed peculiar claims to interest as the birthplace of Henry Mackenzie, "The Man of Feeling." It was pointed out by himself as the place of his nativity, at a public meeting which he attended late in life. He resided at a later period, with his own wife and family, in his father's house, on one of the floors of *M'Lellan's Land*, a lofty tenement which forms the last in the range of houses on the north side of the street, where it joins the Grassmarket. This building acquires peculiar interest from the associations we now connect with another of its tenants. Towards the middle of last century, the first floor was occupied by a respectable clergyman's widow, Mrs Syme, a sister of Principal Robertson, who maintained an establishment there for the accommodation of a few boarders in this *genteel and eligible* quarter of the town. At that time Henry Brougham, Esq. of Brougham Hall, arrived in Edinburgh, and took up his quarters under Mrs Syme's roof. He had wandered northward to seek, in change of scene, some alleviation of grief consequent on the death of his betrothed mistress. It chanced,

[1] Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. i. p. 335. The shield, however, so far differs from Nisbet's description, that it bears *a crescent between two stars* in chief.

however, that his hostess had a fair and witty daughter, with whom he fell in love, and forgetting his early sorrows, he married her, and spent the remainder of his life in Edinburgh. The young couple continued to reside for some time after their marriage in the old lady's house in the Cowgate; and thereafter removing to No. 19 St Andrew's Square, Henry Brougham, the future Lord Chancellor of England, was born there in the year 1779. The elder Brougham lies buried in Restalrig Churchyard.

Almost directly opposite to St Magdalene's Chapel, a large and heavy-looking old mansion faces the street, with a broad arched gateway opening into an enclosed court, and two entrances from the street to the interior of the mansion, each of them surmounted with its appropriate legend. Within, a handsome but wofully dilapidated oaken staircase remains, and the interior exhibits other traces of bygone splendour, amid the shreds and tatters of poverty that form the chief tapestry of the old halls of the Cowgate in modern days. This extensive tenement is the mansion built by the celebrated Sir Thomas Hope, king's advocate of Charles I., and yet the foremost among those who organised the determined opposition to that monarch's schemes for remodelling the Scottish Church, which led at length to the great civil war. Over one of the doorways is inscribed, TECVM HABITA, 1616, while the lintel of the principal entrance bears this laconic motto, now so much defaced as to be nearly undecipherable, AT HOSPES HVMO, which proves to be an anagram of the name of its celebrated builder.[1] The philosophy of its old founder's motto seems to acquire a new force in the degradation that has befallen the dwelling-place of the crafty statesman, wherein he schemed the overthrow of the throne and government. In this ancient mansion, in all probability, the bold councils were held that first checked the unfortunate Charles I., and gave confidence to those who were already murmuring against his impolitic measures. Here too we may, with considerable confidence, presume the National Covenant to have been drawn up, and the whole scheme of policy matured by which the unhappy monarch found himself foiled alike in the Parliament, the Assembly, and in the decisive Battle of Longmarston-Moor. In the same house, Mary, Countess of Mar, daughter of Esme, Duke of Lennox, died on the 11th of May 1644.[2] Both Bailie's Court—at one time the residence of Lord Kennet—and Allison's Close, which a few years ago was one of the most picturesque alleys in the Cowgate—are decorated at their entrances with passages selected from the Psalms, a custom that superseded the older mottoes towards the latter end of the seventeenth century. Beyond these, however, there still remain several tenements of considerable antiquity and great variety of character; and in particular one old timber-fronted land, with the rude unglazed loop-holes, or *shot windows*, which were doubtless

[1] "If the house near Cowgeat-head, north syde that street, was built by Sir Thomas Hope, as is supposed, the inscription upon one of the lintall-stones supports this etymologie—[viz., that the Hopes derive their name from *Houblon* the Hop plant, and not from *Esperance*, the virtue of the mind]—for the anagram is *At Hospes Humo*, and has all the letters of Thomas Houpe."—Coltness Collections, Maitland Club, p. 16.

[2] Sir Thomas Hope's Diary, p. 205. The "Extracts from the Countess of Mar's Household Book," by C. K. Sharpe, Esq., contains many very curious local allusions, *e.g.* :—"Jan. 7, 1639.—Given to the poor at Nidries wynd head, as my Lady cam from the Treasurer deputes [Lord Carmichael], 6 sh. Aug. 1641.—Payit to the custome of the Water Gate for ten horses that enterit with my La. carryage, 10d. 6 Sept.—To the gardener in ye Abay yard who presentit to my Laidy ane flour, 6 sh. 16 Sept.—Payit for twa torches to lighten on my Laidy to the Court with my Laidy Marquesse of Huntlie, 24 sh. 1641.—5 Oct^{r} y^{e} day to ye Abay Kirk broad, as my Laidy went to the sermon, 6 sh., &c."

the usual substitute with our simple forefathers for the comfortable glazed sash that now admits the morning beams to the meanest dwelling. Gawin Douglas, in his prologue to the seventh book of the "Æneid," which contains a description of winter, warned that the "day is dawing" by the whistling of a *sorry gled*, and glancing through

> A schot wyndo onschet, a litill on char,
> Persavyt the mornyng bla, wan, and har.

Douglas, at the time he undertook his vigorous translation of Virgil, was Provost of the Collegiate Church of St Giles, and we could hardly wish for more conclusive evidence of the general prevalence of this rude device throughout the Scottish capital during the prosperous era of the reign of James IV., than the very natural and graphic manner in which the keen wintry prospect he espies through his half-open shutter is described, and the comfortable picture of his own blazing hearth, where he solaces himself by the resumption of his pleasing task :—

> The dew-droppis congelit on stibbill and rynd,
> And scharp hailstanys mortfundeit of kynd,
> Hoppand on the thak and on the causay by:
> The schot I closit, and drew inwart in hy,
> Chyvirrand for cald, the sesson was so snell,
> Schupe with hayt flambe to fleym the freezyng fell.
> And as I bownyt me to the fyre me by,
> Baith up and down the hows I dyd aspy :
> And seeand Virgill on ane lettron stand,
> To write onone I hynt a pen in hand.

Another of these picturesque tenements is Palfrey's or the King's Head Inn, a fine antique stone land built about the reign of Charles I. An inner court is enclosed by the buildings behind, and it long remained one of the best frequented inns of old Edinburgh, being situated nearly at the junction of two of the principal approaches to the town from the south and west. From the style and apparent age of the building, however, there can be little question that its original occupants ranked among the old Scottish aristocracy.

In making the excavations necessary for the erection of a handsome suit of additional court-rooms for the accommodation of the Lords Ordinary, built to the south of the old Parliament Hall towards the close of 1844, some curious discoveries were made, tending to illustrate the changes that have been effected on the Cowgate during the last four centuries. In the space cleared by the workmen, on the site of the Old Parliament Stairs, a considerable fragment of the first city wall was laid bare : a solid and substantial mass of masonry, very different from the hasty superstructure of 1513. On the sloping ground to the south of this, at about fourteen feet below the surface, a range of strong oaken coffins were found lying close together, and containing human remains. In one skull the brain remained so fresh as to show the vermicular form of surface, although the ancient Churchyard of St Giles, of which these were doubtless some of the latest occupants, had ceased to be used as a place of sepulture since the grant of the Greyfriars' gardens for that purpose in 1566. The form of these coffins was curious, being quite straight at the sides, but with their lids rising into a ridge in the centre, and altogether closely resembling in form the stone coffins of a still earlier era. During the same

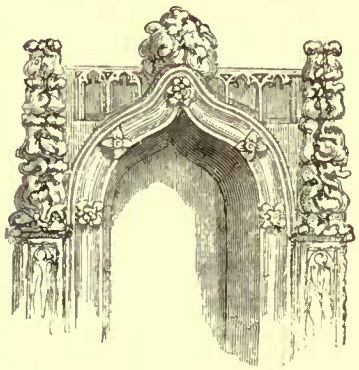
operations, the workmen found beyond the old city wall, and at a depth of eighteen feet below the level of the present Cowgate, a common shaped barrel, about six feet high, standing upright, imbedded eighteen inches deep in a stratum of blue clay, and with a massive stone beside it. The appearance of the whole suggested the idea that the barrel had been so placed to collect the rain water from the eaves of a neighbouring house, and with a stepping-stone to enable any one to reach its contents. At a little distance from this, to the westward, and about the same depth, a large copper vessel was found, measuring fully eighteen inches in diameter by six inches deep. This interesting relic is now deposited in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, along with some portions of the barrel staves, and there can be no question that both had formed at a very remote period part of the *curta supellex* of a citizen of note. The size of the copper vessel is of itself a proof of its owner's wealth, and could only have belonged to some person of distinction. But the most curious inference derived from these discoveries is the evidence they afford of the gradual rising of the street in the course of ages. Some years before a pavement was discovered, about twelve feet below the surface, in digging towards the east end of the Cowgate for a large drain, and here domestic utensils, at a still lower level, proved how gradual, yet unceasing, must have been the progress of this phenomenon common to all ancient cities. From the want of police regulations in the Middle Ages, refuse and rubbish accumulated on the street, and became trodden down into a firm soil, until even pavements were lost sight of, and the bases of the buildings were adapted to the new level.[1]

In the ancient title-deeds of Merchant's Court, already referred to as the mansion of the Earl of Haddington, it is described as "that great lodging, with the yaird, well, closs, and pert[s] thereof, lying betwixt ye lands pertaining to umq[le] Wm. Speed, bailie, and ane certain trance regal, leading to ye Grayfrer's Port, on ye west. The arable land, or croft of the Sisters of ye Nuns of ye Sheyns, on ye south, &c." On a part of this ground lying to the south of the Cowgate, and belonging to the Convent of St Catherine de Sienna, a corporation was established so early as 1598, for the brewing of ale and beer, commodities which have ever since been foremost among the staple productions of Edinburgh. The name *Society*, which still pertains to this part of the town, preserves a record of this ancient company of brewers, and from the same cause, the neighbouring Greyfriars or Bristow Port, is frequently styled Society Port.[2] Between this and the Cowgate lies the once fashionable district, which a correspondent of the *Edinburgh Advertiser* in 1764 styles "that very elegant square, called Brown Square," and which he thinks wants nothing to complete its beauty but "an elegant statue of his Majesty in the middle!" Such a project might not now seem so extravagant, since the improvers of the neighbourhood have swept away the east and west sides of it, and thrown it open to the great public thoroughfare of the neighbourhood; but at that time it was a little square area not so large as

[1] *Scotsman*, Nov. 16, 1844.

[2] "The foundation and building of the howssis for aill and beir brewing, besyd the Grayfrier Port, callit the Societie, was begun in the yeir of God, 1598."—*Hist. of King James the Sext*, p. 374. "Ap. 26, 1598. In ye beginning of yis moneth, the Societie begun to y[r] work at the Gray Friar Kirke."—*Birrel's Diary*. A curious fragment of the Old Town wall remains to the south of Society buildings, and one of them, built upon it, is a singular and unique specimen of early architecture, wrought in ornamental panels between the windows, and with deep eaves to the roof, somewhat in the style of the old brick and timber fronts, common at Canterbury and other ancient English towns. Adjoining this was a long-established tavern, which bore the quaint name of the *Hole in the Wa'*.

many a gentleman's stable-yard, with the chief approach to it by a *pend*, or archway, from the head of the Candlemaker's Row. Rank and fashion, however, alone resorted to the admired locality, while it was no less worthy of note as a haunt of the muses. Here was the residence of Dr Austin, already referred to, in a house at the north-west corner; and a few doors from this, in the building on the west side through which the arched entry led into Candlemaker Row, dwelt for above twenty years Miss Jeanie Elliot, the author of the beautiful version of the "Flowers o' the Forest," beginning, "I 've heard them lilting at the ewe-milking." She was the daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, and is described by a contemporary as "a remarkably agreeable old maiden lady, with a prodigious fund of Scottish anecdote." It is added, as worthy of record, that she was perhaps the only lady of her time in Edinburgh who had her own sedan chair, which was kept in the lobby of her house! Henry Mackenzie first took up house for himself in the middle tenement, still standing on the south side, while the celebrated Lord Woodhouselee occupied one of those now demolished. The middle house on the north side, a large and commodious mansion, still retains abundant traces of former grandeur, and chiefly in the large drawing-room on the first floor, which is decorated with a series of landscapes, interspersed with floral groups and other fancy devices, evidently in imitation of the painted chamber at Milton House, though the work of a less skilful artist. This was the residence of Sir Thomas Miller, of Barskimming and Glenlee, Bart., Lord President of the Court of Session, who died there in 1789. He was succeeded in it by his son, Sir William, promoted to the bench under the title of Lord Glenlee, and who, when all other claimants to rank or *gentility* had long deserted every nook of the Old Town, resisted the fashionable tide of emigration, and retained this as his town mansion till his death in 1846. Indeed, such was the attachment of this venerable judge to his old dwelling, that he rejected a handsome offer for the reversion of it, because the proposing purchaser, who designed converting it into a printing office, refused to become bound to preserve the paintings on its walls.



VIGNETTE—Gothic Niche, College Wynd.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WEST BOW AND SUBURBS.

IN the centre of the ancient city there stood, till a few years since, a strange, crooked, steep, and altogether singular and picturesque avenue from the High Street to the low valley on the south, in which the more ancient extensions of the once circumscribed Scottish capital are reared. Scarcely anything can be conceived more curious and whimsically grotesque than its array of irregular stone gables and timber galleries, that seemed as if jostling one another for room along the steep and narrow thoroughfare; while the busy throng were toiling up or hurrying down its precipitous pathways, amid the ceaseless din of braziers' and tinsmiths' hammers, for which it was famed, and the rumbling of wheels, accompanied with the vociferous shouts of a host of noisy assistants, as some heavy-laden wain creeked and groaned up the steep. The modern visitor who now sees the *Bowhead*, an open area nearly on a level with the Castle drawbridge, and then by gradual and easy descent of long flights of stairs, and the more gentle modern slope of Victoria Street, at length reaches *The Bowfoot Well* in the Grassmarket, will hardly be persuaded that between these two widely different elevations there extended only a few years since a thoroughfare crowded with antique tenements, quaint inscriptions, and still more strange and interesting associations; unmatched in its historic and traditionary memories by any other spot of the curious old capital, whose memories we seek to revive. Here were the Templar Lands, with their antique gables, surmounted by the cross that marked them as beyond the reach of civic corporation laws, and with their old-

VIGNETTE—Major Weir's House.

world associations with the knights of St John. Here was the strange old timber-fronted tenement, where rank and beauty held their assemblies in the olden time. Here was the Provost's lodging where Prince Charles and his elated counsellors were entertained in 1745, and adjoining it there remained till the last a momento of his royal ancestor, James II.'s massive wall, and of the old Port or *Bow* whereat the magistrates were wont to present the silver keys, with many a grave and costly ceremonial, to each monarch who entered his Scottish capital in state. Down this steep the confessors of the Covenant were hurried to execution. Here, too, was the old-fashioned fore stair over which the amazed and stupified youth, who long after sat on the bench under the title of Lord Monboddo, gazed in dreamy horror as the wretched Porteous was dragged to the scene of his crime, on the night of the 7th September 1736, and near by stood the booth at which the rioters paused, and with ostentatious deliberation purchased the rope wherewith he was hung at its foot. Nor must we forget, among its most durable memorabilia, the wizards and ghosts who claimed possessions in its mysterious alleys, maintaining their rights in defiance of the *march of intellect*, and only violently ejected at last when their habitations were tumbled about their ears.

This curious zig-zag steep was undoubtedly one of the most ancient streets in the Old Town, and probably existed as a roadway to the Castle, while Edwin's burgh was comprised in a few mud and straw huts scattered along the higher slope. Enough still remains of it to show how singularly picturesque and varied were the tenements with which it once abounded. At the corner of the Lawnmarket is an antique fabric, reared ere Newton's law of gravitation was dreamt of, and seeming rather like one of the mansions of Laputa, whose builders had discovered the art of constructing houses from the chimney-tops downward! A range of slim wooden posts sustains a pile that at every successive story shoots further into the street until it bears some resemblance to an inverted pyramid. It is, nevertheless, a fine example of an old burgher dwelling. The gables and eaves of its north front, which appear in the engraving of the Weigh-house, are richly carved, and the whole forms a remarkably striking specimen, the finest that now remains, of an ancient *timber-land*. Next comes a *stone-land*, with a handsome polished ashlar front and gabled attics of the time of Charles I. Irregular string courses decorate the walls, and a shield on the lowest crow-step bears the initials of its first proprietors, I. O., I. B., with a curious merchant's mark between. A little lower down, in one of the numerous supplementary recesses that added to the contortions of this strangely-crooked thoroughfare, a handsomely sculptured doorway meets the view, now greatly dilapidated and time-worn. Though receding from the adjoining building, it forms part of a stone turnpike that projects considerably beyond the tenement to which it belongs: so numerous were once the crooks of the Bow, where every tenement seemed to take up its own independent standing with perfect indifference to the position of its neighbours. On a curiously-formed dormer window which surmounts the staircase, the city motto appears to have been cut, but only the first word now remains legible. Over the doorway below, a large shield in the centre of the lintel bears the Williamson arms, now greatly defaced with this inscription and date on either side, SOLI . DEO . HONOR . ET . GLORIA . D . W . 1 . 6 . 0 . 4 . The initials are those of David Williamson, a wealthy burgess in the time of James VI. But the old stair once possessed—or was believed to possess—strange pro-

perties, which would seem to imply that these sacred legends were not always effectual in guarding the thresholds over which they were inscribed as charms against the approach of evil. A low vaulted passage immediately adjoining it leads through the tall tenement to a narrow court behind, and a solitary and desolate abode, once the unhallowed dwelling-place of the notorious Major Weir. The wizard had cast his spell over the neighbouring stair, for old citizens who have ceased to tempt such giddy steeps, affirm that those who ascended it of yore felt as if they were going down. We have tried the ascent, and—recommend the sceptical to do the same; happily the old wizard's spells have defied even an Improvements Commission to raze his haunted dwelling to the ground.[1]

No story of witchcraft and necromancy ever left so general and deep-rooted an impression on the popular mind as that of Major Weir; nor was any spot ever more celebrated in the annals of sorcery than the little court at the head of the Bow, where the wizard and his sister dwelt. It appears, however, that he had long lodged in the Cowgate before he took up house for himself, as we learn from that curious old book, *Ravaillac Redivivus*, that Mitchell, the fanatic assassin who attempted the life of Archbishop Sharp in 1668, "afterwards came to Edinburgh, where he lived some years in a widow's house, called Mrs Grissald Whitford, who dwelt in the Cowgat, and with whom that dishonour of mankind, Major Weir, was boarded at the same time."[2] Unfortunately, Widow Whitford's house is no longer known, as we can scarce doubt that the lodging of such a pair must still be haunted by some awfully significant memorial of their former abode. Whatever was his inducement to remove to his famed dwelling in the West Bow, it was only beseeming its character as a favourite haunt of the most zealous Presbyterians, that one who at that time stood in eminent repute for his sanctity should choose his resting-place in the very midst of "the Bowhead Saints," as the cavalier wits of his time delighted to call them.

The reputation of this prince of Scottish wizards rests on no obscure allusions in the legends of sorcery and superstition. His history has been recorded by contemporary annalists with all the minuteness of awe-struck credulity and gossipping wonder, and has since been substantiated as an article of the vulgar creed by numerous supernatural evidences in corroboration of its wildest dittays. Major Weir was the son of a Clydesdale proprietor, and served, according to Professor Sinclair, as a lieutenant in Ireland against the insurgents of 1641. On his settling in Edinburgh, he entered the Town Guard, where he afterwards rose to the rank of major. According to his contemporary, Master James Frazer, minister at Wardlaw, who saw him at Edinburgh in 1660, "his garb was still a cloak, and somewhat dark, and he never went without his staff. He was a tall black man, and ordinarily looked down to the ground; a grim countenance, and a big nose. At length he became so notourly regarded among the Presbyterian strict sect, that if four met together, be sure Major Weir was one; and at private meetings he prayed to admira-

[1] From some allusions to an apparition that disappeared in a close a little lower down, and which is given further on, from "*Satan's Invisible World Discovered*," it has been frequently affirmed of late that Major Weir's house was among the tenements demolished in 1836, but popular tradition is supported by legal documentary evidence in fixing on the house described in the text.—*Vide*, p. 167. Much of Sinclair's account of the Major appears to be taken nearly verbatim from a MS. life, in "Fraser's Providential Passages," Advocates' Library, dated 1670, the year of his execution.

[2] Ravaillac Redivivus, p. 12.

tion, which made many of that stamp court his converse. He never married, but lived in a private lodging with his sister Grizel Weir. Many resorted to his house to hear him pray, and join with him; but it was observed that he could not officiate in any holy duty without the black staff or rod in his hand, and leaning upon it, which made those who heard him pray admire his flood in prayer, his ready extemporary expression, his heavenly gesture; so that he was thought more angel than man, and was termed by some of the holy sisters ordinarily *Angelical Thomas.*"[1] This magical black staff was no less marvellous a character than the Major himself. According to veracious tradition, it was no uncommon thing for the neighbours to see it step in and tap at their counters on some errand of its master, or running before him with a lantern as he went out on nocturnal business, and gravely walked down the Lawnmarket behind his mysterious link-boy.

The Major, in fact, had made a compact with the Devil, of which this was part payment; but the foul fiend as usual overreached his dupe. He had engaged, it would seem, to keep him scatheless from all dangers but one *burn*. The accidental naming of a Mr Burn by the waiters of the Nether Bow Port, as he visited them in the course of his duty, threw him into a fit of terror that lasted for weeks; and the intervention of a water brook called Libberton Burn in his way was sufficient to make him turn back. "A year before he discovered himself, he took a sore sickness, during which he spake to all who visited him like an angel."[2] He found it, however, impossible longer to withstand the dreadful tortures of conscience; and summoning some of his neighbours to his bedside, he made voluntary confession of crimes, which needed no supernatural accessories to render them more detestable. His confession seemed so incredible, that the magistrates at first refused to take him into custody; but he was at length carried off to prison, and lodged in the Tolbooth along with his sister—the partner, if not the victim, of one of his crimes. As might have been expected, strange and supernatural appearances accompanied his seizure. The staff was secured by his sister's advice, and carried to prison along with them. A few dollars were also found, wrapped up in some rags, and on the latter being thrown into the fire, they danced in circles about the flames in an unwonted manner, while "another clout, found with some hard thing in it, which they threw into the fire likewise, circled and sparkled like gunpowder, and passing from the tunnel of the chimney, it gave a crack like a little cannon, to the amazement of all that were present."[3] The money was no less boisterous than its wrappers, and threatened to pull the bailie's house about his ears, who had taken it home with him. On being carried to prison, the Major sunk into a dogged apathy, from which he never afterwards revived, furiously rejecting the ministrations of the clergymen who visited him, and replying only to their urgent exhortations with the despairing exclamation, "Torment me not before the time!" adding, with somewhat more philosophic foresight, according to another annalist, "that now, since he was to go to the Devil, he would not anger him."[4] He was tried April 9, 1670, and confessed himself guilty both of possible and impossible crimes. There can be no doubt, indeed, that the wretched hypocrite was driven desperate by the stings of conscience, and felt some relief in giving the Devil a share of his misdeeds. He was sentenced to be strangled and burnt,

[1] Fraser's Providential Passages. MS. Advocates' Library.
[2] Satan's Invisible World Discovered, p. 146. [3] Ibid, p. 147. [4] Law's Memorials, p. 23.

and he died as he had lived. When bound to the stake, and with the rope about his neck, he was urged to say, "Lord, be merciful to me;" but he answered, "Let me alone, I will not; I have lived as a beast, and I must die as a beast." The Rev. Mr Fraser adds:—"His black staff was cast into the fire with him. Whatever incantation was in it, the persons present aver yt it gave rare turnings, and was long a burning, as also himself."

The reverend author of "Satan's Invisible World Discovered," declines, with mysterious assumptions of propriety, to discuss what incantation was in the black staff that *suffered* along with him. Nevertheless, he tells us enough to show it was no ordinary stick. On one of the ministers returning to the Tolbooth to inform Grizel Weir that her brother was burnt, "She believed nothing of it; but, after many attestations, she asked where his staff was? for it seems she knew that his strength and life lay therein. He told her it was burnt with him; whereupon, notwithstanding of her age, she nimbly, and in a furious rage, fell on her knees, uttering words horrible to be remembered." The Major's mother appears to have set the example of witchcraft, as his sister, while in prison, declared, "She was persuaded her mother was a witch; 'for the secretest thing that either I myself, or any of the family could do, when once a mark appeared on her brow, she could tell it them, though done at a distance.' Being demanded what sort of a mark it was? she answered, 'I have some such like mark myself, when I please, on my forehead.' Whereupon she offered to uncover her head for visible satisfaction; the minister refusing to behold it, and forbidding any discovery, was earnestly requested by some spectators to allow the freedom; he yielded. She put back her headdress, and seeming to frown, there was seen an exact horse-shoe shaped for nails in her wrinkles, terrible enough, I assure you, to the stoutest beholder." This wretched being had unquestionably been driven mad by the cruelty of her brother, and to her ravings may be traced many of the strangest traditions of the West Bow. She described a fiery chariot that came for them, and took her and her brother on unearthly errands, while it remained invisible to others; and confessed to her enchanted wheel, by means of which she could far surpass any ordinary spinner. She was condemned to be hanged, and at the execution conducted herself in the same insane manner, struggling to throw off her clothes, that, as she expressed it, she might die with *all the shame she could.*

There were not lacking, however, credible witnesses to confirm the most extraordinary confessions of Grizel Weir. The Rev. George Sinclair relates, on the authority of a gentlewoman, a substantial merchant's wife, and a near neighbour of the Major, that "some few days before he discovered himself, this gentlewoman coming from the Castlehill, where her husband's niece was lying in of a child, about midnight, perceived about the Bowhead three women in windows, shouting, laughing, and clapping their hands. The gentlewoman went forward, till just at Major Weir's door there arose, as from the street, a woman about the length of two ordinary females, and stepped forward. The gentlewoman, not as yet excessively feared, bid her maid step on, if by the lanthorn they could see what she was; but haste what they could, this long-legged spectre was still before them, moving her body with a vehement cahination—a great unmeasurable laughter. At this rate the two strove for place, till the giantess came to a narrow lane in the Bow, commonly called the Stinking Close, into which she turning, and the gentlewoman looking after her, perceived the close full of flaming torches, and as it had been a great multitude of people,

stentoriously laughing, and gaping with tahees of laughter. . . . Though sick with fear, yet she went the next morning with her maid to view the noted places of her former night's walk, and at the close inquired who lived there? It was answered, Major Weir." It is not to be wondered that Major Weir's house should have been deserted after his death, and that many a strange sound and fearful sight should have testified to the secure hold the powers of darkness had established on this dwelling of their emissaries. The enchanted staff was believed to have returned to its post, and to wait as porter at the door. The hum of the necromantic wheel was heard at the dead of night, and the deserted mansion was sometimes seen blazing with the lights of some eldrich festival, when the Major and his sister were supposed to be entertaining the Prince of Darkness. There were not even wanting those, during the last century, who were affirmed to have seen the Major issue at midnight from the narrow close, mounted on a headless charger, and gallop off in a whirlwind of flame. Time, however, wrought its usual cure. The Major's visits became fewer and less ostentatious, until at length it was only at rare intervals that some midnight reveller, returning homeward through the deserted Bow, was startled by a dark and silent shadow that flitted across his path as he approached the haunted corner. The house is now used as a broker's store, but the only tenant, during well-nigh two centuries, who has had the hardihood to tempt the visions of the night within its walls, was scared by such horrible sights, that no one is likely to molest the Major's privacy again. When all these *facts* are considered, it need not excite our wonder that this house should have escaped even the rabid assaults of an Improvements' Commission, that raged so fiercely around the haunted domicile. It may be reasonably questioned, indeed, whether, if workmen were found bold enough to raze it to the ground, it would not be found on the morrow, *in statu quo*, grimly frowning defiance on its baffled assailants!

Such are the associations with one little fragment of the Bow that still exists; our remaining descriptions must be, alas! of things that were, and that appeared so hideous to the refined tastes of our civic reformers, that they have not grudged the cost of £400,000 to have them removed. Directly facing the low archway leading into Major Weir's Close was the Old Assembly Rooms, bearing the date 1602, and described in its ancient title-deeds as "that tenement of land on the west side of the transe of the Over Bow, betwixt the land of umq^le^ Lord Ruthven on the north, and the King's auld wall on the south parts." Lord Ruthven's land, which appears in our engraving of the Old Assembly Rooms, was an ancient timber-fronted tenement, similar to those we have described in the Castle Hill. It possessed, however, a peculiar and thrilling interest, if it was—as we conceive from the date of the deed, and the new title of his sons, it must have been—the mansion of the grim and merciless baron, who stalked into the chamber of Queen Mary on that dire night of the 9th of March 1566, like the ghastly vision of death, and struck home his dagger into the royal favourite, whose murder he afterwards claimed to have chiefly contrived. A curious and valuable relic, apparently of its early proprietor, was discovered on the demolition of this ancient tenement. Between the ceiling and floor in one of the apartments, a large and beautifully-chased sword was found concealed, with the scabbard almost completely decayed, and the blade, which was of excellent temper, deeply corroded with rust about half-way towards the hilt. The point of it was broken off, but it still measured 32¼ inches long. The maker's name, WILHELM WIRSBERG, was inlaid in brass on the blade.

His device—seemingly a pair of pincers—was engraved on both sides, surmounted by a coronet, and encircled on the one side with a motto, partly defaced, and on the other with his name repeated, and the words *in. sol. ingen.* Various other mottoes were engraved amid the ornamental work with which the blade was covered, such as, *Vincere aut mori*,—*Fide sed cui vide*,—*Pro aris et focis*,—and *Soli deo gloria.* This singularly curious and interesting relic was procured from the contractors at the time of its discovery, and was last in the possession of the late Mr Hugh Paton. The manner of its concealment, and the fierce character of the old Lord Ruthven, within whose ancient lodging it was discovered, may readily suggest to the fancy its having formed the instrument of some dark and bloody deed, ere it was consigned to its strange hiding-place.

The character of the old tenement, wherein the assemblies of fashion were held previous to 1720, will be best understood by a reference to our engraving. Over the doorway of the projecting turnpike was inscribed the motto, In Domino Confido—the title of the eleventh Psalm; and above this, within an ornamental panel, the arms of the Somervilles were sculptured, with the initials P. S., J. W., and the date 1602. These are memorials of Peter Somerville, merchant, and "yin of the present bailies," in 1624—a wealthy burgher, who possessed houses in different parts of the town, and whose son and heir, Bartholomew Somerville, one of the most liberal contributors towards the establishment of the infant University, has already been referred to in the account of the Lawnmarket. His picturesque old gabled tenement appears in the same view to which we have referred for his father's lodging.

All beyond this building lay without the line of the earliest town walls. A piece of their massive masonry remained as a part of its southern gable, and retained, till its demolition, one of the iron hooks on which the ancient gate had hung; though it must not be overlooked that this portal of the city was retained, like the modern Temple Bar, as the appointed scene of certain civic formularies and long-established state ceremonials, for nearly two centuries after it had been supplanted in its military functions by the West Port. To the west of this was the intricate and singular old mansion of Provost Stewart, where he was believed to have entertained Prince Charles and some of his principal officers in 1745, and to have afforded them hasty exit, in a very mysterious fashion, on the approach of a party despatched by General Guest with an urgent invitation for their company in the Castle.[1] The house was one of no mean note, and appears from its titles to have deserved the name of the Mansion House—such was the succession of civic dignitaries that dwelt within its walls. It is described as "that dwelling-house some time possessed by umq^le^ Bailie George Clerk, merchant; afterwards by the Countess of Southesk; thereafter by Provost John Osborn; thereafter by Provost George Halliburton; and thereafter by the said Provost Archibald Stewart." Beyond this was an antique timber-fronted tenement, which formed of old the mansion of Napier of Wrychtishousis, and which enjoyed a far more popular reputation, as containing the little booth from whence the rioters of 1736 procured the fatal rope with which Porteous was hung. Many readers will remember a quaint little Dutch manikin, with huge goggle eyes, and a bunch of flax in his hand, who presided over its threshold in latter times. His history was traced for considerably more than a century

[1] Ante, p. 113.

as an industrious burgher. He was imported from Holland, it is believed, near the beginning of last century, and first did duty with spade in hand at a seedsman's door in the Canongate; from thence he passed to a grocer in the High Street, and soon after he made his appearance in the Bow, where his antiquated costume consorted well with the old-fashioned neighbourhood. Since the destruction of this, his last retreat, he has found a fit refuge in the lobby of the Antiquarian Museum. On the opposite side of the street, the last tenement on the east side of the first turning, and situated, as its titles express, "without the place where the old Bow stood," was popularly known as the *Clockmaker's Land*. It had been occupied in the reign of Charles II. by Paul Romieu,[1] an ingenious *knock-maker*, who is believed to have been one of the French refugees, compelled to forsake his native land on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In 1675, as appears from the records of the Corporation of Hammermen, a watch was, for the first time, added to the knockmaker's essay, previous to which date it is probable that watches were entirely imported. There remained on the front of this ancient tenement, till its demolition, some portions of a curious piece of mechanism which had formed the sign of its ingenious tenant. This was a gilt ball representing the moon, originally made to revolve by clockwork, and which enjoyed to the last a share of the admiration bestowed on the wonders of the Bow. Other and more curious erections than those we have described had occupied the ground along this steep descent at a still earlier period, when the secular clergy shared with the Templars the dwellings in the Bow. In the "Inventar of Pious Donations," to which we have already frequently referred, a charter is recorded, bearing date February 15, 1541, whereby "Sir Thomas Ewing mortifies to a chaplain in St Giles Kirk, an annual rent of twenty-six shillings out of Henry Spittal's Land, at the Upper Bow, on the east side of ye transse y^of, betwixt Bartil Kairn's Land on the south, *St James Altar Land* on the north, and the King's Street on the west." Below *the Clockmaker's Land*, the tortuous thoroughfare turned suddenly at an acute angle, and presented along its devious steep a strange assemblage of fantastic timber and stone gables; several of them being among those strange relics of a forgotten order of things, the *Temple Lands*, and one of them, with its timber ceilings curiously adorned with paintings[2] in the style already described in the Guise Palace, bearing the quaint legend over its antique lintel, in ornamental characters of a very early date:—

HE · YT · THOLIS · OVERCVMMIS.

Behind these lay several steep, narrow, and gloomy closes, containing the most singular groups of huge, irregular, and diversified tenements that could well be conceived. Here a crazy stunted little timber dwelling, black with age, and beyond it a pile of masonry rising story above story from some murky profound beyond, that left its chimneys scarcely rivalling those of its dwarfish neighbour after climbing thus far from their foundation in the depths below. One of these, which we have engraved under the name of "*The Haunted Close*," is the same in which the worthy gentlewoman, the neighbour of Major Weir, beheld the spectral giantess vanish in a blaze of fire, as she returned down the West Bow at the witching hour of night. The close, for all its wretched degradation, which had won

[1] Minor Antiquities. Information derived fifty years ago (1833) from a man who was then eighty years of age.

[2] Some curious fragments of this ceiling are now in the collection of C. K. Sharpe, Esq.

for it the savoury title it retained to the last, still preserved some remains of ancient grandeur, as appears in our view, where an ornamental building is introduced, which had probably formed the summer house of some neighbouring patrician's pleasure-grounds ere the locality acquired its unenviable distinction. The inventory of the tenants who were at length ejected by the inexorable commissioners, forms, we think, as strange a medley as ever congregated together in one locality. It is thus described :—"All and hail these laigh houses lying in the said West Bow, in that close commonly called *the Stinking Close of Edinburgh*, some time possessed, the one thereof by John Edward, cobbler; another by Widow Mitchell; another by John Park, ballad crier; another by Christian Glass, eggwife; another by Duncan M'Lachlan, waterman; and another by Alexander Anderson, bluegown; . . . and with shops, cellars, &c., are part of that tenement acquired by Sir William Menzies of Gladstanes, 29th April 1696."

Beyond the singular group of buildings thus huddled together, the Bow turned abruptly to the south, completing the Z like form of the ancient thoroughfare. Here again, and scattered among the antique tenements that surround the area of the Grassmarket, we find the gables and bartizans surmounted with the stone or iron cross that marks the privileged *Templar Lands*. These powerful soldier-priests possessed at one time lands in every county, and nearly in every parish, of Scotland; and wherever they permitted houses to be erected thereon, they were required to bear the badge of their order, and to submit to the jurisdiction of no local court but that of their spiritual lords. When their possessions passed into secular hands at the Reformation, they still retained their peculiar privileges and burdens, and their exemption from the exclusive burghal restrictions was long a subject of heart-burning and discontent to the chartered corporations and the magistrates of Edinburgh. The Earl of Haddington is still Lord Superior of the Temple Lands, and his representative used to hold Baron's Courts in them occasionally, until this *imperium in imperio* was abolished by the Act of 1746, which extinguished the ancient privileges of pit and gallows, and swept away a host of independent baronies all over the kingdom. We cannot leave the West Bow, however, once the principal entry into the town, without glancing at the magnificent pageants which it witnessed through successive centuries. Up this steep and narrow way have ridden James IV. and V, his Queen, Mary of Guise, and their fair and ill-fated daughter Queen Mary. Here, too, the latter rode in no joyous ceremonial, with Bothwell at her side, and his rude border spearmen closing around her; though they had thrown away their weapons as they approached the capital, that the ravished Queen might appear to her subjects as the arbiter of her own fate. To those who read aright the history of this calumniated and cruelly wronged Queen, few incidents in her life are more touching than when she rode up the Bow on this occasion, and turning her horse's head, was about to proceed towards her own Palace of Holyrood. It is the very culminating point of her existence; but the die was already cast. Bothwell, who had assumed for the occasion the air of an obsequious courtier, now seized her horse's bridle, and she entered the Castle a captive, and in his power. By the same street her son, James VI., and his Queen, Anne of Denmark, made their ceremonious entries to the capital; and in like manner, Charles I., Oliver Cromwell, and James VII., while Duke of York, accompanied by his Queen and daughter, afterwards Queen Anne.

Such are a few of the great names associated with the ancient thoroughfare which we have seen so recklessly destroyed, and which, until its sudden doom was pronounced, seemed like a hale and vigorous octogenarian, that had defied the tooth of time while all around was being transmuted by his touch.

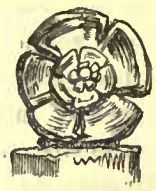
On the lowest part of the declivity of the Bow, a handsome, though somewhat heavy conduit, erected by Robert Milne in 1681, bears the name of the Bow-foot Well. Directly facing this, at the south-west angle of the Grassmarket, there stood of old the Monastery of the Franciscans or Greyfriars, founded by James I., for the encouragement of learning. In obedience to an application from that monarch, the Vicar-General of the Order at Cologne sent over to Scotland some of the brethren, under the guidance of Cornelius of Zurich, a scholar of great reputation; but such was the magnificence of the monastic buildings prepared for them that it required the persuasive influence of the Archbishop of St Andrew's to induce Cornelius to accept the office of Prior. That the monastery was a sumptuous foundation, according to the times, is proved by its being assigned for the temporary abode of the Princess, Mary of Guelders, who immediately after her arrival at Leith, in June 1449, proceeded on horseback, behind the Count de Vere, to her lodging in the Convent of the Greyfriars in Edinburgh, and there she was visited by her royal lover, James II., on the following day.[1] A few years later it afforded an asylum to Henry VI. of England, when he fled to Scotland, accompanied by his heroic Queen, Margaret, and their son, Prince Edward, after the fatal battle of Towton. That a church would form a prominent feature of this royal foundation can hardly be doubted, and we are inclined to infer that the existence both of it, and of a churchyard attached to it, long before Queen Mary's grant of the gardens of the monastery for the latter purpose, is implied in such allusions as the following in the Diurnal of Occurrents, July 7, 1571. "The haill merchandis, craftismen, and personis remanand within Edinburgh, maid thair moustaris in the *Gray Frear Kirk yaird;*" and, again, where Birrel in his Diary, April 26, 1598, refers to the "work at the *Gray Friar Kirke*," although the date of erection of the more modern church is only 1613. The exact site of these monastic buildings is proved from the titles of the two large stone tenements which present their picturesque and antique gables to the street, immediately to the west of the entrance from the Cowgate. The western tenement is described as "lying within the burgh of Edinburgh, at the place called the Grayfreres," while the other is styled "that Temple tenement of land, lying at the head of the Cowgate, near the Cunzie nook, beside the Minor, or Greyfriars, on the east, and the common King's High Street, on the north parts." Beyond this, in the Candlemaker Row, a curious little timber-fronted tenement appears, with its gable surmounted with the antique crow-steps we have described on the Mint buildings and elsewhere; an open gallery projects in front, and rude little shot windows admit the light to the decayed and gloomy chambers within. This, we presume, to be the *Cunzie nook* referred to above, a place where the Mint had no doubt been established at some early period, possibly during some of the strange proceedings in the Regency of Mary of Guize,[2]

[1] Caledonia, vol. i. p. 599.

[2] "Vpoun the 21 day of Julij [1559], James, commendatare of Sanctandrois, and Alexander, erle of Glencarne, with thair assistaris callit the congregatioun, past from Edinburgh to Halyrudhous, and thair tuik and intromettit with the irnis of the cunzehous, and brocht the same to the said burgh of Edinburgh, to the priour of Sanctandrois lugeing,

when the Lords of the Congregation "past to Halyrudhous, and tuik and intromettit with the irnis of the cunzehous."

The general aspect of the Grassmarket appears to have suffered little change for above two hundred years. One of the most modern erections on its southern side is that immediately to the west of the Templar Lands we have just described, which bears on a tablet over the entrance to Hunter's Close, ANNO . DOM . MDCLXXI . It is not likely to be soon lost sight of, that from a dyer's pole in front of this old tenement Captain Porteous was hung by his Lynch-law judges A.D. 1736. The long range of buildings that extend beyond this, present as singular and varied a group of antique tenements as either artist or antiquary could desire. Finials of curious and grotesque shapes surmount the crow-stepped gables, and every variety of form and elevation diversifies the sky line of their roofs and chimneys; while behind, the noble pile of Heriot's Hospital towers above them as a counterpart to the old Castle that rises majestically over the north side of the same area.[1] Many antique features are yet discernible here. Several of the older houses are built with bartizaned roofs and ornamental copings, designed to afford their inmates an uninterrupted view of the magnificent pageants that were wont of old to defile through the wide area below, or of the gloomy tragedies that were so frequently enacted there between the Restoration and the Revolution. One of these, which stands immediately to the west of Heriot's Bridge, exhibits a very perfect specimen of the antique style of window already frequently referred to. The folding shutters and transom of oak remain entire below, and the glass in the upper part is set in an ornamental pattern of lead. Still finer, though less perfect, specimens of the same early fashion, remain in a tenement on the north side, bearing the date 1634. It forms the front building at the entrance to Plainstane's Close—a distinctive title, implying its former respectability as a paved alley. A handsome projecting turnpike stair bears



being thsiriu."—Diurn. of Occ. p. 269. Humble as this *nook* appears, it is possible that it may be a fragment of the Regent Murray's lodging.

[1] The careful and elaborate history of Heriot's Hospital, by Dr Steven, renders further investigation of its memorials unnecessary. Tradition assigns to Inigo Jones the merit of having furnished the beautiful design for the Hospital, which is well worthy of his genius. If so, however, it has been carried out in a modified form, under the direction of more modern architects. The following entry occurs in the Hospital Records for 1675. "May 3.—There is a necessity that the steeple of the Hospital be finished, and a top put thereupon. Ro. Miln, Master Mason, to think on a drawing thereof, against the next council meeting." The master mason does not appear to have thought to good purpose, as we find recorded the following year :—"July 10.—Deacon Sandilans to put a roof and top to the Hospital's steeple, according to the draught condescended upon be Sir William Bruce." In one of Captain Slezer's very accurate general views of Edinburgh, published towards the close of the 17th century, Heriot's Hospital is introduced as it then appeared, with the plain square tower over the gateway, and near to it the Old Greyfriars' Church, with the tower at the west end, as it stood previous to 1718, when the latter was accidentally blown up by gunpowder, which had been deposited there for safety. A view of the Hospital, by Gordon of Rothiemay, which was engraved in Holland before 1650, is believed to afford an accurate representation of the original design. The same is engraved in the fourth edition of Slezer's views, under the name of *Bogengicht*. In this view, the tower is surmounted by a lofty and beautiful spire, carrying out the idea of contrast in form and elevation which appears in the rest of the design, much more effectively than the dome which has been substituted for it. The large towers at the angles of the building appear in this view covered with ogee roofs, in more questionable taste. Several entries in the Hospital Records seem to imply that two of the four towers had been completed according to this idea, and afterwards altered. The Records afford evidence of frequent deviations from the original design being sanctioned, even after such parts of the building were finished according to the plan.

over its entrance the common inscription, BLISSET . BE . GOD . FOR . AL . HIS . GIFTIS .[1] with the initials, I. L., G. K.; and the windows above retain the old oaken mullions and transoms richly carved in a variety of patterns. Another antique tenement to the east of this is finished with a bartizan and ornamental parapet, on the centre of which the badge of its ancient subjection to the Templar Knights appears like a dagger struck into the roof, and left to serve as a memento of strife in more peaceful times. The assignment of this locality as the appointed place for a weekly market, dates from the year 1477, when James III. appointed "all ald graits and ger to be usit and sald in the Friday Market before the Gray-Frers; alsa all qwyck bestis, ky, oxon, not to be brought in the town, bot under the wall fer west at oure stable."[2]

The town wall extended on the west from the Castle across the area of the market on the site now occupied by the Corn Exchange; and here stood the ancient gate of the city from whence the neighbouring suburb derived its name of the West Port. Like the other gates of the city, it was usually garnished with a few heads and dismembered limbs of malefactors and political offenders; and so essential were these appendages considered that Fountainhall, after recording the execution of three Covenanters in the Grassmarket in the year 1681, adds:—"About eight dayes before this they had stollen away two of the heads which stood on the West Port of Edinburgh; the criminal lords, to supply that want, ordained two of thir criminall's heads to be struck off, and to be affixed in ther place."[3] Here also was the scene of some of those quaint ceremonials wherewith our ancestors were wont to testify their loyal gratulations at the Sovereign's approach. James VI. was appropriately received at the gate by King Solomon on his first entry to the capital in 1579; and here, in 1590, his Queen, Anne of Denmark, was welcomed in a Latin oration, and received the silver keys of the city in the accustomed manner, from the hands of an angel who descended in a globe from the battlements of the Port.[4] King James was again welcomed in still more costly fashion at the same spot on his return to his native city in 1617; and the *Nymph Edina* waited there for his son, Charles I., in 1633, attended by beautiful damsels, and, with a brief congratulatory oration, presented the keys, leaving, however, the burden of the welcome to the *Lady Caledonia*, who lay in wait for him at the corner of the Bow, and in "a copious speech," prepared by Drummond of Hawthornden in his most bombastic vein, congratulated his Majesty on his safe arrival.

The most interesting features of the burgh of Western Portsburgh have already been described in a previous chapter.[5] Many of the old buildings of its main street have been replaced of late years by the plain unpretending erections of modern times. It still, however, has at least one venerable edifice of a picturesque character, erected in the reign of Queen Mary by John Lowrie,[6] a substantial burgher, and, as it would seem, a zealous adherent of the ancient faith in those ticklish times. So, at least, we infer from the sculptured lintel of its ancient doorway, which bears, in large characters, this abbreviation of the common motto,—SOLI DEO · H · G · with the date 1565; and in the centre, between

[1] The same inscription occurs with the date 1637, over a neighbouring tenement at the foot of the Castle Wynd.
[2] Charter of James III.; Maitland, pp. 8, 9.
[3] Fountainhall's Historical Observes, p. 30.
[4] Ante, pp. 85–87. [5] Ante, pp. 135–137. [6] Traditions, vol. i. p. 304.

the builder's initials, a large ornamental shield bears the device of a pot full of lilies, one of the most common emblems of the Virgin Mary. John Lowrie's initials are repeated in ornamental characters on the eastern crow-step, separated by what appears to be designed for a baker's peel, and probably indicating that its owner belonged to the ancient fraternity of baxters. The burgh of Easter Portsburgh, which is associated with its western neighbour under the same baron bailie, comprehends the Potterrow and adjoining district of Bristo, and includes several buildings of considerable interest, though not of great antiquity. One edifice, however, which appeared in our view of the Potterrow, was a singular specimen of the ancient *timber lands*, and differed in character from any example of that style of building that now remains. It bore the distinctive title of the *Mahogany Land*, an epithet popularly applied to the most ornamental timber erections in different parts of the town, and had undoubtedly existed at the time when the Collegiate Church of St Mary stood in the neighbouring fields. Directly opposite to its site is a lofty building, erected, as appears from its title-deeds, in 1715, and which, we are informed by its proprietor, formed the lodging of the Earl of Morton. It has evidently been a mansion of some importance. A broad and handsome archway leads into an enclosed court behind, where there is cut, in unusually large letters, the inscription—BLISET . BE . GOD . FOR . AL . HIS . GIFTIS .—and a monogram, now undecipherable. Robert, twelfth Earl of Morton, succeeded to the title the same year in which the house was built, and was again succeeded by his brother George, appointed Vice-Admiral of Scotland in 1733. He died at Edinburgh in 1738, and was buried in the Greyfriars' Churchyard. Other associations, however, far surpassing those of mere rank and ancient lineage, will make this locality long be regarded as a peculiarly interesting nook of the Scottish metropolis. Nearly at the point of junction of the Potterrow with Bristo Street—once one of the two great thoroughfares from the south—there is a little, irregular, and desolate-looking court of antique buildings, bearing the name of General's Entry. The south and east sides of this little quadrangle are formed by a highly-decorated range of buildings. The crow-stepped gable at the south-east angle is surmounted by a curious old sun-dial, bearing the quaint punning moral, *We shall die all;* and beyond this a series of sculptured dormer windows appear, in the highly-decorated style of the seventeenth century. On one of the sculptured pediments is a shield, bearing the unusual heraldic device of a monkey, with three stars in chief. It is surrounded by a border of rich Elizabethan scroll work in high relief; and beyond this, the initials J. D. The adjoining window bears, as its principal ornament, an ingenious monogram, formed of large ornamental Roman characters. The tradition is one of old standing, which assigns this mansion as the residence of General Monk, during his command in Scotland under Oliver Cromwell. This is usually referred to as the origin of the present name of the locality; nor is the tradition altogether without some appearance of probability in support of it. The house, we believe, was erected by Sir James Dalrymple, afterwards Viscount Stair, justly regarded as the most eminent judge who ever presided on the Scottish Bench. He is well known to have been a special favourite of General Monk, who frequently consulted him on matters of state, and recommended him to Cromwell in 1657 as the fittest person to be appointed a judge. Under these circumstances, it may be inferred, with little hesitation, that Monk was a frequent visitor, if not a constant guest, at General's Entry, when he came into the capital from his head-

quarters at Dalkeith Palace. The old mansion continued to be the town residence of the noble family of Stair, until, like the rest of the Scottish peers, they deserted their native capital soon after the abolition of our national Parliament by the Act of Union. It is not unlikely that the present name of the old court is derived from the more recent residence there of John, second Earl of Stair, who served during the protracted campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, and was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General soon after the bloody victory of Malplaquet. He shared in the fall of the great Duke, and retired from Court until the accession of George I., during which interval it is probable that the family mansion in the Potterrow formed the frequent abode of the disgraced favourite.

Degradation and decay had long settled down on the old aristocratic haunt, when Clarinda wrote from the same place in 1788, in anticipation of a visit from the poet Burns, "I hope you'll *come a-foot*, even though you take a chair home. A chair is so uncommon a thing in our neighbourhood, it is apt to raise speculation—but they are all asleep by ten."[1] The first interview between Mrs M'Lehose, the romantic Clarinda, and her Sylvander, took place at the house of Miss Nimmo, a mutual friend, who resided in Alison Square, Potterrow; an equally humble locality, and within a few paces of General's Entry, but which derives a still deeper interest from having been the place where the youthful poet Thomas Campbell lived during his stay in Edinburgh, while engaged in the composition of his *Pleasures of Hope*. To appreciate the later associations of these scenes of poetic inspiration and intellectual pleasures, the reader should rise from the perusal of the ardent and romantic correspondence of *Clarinda and Sylvander*, and proceed to visit the dusky little parlour on the first floor of the crazy tenement in the Potterrow, where the poet was welcomed by the enthusiastic Clarinda. It is on the north side of General's Entry, and approached by a narrow turnpike stair, where the whole accommodations of Mrs M'Lehose consisted of a kitchen, bedroom, and the straitened parlour wherein she received the visits of the poet. Here this young and beautiful woman resided with her infant children, and struggled against the pinching cares of poverty, and the worse sorrows created by an acutely sensitive mind. The emigration, however, of the gentry of the Old Town to the more fashionable dwellings beyond the North Loch had been very partially effected in 1788; and the contrast between the little parlour in General's Entry, and the drawing-rooms of the poet's wealthier hosts, was by no means so marked and striking as it afterwards became. Such are the strangely mingled associations of rank, historic fame, and genius, with lowly worth and squalid poverty, which still linger around so many old nooks of the Scottish capital, and give so peculiar an interest to its scenes.

Beyond this lies the more modern district that preceded the New Town, and included in its various districts accommodation designed for very different ranks of society. Nicolson Street, which now forms a portion of the principal southern avenue to the city, was constructed towards the close of last century on an extensive unoccupied space of ground lying between the Pleasance and Potterrow. It belonged to Lady Nicolson, whose house stood nearly at the junction of South College Street with Nicolson Street, and on the

[1] Correspondence between Burns and Clarinda, p. 152. The poet was at this period lame, from an injury in his knee.

completion of the latter street, she erected a monument to her husband at the north end, consisting of a Corinthian column, measuring above twenty-five feet high. Upon the base an inscription was cut in Latin and English, setting forth that Lady Nicolson had made the adjacent ground, left to her by her husband, be planned out for building, under the name of Nicolson Street, and had erected the monument there out of regard to his memory. On the extension of the thoroughfare and the completion of the South Bridge, this pious memorial was thrown aside into the yard of the public riding-school, then occupying the site where the College of Surgeons now stands, and it has no doubt long since been broken up for building materials. Though the monument of Lady Nicolson might not possess any great value in general estimation, it would have been no unbecoming act for the projectors of these extensive improvements to have found a site for it in the neighbouring square. The building in Nicolson Street, at the corner of Hill Street, now occupied as the Blind Asylum, acquires peculiar interest from having long formed the residence of the celebrated chemist, Dr Black, whose reputation contributed so largely to the fame of the University to which he belonged. Further south, on the same side of the street, a small and mean-looking court, surrounded by humble tenements, and crowded with a dense population, bears the name of Simon Square. It has nothing in its appearance to attract either the artist or the antiquary, yet its associations are intimately connected with the Fine Arts; for here, in a narrow lane, called Paul Street, which leads thence into the Pleasance, David Wilkie took up his abode on his arrival in Edinburgh in 1799. Wilkie was then a raw country lad, only fourteen years of age, and so little was thought of the productions of his pencil that it required the powerful interest of the Earl of Leven to overcome the prejudices of the Secretary of the Academy established in Edinburgh by the Board of Trustees, and obtain his admission as a student. The humble lodging, where the enthusiastic young aspirant for fame first began his career as an artist, cannot but be viewed with lively interest. It is a little back room, measuring barely ten feet square, at the top of a common stair, on the south side of the street near the Pleasance. From thence he removed to a better lodging in East Richmond Street, and thereafter to a comfortable attic in Palmer's Land, West Nicolson Street. This latter abode of the great Scottish artist possesses peculiar associations with our national arts, his eminent predecessor, Alexander Runciman, having occupied the same apartment till 1784, the year before his death,[1] and having there probably entertained the Poet Ferguson, while with ominous fitness he sat as his model for the Prodigal Son.

Near to this is the aristocratic quarter that sprung up during the tedious delays which preceded the commencement of the New Town, and threatened by its success to compel the projectors of that long-cherished scheme of improvement to abandon their design. Here is George Square, once the abode of rank, and far more worthy of note, as the scene where Scott spent his youth under the paternal roof; that bright period of his existence, of which so many beautiful details are preserved, full of sweet glimpses of the happy circle that gathered round his father's hearth. The house which Scott's father occupied

[1] The following entry is extracted from the old family Bible which belonged to the artist's father, and is now in the possession of a gentleman in Edinburgh:—"James Runciman and Mary Smith, married 1735. Nov. 7, Kilwinning, Alexander, born 15th Aug. 1736. Baptized by John Walker, minister, Canongate [Edinburgh]. Died Oct. 21st 1785 at 12 at night in Chapel Street."

is on the west side of the square, No. 25, and there the lively and curious boy grew up to manhood under the kindly surveillance of the good old pair. The little back room still remains, "*That early den*," with the young antiquary's beginnings of the future Abbotsford collection, described so piquantly in Lockhart's life of him, by the pen of a female friend; and where Lord Jeffrey found him on his first visit, long years ago, "surrounded with dingy books." Though shorn of all the strange relics that young Walter Scott gathered there, it possesses one valuable memento of the boy. On one of the window panes his name is still seen, inscribed with a diamond in a school-boy hand; and other panes of glass, which contained juvenile verses traced in the same durable manner, have been removed to augment the treasures of modern collectors. On the east side of George Square lies Windmill Street, the name of which preserves the record of an earlier period when a windmill occupied its site, and raised the water from the Borough Loch to supply the brewers of the Society. The Incorporation of Brewers has long been dissolved, and the Borough Loch now forms the rich pasturage and the shady walks of the Meadows; while along its once marshy margin has since been built Buccleuch Place, where the exclusive fashionables of the southern district long maintained their own ball-room and assemblies.

The impossibility of converting this pendicle of the Borough Muir to any useful purpose as private property, while it continued in its original state as a Loch, fortunately prevented its alienation, while nearly every other portion of the valuable tract of land that once belonged to the borough passed into private hands. At the western extremity of the Borough Muir, the venerable tower of Merchiston still stands entire, the birth-place of John Napier, the inventor of the Logarithms, to whom, according to Hume, the title of a great man is more justly due than to any other whom his country ever produced. The ancestors of the great Scottish philosopher were intimately connected with Edinburgh. The three first Napiers of Merchiston successively filled the office of provost in the reigns of James II. and III., and other connections of the family rose to the same civic dignity. Their illustrious descendant was born at Merchiston Castle in the year 1550, on the eve of memorable changes whereof even the reserved and modest student had to bear his share. The old fortalice of Merchiston, reared at an easy distance from the Scottish capital, lay in the very field of strife. Round its walls the Douglas wars raged for years, and the most striking incidents of the philosopher's early life intermingle with the carnage of that merciless feud. On the 2d of April 1572, he was betrothed to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Stirling of Keir, and on the 5th of the following month, "The cumpany of Edinburgh past furth and seigit Merchingstoun; quha wan all the pairtis thairof except the dungeoun, in the quhilk wes certane suddartis in Leith; the haill houssis wes spoulzeit and brunt, to haue smokit the men of the dungeoun out; but the cuntrie seand the fyre, raise with the pover of Leith and put the men of Edinburgh thairfra without slauchter, bot syndrie hurt."[1] The keep of Merchiston formed, indeed, the key of the south approach to the capital, so that whoever triumphed it became the butt of their opponents' enmity. It lay near enough to be bombarded from the Castle walls by Sir William Kirkaldy, though a cousin of its owner, because some of the king's men held it for a time, and intercepted the provisions coming to the town. Again and again were the

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 295.

grey towers of Merchiston beleagured by the furious *Queen's men*, and battered with their cannon till they "maid greit slappis in the wall;" but a truce was at length effected betwixt the contending factions, and the donjon keep became once more the abode of the student, and its battlements the observatory and watch-tower of the astrologer. Napier was regarded by his contemporaries as possessed of mysterious supernatural powers; and the marvels attributed to him, with the aid of a familiar spirit that attended him in the shape of a Jet Black Cock, have been preserved among the traditions of the neighbourhood almost to our own day.[1] The philosopher indeed would seem to have indulged his shrewd humour occasionally in giving countenance to such popular conceits. A field in front of Merchiston still bears the name of *the Doo Park* as the scene of one of his necromantic exploits. The pigeons of a neighbouring laird having annoyed him by frequent inroads on his grain, he threatened at length to arrest them *red-hand*, and was laughingly dared to "catch them if he could." The depredators made their appearance as usual on the morrow, and partook so heartily of the grain, which had been previously saturated with alcohol by the reclaiming owner, that he easily made the bewitched pigeons captives, to the no small astonishment and awe of his neighbours.

It is curious to find a popular nursery tale originating in the grave pranks of the illustrious inventor of the Logarithms, yet many juvenile readers will recognise the following adventure of the Warlock of Merchiston and his Jet Black Cock as a familiar story. Napier apparently impressed his domestics with a full belief in his magical powers, as the readiest means of turning their credulity to account. Having on one occasion missed some property, which he suspected had been taken by one of his servants, they were ordered one by one into a dark room where the black cock was confined, and each of them was required to stroke its back, after being warned that it would crow at the touch of the guilty hand. The cock maintained unbroken silence throughout the mysterious ordeal; but the hand of the culprit was the only one found entirely free from the soot with which its feathers had been previously anointed! The philosopher, however, was an adept in astrology, and appears himself to have entertained perfect faith in the possession of unusual powers, particularly in that of discovering hidden treasure. A very singular contract between him and Logan of Restalrig—one of the Gowrie conspirators—was found among the Merchiston papers, wherein it is agreed, that, "forsamekle as ther is dywerss ald reportis, motiffis, and appirancis, that thair suld be within the said Robertis dwellinge place of Fascastell a soum of monie and poiss, heid and hurdit up secritlie, quilk as yit is onfund be ony man. The said Jhone sall do his utter and exact diligens to serche and sik out, and be al craft and ingyne that he dow, to tempt, trye, and find out the sam, and be the grace of God, other sall find the sam, or than mak it suir that na sik thing hes been thair; so far as his utter trawell, diligens, and ingyne, may reach."[2] This singular contract acquires a peculiar interest, when we remember the reported discovery of hidden treasure with which the preliminary steps of the Gowrie Conspiracy were effected.

Within a little distance of the ancient tower of Merchiston, and directly between it and the town, another old mansion of the Napiers attracted the eye of the curious.

[1] Mark Napier's Memoirs of Napier of Merchiston, 4to, p. 214.

[2] Napier's Napier of Merchiston, p. 221.

This was the picturesque half-castellated edifice of Wrychtishousis, unfortunately acquired by the trustees of Mr Gillespie, a wealthy and benevolent tobacconist who bequeathed his whole fortune to found an hospital for the aged poor. By them it was entirely demolished in the year 1800, and the tasteless modern erection built which now occupies its site. The nucleus of this singularly picturesque group of irregular masonry appeared to have been an ancient keep, or Peel Tower, evidently of very early date, around which were clustered, in various styles of architecture, intricate ranges of buildings and irregular turrets, which had been added by successive owners to increase the accommodation afforded by the primitive tower. The general effect of this antique pile was greatly enhanced on approaching it by the numerous heraldic devices and inscriptions which adorned every window, doorway, and ornamental pinnacle; the whole walls being crowded with armorial bearings, designed to perpetuate the memory of the noble alliances by which the family succession of the Napiers of Wrychtishousis had been continued from early times. The earliest records of this ancient family which have been discovered, show that William Napier, the owner of the old mansion in 1390, was then Constable of Edinburgh Castle, and maintained that important stronghold at the beginning of the following century, with the aid of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and the unfortunate Duke of Rothesay, against Henry IV., at the head of the whole military force of England. To this brave resistance, which baffled all the efforts of the English monarch, and redeemed Scotland from total subjection, the ingenious genealogist of the Napiers conceives that the peculiar tenure of the Wrychtishousis may be referred. From old charters, preserved in the Register House, it appears that that property was held by payment to the king of a silver penny upon the *Castle Hill* of Edinburgh. "Fourteen years' services as Constable, including so memorable a siege, may perhaps account for the silver link between the Wrychtishousis and the Castle Hill."[1]

The singular edifice thus intimately associated with a historical event of such memorable importance, formed by far the most striking example of an ancient baronial mansion that existed in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Minutely examined, it exhibited the picturesque blending of the rude feudal stronghold with the ornate additions of more peaceful times, combining altogether to produce a pleasing effect rarely equalled by more regular designs. The effect of this irregular group of the various styles of Scottish architecture is described, by those who still remember it with regret, as singularly striking, especially when viewed from the Borough Muir towards sunset, rearing its towers and pinnacles against the evening sky. Had it remained till now, it is probable that the prevalence of a better taste would have induced the trustees of Gillespie's foundation to adapt it to the purposes of their charitable institution, instead of levelling it with the ground. Its demolition, however, was not effected even then without a spirited, though ineffectual remonstrance, by a correspondent of the Edinburgh Magazine for July 1800, who writes under the name of *Cadmon*, and urges, among other arguments, the venerable antiquity of the building, one of the dates on which was 1376. "Above one window," he remarks, "was the inscription, SICUT OLIVA FRUCTIFERA, 1376; and above another, IN DOMINO CONFIDO, 1400. There were several later dates, marking the periods, probably of additions, embellishments, or repairs, or the succession of different proprietors. The arms

[1] Partition of the Lennox, p. 181.

over the principal door were those of Britain after the Union of the Crowns. On triangular stones, above the windows, were five emblematical representations:—

> And in these five, such things their form express'd,
> As we can touch, taste, feel, or hear, or see.

A variety of the *Virtues* also were strewed upon different parts of the building. In one place was a rude representation of our first parents, and underneath the well-known old proverbial distich:—

> When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Quhair war a' the gentles than?

In another place was a head of Julius Cæsar, and elsewhere a head of Octavius Secundus, both in good preservation." Many of these sculptures were recklessly defaced and broken, and the whole of them dispersed. Among those we have examined there is one, now built over the doorway of Gillespie's School, having a tree cut on it, bearing for fruit the stars and crescents of the family arms, and the inscription DOMINUS EST ILLUMINATIO MEA; another, placed over the Hospital Well, has this legend below a boldly cut heraldic device, CONSTANTIA ET LABORE . 1339. On two others, now at Woodhouselee, are the following, BEATUS VIR QUI SPERAT IN DEO . 1450 . and PATRIÆ ET POSTERIS . 1513 . Altogether there were probably included in the decorations of this single building more quaint and curious allegories and inscriptions than are now left to reward our investigation among all the antiquities of the Old Town. The only remains of this singular mansion that have escaped the general wreck, are the sculptured pediments and heraldic carvings built into the boundary walls of the Hospital; and a few others, referred to above, which were secured by the late Lord Woodhouselee, and now adorn a ruin on Mr Tytler's estate at the Pentlands. An examination of these suffices to show that no dependence can be placed on the date referred to by *Cadmon* in fixing the age of the building, as the whole are in the florid style that prevailed in the reign of James VI., and were no doubt cut at one period as a durable memorial of the family tree.[1] Maitland, after refuting the popular derivation of the name of Wrychtishousis, from the supposed fact of the *wrights* or carpenters having dwelt there while cutting down the oaks of the Borough Muir, assigns it as the mansion of the *Laird of Wryte*.[2] That, however, is merely reasoning in a circle, and deriving its name from itself; but no better explanation seems now discoverable.

Only one other suburban district remains to be included in our sketch of the old Scottish Capital. Villages and hamlets have indeed been embraced within its modern exten-

[1] A minute account of these, with accurate facsimiles of several of them, will be found in "The History of the Partition of the Lennox." The author shows that from the earliest records no evidence leads to the idea of any connection between the owners of Merchiston and Wrychtishousis, notwithstanding their common name. Their arms are quite distinct, until 1513—the memorable year of Flodden—when one of the heraldic sculptures shows an alliance between the Laird of Wrychtishousis and a daughter of Merchiston. The author, however, does not notice the fact that on the family vault in St Giles's Church, the arms of both families are cut, not impaled, but on two distinct, though attached shields, and with the Merchiston crest. He has been driven to some very ingenious and learned theories to account for a shield bearing three crescents on the field, which he found—where it ought to be—at Woodhouselee, *being the arms of the present owner of the house.*

[2] Maitland, p. 508.—This derivation is deduced erroneously from the boundaries of the Borough Muir, as given by himself, where he has printed in the possessive case and as two words, what should evidently read, "The Laird of Wryteshouse," as in the previous sentence, "The Laird of Marchiston."—Ibid, p. 177.

sions, or swept away to make room for the formal streets and squares of the New Town; but these are the offspring of another parentage, though claiming a part among the memorials of the olden time. At the foot of Leith Wynd—and just without the ancient boundaries of the capital, lies an ancient suburb, which though at no time dignified by the abodes of the nobility, or even of citizens of note, was selected as the site of several early religious foundations that still confer some interest on the locality. The foot of the Wynd (the only portion which now remains) was remarkable as the scene of one of those strange acts of lawless violence, which were of such frequent occurrence in early times. John Graham, parson of Killearn, one of the supreme criminal Judges, having married the widow of Sandilands of Calder, instituted a vexatious law-suit against her son. The partizans of the latter probably considered it vain to compete with a lawyer at his own weapons, and his uncle, Sir James Sandilands, accompanied by a body of his friends and followers, lay in wait for the Judge on the 1st of February 1592, in the wynd, which then formed one of the principal avenues to the town, and avenged their quarrel by murdering him in open day, without any of the perpetrators being brought to trial or punishment.[1] At the foot of the wynd stood the building known as Paul's Work, rebuilt in 1619, on the site of an ancient religious foundation. About the year 1479, Thomas Spence, Bishop of Aberdeen, founded an hospital there, for the reception and entertainment of twelve poor men, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary, under the name of the Hospital of our Lady in Leith Wynd, and it subsequently received considerable augmentations to its revenues from other benefactors. It is probable that among these benefactions there had been a chapel or altar dedicated to St Paul, unless, indeed, this was included in the original charter of foundation.[2] All these documents, however, are now lost, and we are mainly left to conjecture as to the source of the change of name which early took place. In 1582 the Common Council adapted this charitable foundation to the new order of things, and drew up statutes for the guidance of the Bedemen, wherein it is required that, "in Religion they be na Papistes, bot of the trew Religion."[3] Subsequently the whole revenues were diverted to purposes never dreamt of by the pious founders. The buildings having probably fallen into decay, were reconstructed as they now appear, and certain Dutch manufacturers were invited over from Delft, and established there for the instruction of poor girls and boys in the manufacturing of woollen stuffs. The influence of these strangers in their legitimate vocation failed of effect, but Calderwood records in 1621, "Manie of the profainner sort of the toun were drawen out upon the sixt of May, to May games in Gilmertoun and Rosseline; so profanitie began to accompanie superstition and idolatrie, as it hath done in former times. Upon the first of May, the weavers in St Paul's Worke, Englishe and Dutche, set up a highe May pole, with their garlants and bells hanging at them, wherat was great concurse

[1] Arnot's Criminal Trials, p. 174.

[2] "Feb. 7, 1696.—Reduction pursued by the Town of Edinburgh against Sir Wm. Binny, and other partners of the Linen Manufactory in Paul's Work, of the tack set to them of the same in 1683. Insisted 1mo, that this house was founded by Thos. Spence, Bishop of Aberdeen, in the reign of King James II., for discipline and training of idle vagabonds, and dedicated to St Paul; and by an Act of Council in 1626, was destinate and mortified for educating boys in a woollen manufactory; and this tack had inverted the original design, contrary to the 6th Act of Parliament, 1633, discharging the sacrilegious inversion of all pious donations."—Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 709. "There was a hospital and chapel, dedicated to St Paul, in Edinburgh; and there was in the chapel an altar and chaplainry consecrated to the Virgin; of which Sir William Knolls, the preceptor of Torphichen, claimed the patronage before the Privy Council, in 1495."—Parl. Rec. 472. Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 471.

[3] Maitland, pp. 468–9.

of people."[1] This manufacturing speculation, though devised for benevolent purposes, entirely failed, and dissipated the whole revenues of the older foundation. We next find it converted into an Hospital for the wounded soldiers of General Leslie's army, during the skirmishing that preceded his total defeat at Dunbar;[2] and thereafter it reached its final degradation as a penal workhouse or bridewell, in which capacity it is referred to in the "Heart of Midlothian." The building was decorated with the city arms, and sundry other rudely sculptured devices on the pediments of the dormer windows that appear in our view, and over the doorway was inscribed the pious aspiration:—GOD · BLIS · THIS · WARK · with the date 1619.

Beyond this lies the district of Calton,[3] which had for its superiors the Lords Balmerinoch, until the Common Council purchased the superiority of it from the last representative of that noble family, who perished on the block in 1746. The first Lord Balmerinoch was made the scapegoat of his royal master James VI., on the Secretary Cecil producing a letter to the Council, which his Majesty had written to the Pope, Clement VIII., with the view of smoothing his accession to the English throne. Lord Balmerinoch was accused as the author of the letter, and sent prisoner to Edinburgh, "with the people of which place," says Scott of Scotstarvit, "he was little favoured, because he had acquired many lands about the town, so that John Henderson, the bailie, forced him to light off his horse at the foot of Leith Wynd, albeit he had the rose in his leg, and was very unable to walk, till he came to the prison house." He was condemned to be beheaded, but was soon after permitted to retire to his own house, the whole being a mere *ruse* to cover the King's double dealing. The last Lord presented the Old Calton Burying Ground to his vassals, as a place of sepulture, and it is said offered them the whole hill for £40. This district, however, must have existed long before King James bestowed that title on his favourite, as the last remains of an ancient chapel, dedicated to St Ninian were swept away in 1814, in clearing the site for the west pier of the Regent Bridge. Only the crypt, or vaulted ground story, remained at the time of its demolition; but "the baptismal font," as Arnot styles it, or more probably the holy-water stoup, was removed by Mr Walter Ross in 1778, to the curious Gothic tower built by him at Dean Haugh. It consists of a neatly sculptured bason, forming the base of a Gothic niche, and surmounted by an elegant Gothic canopy, and now forms one of the heterogeneous decorations collected by Sir Walter Scott for his mansion at Abbotsford. Nothing is known either of the founders or the date of erection of St Ninian's Chapel. The neighbouring Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity was dedicated, in the charter of foundation, "For the praise and honour of the Holy Trinity, of the ever-blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, of *St Ninian the Confessor*, and of all saints and elect of God."[4] The chapel appears, however, to have been a dependency of the Abbey of Holyrood, from different notices of it that occur in licences granted by the Abbots to the Corporations of the Canongate, for founding and maintaining altars in the Abbey Church. In a licence granted in 1554, by Robert Stewart, Abbot of Holyrood, "for augmentatioun of dyuine seruice at ane alter to be biggit within our sayd abbay, quhare Sanct Crispine and Crispiniane yer patronis sall stand;" it is added,

[1] Calderwood, vol. vii. p. 458.
[2] Nicoll's Diary, p. 23.
[3] "*Calton*, or *Caldoun*, is admitted to be the hill covered with bushes."—Dalrymple's Annals, vol. i. p. 96.
[4] Charter of Foundation, Maitland, p. 207.

"And als it is our will yat ye cordinaris dwelland within our regalite, . . . besyde our chapell of Sanct Niniane, outwith Sanct Androws Port besyde Edinburcht, be in bretherheid and fallowschipe with ye said dekin and masteris of ye said Cordinar crauft."[1] The main street of the Barony of Calton, derived from this ancient chapel the name of St Ninian's Row, and although this had been superseded by common consent of late years, there still remains carved on the west side of the large old well the name and date, ST NINIAN'S ROW, 1752; while on the lintel of the east doorway is cut "CRAIG END," the term by which the High Calton was known of old. Here also is the boundary of South Leith Parish, in proof of which there might recently be seen carved and gilded in raised letters on a beam under the north-west gallery of St Mary's Church, Leith, "FOR THE CRAIG END, 1652." The engraving of St Ninian's Row will serve to convey some idea of the picturesque range of edifices dedicated of old to the Confessor, and swept away by the recent operations of the North British Railway. They were altogether of a humble character, and appear to have very early received a more appropriate dedication as "The Beggar Row." One stone tenement, which seemed to lay claim to somewhat higher pretensions than its frail lath and plaster neighbours, owed its origin to the temporary prosperity of the vassals of St Crispin in this little barony. An ornamental panel graced the front of its projecting staircase, decorated with the Shoemakers' arms, surrounded with a richly sculptured border, and bearing the pious motto:—GOD BLISS THEM CORDINERS OF EDINBURGH, WHA BUILT THIS HOUSE. It was sacrificed, we presume, in the general ruin of the Cordiners of Canongate and its dependencies. In Sempill of Beltrees' curious poem, "The Banishment of Poverty," already referred to, the author and his travelling companion, the Genius of Poverty, make for this locality as the best suited for such wayfarers:—

> We held the Long-gate to Leith Wyne,
> Where poorest purses used to be;
> And in the Caltown lodged syne,
> Fit quarters for such companie.

Such was its state in 1680, when it formed one of the chief thoroughfares to the city, and the road which led by the ancient Burgh of Broughton to the neighbouring seaport. The principal approach to Leith, however, continued for nearly a century after this to be by the Eastern Road, through the Water Gate; and the present broad and handsome thoroughfare, which still retains the name of *Leith Walk*, was then simply an elevated gravel path. The origin of this valuable modern improvement is strangely traceable to one of the most disastrous campaigns of the seventeenth century. During the manœuvrings of the Scottish army under their Covenanting leader, General Leslie, in 1650, previous to the battle of Dunbar, the whole forces were drawn up for a time in the open plain between Edinburgh and Leith, and a line of defence constructed by means of a redoubt on the Calton Hill, and another at Leith, with a trench and parapet extending between them. The position was admirably adapted both for the defence of the towns and the security of the army, so long as the latter remained on the defensive; but the superior tactics of

[1] Liber Cartarum, App. p. 291. This, it will be observed, is an earlier notice of the Cordiners of Canongate than that referred to on p. 291. The Hall of the Cordiners of Calton was only demolished in 1845, for the site of the North British Railway Station.

Cromwell soon drew General Leslie's forces out of their secure position, and tempted them to follow to their own destruction. The mound thus thrown up between the two towns was gradually improved into a pleasant footpath. Defoe remarks in 1748—Leith Wynd "leads north into a suburb called the Calton; from whence there is a very handsome gravel-walk twenty feet broad, continued to the town of Leith, which is kept in good repair at the public charge, and no horses suffered to come upon it."[1] Thus it continued till the opening of the North Bridge in 1772, when it seems to have been adopted as a carriage-road, with very little provision for its security or maintenance. It has since been converted, at great expense, into one of the broadest and most substantial roadways in the kingdom, along which handsome streets and squares are now laid out, destined, when completed, to unite the capital and its seaport into one great city; but it still retains, in its name of Leith Walk, a memento of the period when it was carefully guarded for the exclusive use of pedestrian travellers. About half-way between Edinburgh and Leith, on the west side of the Walk, is the site of the Gallow-Lee, once a rising ground, whose summit was decorated with the hideous apparatus of public execution, permanently erected there for the exposure of the mangled limbs of notorious culprits or political offenders. This accursed Golgotha, however, has been literally carted away, to convert the fine sand, of which it chiefly consisted, into mortar for the builders of the New Town; and the forsaken sand-pit now blooms with the rarest exotics and the fresh tints of nursling trees, the whole ground being laid out as a nursery. The rising ground called Heriot's Hill, which lies immediately to the north of the nursery, serves to show the former height of the Gallow-Lee. When the surrounding ground was unoccupied, and the whole area of the New Town lying in open fields, the lonely gibbet with its loathsome burden must have formed a prominent object from a considerable distance on every side—a *moral lesson*, as our forefathers conceived, of great value in the suburban landscape!

[1] Defoe's Tour, vol. iv. p. 86.

CHAPTER X.

LEITH, AND THE NEW TOWN.

THE history and antiquities of the ancient burgh of Leith are much too intimately connected with the Scottish capital to admit of their being overlooked among its venerable memorials. The earliest notice of Leith occurs in the original charter of Holyrood Abbey, where it is mentioned among the gifts bestowed by Saint David on his royal foundation, under the name of Inverleith. Little, however, is known of its history until the year 1329, when the citizens of Edinburgh obtained from King Robert I. a grant of the Harbour and Mills of Leith, for the payment of fifty-two merks yearly. From that period almost to our day it has remained as a vassal of Edinburgh, not incorporated, like the Canongate, by amicable relations and the beneficent fruits of a paternal sway, but watched with a spirit of mean jealousy that seemed ever to dread the step-child becoming a formidable rival. It bore a share in all the disasters that befell its jealous neighbour, without partaking of its more prosperous fortunes, until the Burgh Reform Bill of 1833 at length freed it from this slavish vassalage, that proved in its operations alike injurious to the Capital and its Port. The position it occupied, and the share it had in the successive struggles that exercised so marked an influence on the history of Edinburgh, have already been sufficiently detailed in the introductory sketch. It suffered nearly as much from the invading armies of Henry VIII. as Edinburgh; while in the bloody feuds between the Congregation and the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, and the no less bitter strife of the Douglas wars, it was dragged unwillingly into their quarrels, and compelled to bear the brunt of its more powerful neighbour's wrath.

In the reign of Alexander III. it belonged to the Leiths, a family who owned extensive possessions in Midlothian, including the lands of Restalrig, and took their patrimonial surname from the town. About the commencement of the fourteenth century these possessions passed by marriage to the Logans, the remains of whose ancient strong-

VIGNETTE—Arms, Vinegar Close, Leith.

hold still frowns above the crag that rises from the eastern bank of Lochend; and after the royal grant of the Harbour to the Town of Edinburgh by Robert I., Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, Knight, the baronial lord of Leith, appears as a successful competitor with the magistrates of Edinburgh for the right of road-way and other privileges claimed by virtue of the royal grant. The estate of Restalrig extended from the outskirts of the Canongate to the Water of Leith, including the Calton, or Wester Restalrig, as it was styled; but Logan was easily induced to sell the rights of his unfortunate vassals to their jealous rivals. The Logans, however, continued long afterwards to possess nearly the whole surrounding property, and thereby to maintain their influence and superiority in the burgh, where they appear to have always had their town mansion. The following allusion to it, in the reign of Queen Mary, by a contemporary, shows its dignity and importance, at a period when a greater number of the nobility and higher clergy were residing in Leith than had ever been at any earlier date. "Vpoun the xviij of May 1572, thair come to Leith ane ambassatour fra the King of Fraunce, nameit Monsieur Lacrok, a man of good knawlege, to intreat for peace betuix the pairties; at the quhilk tyme of his entrie, the haill inhabitaris and remanaris within the burgh of Edinburgh wer in thair armour wpone the fieldis in sicht of thair aduersaris, quha dischargit fyve peices of artailzerie at thame, and did na skaith. Vpoun the xxj day, the foirnameit ambassatour come to Edinburgh Castell, met be George Lord Seytoun, at quhais entrie certane mvnitoun wes dischargit; quha past the same nycht to Leith agane, and lugeit in Mr Johne Loganes lugeing thair."[1] The whole possessions of this ancient family were at length forfeited in the reign of James VI. by the turbulent baron, Robert Logan of Restalrig, being involved in the Gowrie conspiracy; though his share in that mysterious plot was not discovered till he was in his grave. The forfeited estates were transferred to the Elphinstons of Balmerinoch, new favourites who were rising to wealth and power on the spoils of the church and the ruin of its adherents.

One of the descendants of the barons of Restalrig appears to have retrieved in some degree the failing fortunes of the family by a gallant *coup-de-main*, achieved against a host of opponents. A gentleman in Leith has now in his possession the marriage-contract between Logan and Isabella Fowler, an heiress whom tradition affirms to have been the celebrated *Tibbie Fowler o' the glen*, renowned in Scottish song, whose *penny siller* proved so tempting a bait that the lady's choice involved the defeat of forty disappointed wooers! With *Tibbie's siller* he appears to have built himself a handsome mansion at the head of the Sheriff Brae, which was demolished some years since to make way for the Church and Alms Houses erected by Sir John Gladstone of Fasque, Bart. It was decorated with a series of sculptured dormer windows, one of which bore the initials I. L., with the date 1636.[2]

Among the antiquities of Leith, as might be anticipated, there are none of so early a character as those we have described in the ancient capital. Its ecclesiastical establishments apparently claim no existence prior to the fifteenth century; while the oldest date we have found on any private building is 1573. It is nevertheless a quaint, old-fashioned

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 263.

[2] Campbell's Hist. of Leith, p. 315. *George*, grandson of Robert Logan, who was forfeited, married Isabel Fowler, daughter to Ludovick Fowler of Burncastle.—Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. i. p. 202.

looking burgh, full of crooked alleys, and rambling narrow wynds, scattered about in the most irregular and lawless fashion, and happily innocent as yet of the refinements of an Improvements' Commission; though the more gradual operations of time and changing tastes have swept away many curious features of the olden time. There is indeed an air of substantial business-like bustle and activity about its narrow unpretending thoroughfares, and dingy-looking counting-houses, that strangely contrasts with the gaudy finery of New Town trading. The London fopperies of huge plate-glass windows, and sculptured and decorated shop fronts, so much in vogue there, are nearly unknown among the burghers of Leith. The dealers are too busy about more important matters to trouble themselves with these new-fangled extravagancies, while their customers are much too knowing to be attracted by any such showy baits. The contrast indeed between the Scottish Capital and its Port is even more marked than that which distinguishes the courtly west end of London from its plebeian Wapping or White Chapel, and is probably, in all the most substantial sources of difference, in favour of the busy little burgh: whose merchants conduct a large and important share of the trade of the North of Europe in their unpretending little boothies, while the shopkeeper of the neighbouring city magnifies the petty details transacted over his well-polished mahogany counter, and writes himself down *merchant* accordingly.[1]

The principal street of Leith is the Kirkgate, a broad and somewhat stately thoroughfare, according to the prevalent proportions among the lanes and alleys of this close-packed little burgh. Time and modern taste have slowly, but very effectually, modified its antique features. No timber-fronted gable now thrusts its picturesque façade with careless grace beyond the line of more staid and formal-looking ashlar fronts. Even the crow-stepped gables of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are becoming the exception; and it is only by the irregularity which still pertains to it, aided by the few really antique tenements that remain unaltered, that it now attracts the notice of the curious visitor as the genuine remains of the ancient High Street of the burgh. Some of these relics of former times are well worthy the notice of the antiquary, while memorials of still earlier fabrics here and there meet the eye, and carry back the imagination to those stirring scenes in the history of this locality, when the Queen Regent and her courtiers and allies made it their stronghold and chosen place of abode; or when, amid a more peaceful array, the fair Scottish Queen Mary, or the sumptuous Anne of Denmark, rode gaily through the street on their way to Holyrood. At the south-east angle of the old churchyard, one of these memorials meets the eye in the shape of an elegant Gothic pediment surmounting the boundary wall, and adorned with the Scottish Regalia, sculptured in high relief, with the initials J. R. 6; while a large panel below bears the Royal Arms and initials of Charles II., very boldly executed. These insignia of royalty are intended to mark the spot on which King James's Hospital stood—a benevolent foundation which owed no more to the royal patron whose name it bore, than the confirmation by his charter in 1641 of a portion of those revenues that had been long before bestowed by the piety of private donors on the hospital of St Anthony, and the imposition of a duty on all wine brought into the port for the augmentation of its reduced funds. Here certain poor women were maintained, being presented

[1] The description given above, to a great extent, no longer applies, as the town has so rapidly extended as to be now part of the City, and is also not behind its great neighbour in the wealth of imposing shop fronts.

thereto by the United Corporations of Leith, exclusive of that of the Mariners, the wealthiest and most numerous class of privileged citizens, whose Hospital, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, stood directly opposite to St Mary's Church, on the site now occupied by the Trinity House. The inscription which adorned the ancient edifice is built into the south wall of the new building at the corner of St Giles' Street, cut in large and highly ornamental antique characters—IN THE NAME OF THE LORD VE MASTERIS AND MARENELIS BYLIS THIS HOVS TO YE POVR. ANNO DOMINI 1555. The date of this foundation is curious. Its dedication implies that it originated with the adherents of the ancient faith, while the date of the old inscription indicates the very period when the Queen Regent assumed the reins of government. That same year John Knox landed at Leith on his return from exile; and only three years later, the last convocation of the Roman Catholic clergy that ever assembled in Scotland under the sanction of its laws, was held in the Blackfriars' Church at Edinburgh, and signalised its final session by proscribing Sir David Lindsay's writings, and enacting that his "buik should be abolished and brunt."

To the east of the Trinity House, on the north side of the Kirkgate, a very singular building fronts the main street at the head of Combe's Close. The upper stories appear to have been erected about the end of the sixteenth century, and form rather a neat and picturesque specimen of the private buildings of that period. But the ground floor presents different and altogether dissimilar features. An arcade extends along nearly the whole front, formed of semicircular arches resting on massive round pillars, finished with neat moulded capitals. Their appearance is such that even an experienced antiquary, if altogether ignorant of the history of the locality, would at once pronounce them to be early and very interesting Norman remains. That they are of considerable antiquity cannot be doubted. The floor of the house is now several feet below the level of the street; and the ground has risen so much within one of them, which is an open archway giving access to the court behind, that a man of ordinary stature has to stoop considerably in attempting to pass through it. No evidence is more incontrovertible as to the great age of a building than this. Other instances of a similar mode of construction are, however, to be found in Leith, tending to show that the style of architecture is not a safe criterion of the date of their erection. The most remarkable of these is an ancient edifice in the Sheep's Head Wynd, the ground floor of which is formed of arches constructed in the same very early style, though somewhat plainer and less massive in character, while over the doorway of the projecting staircase is cut in ornamental characters the initials and date, D. W., M. W., 1579. The edifice, though small and greatly dilapidated, is ornamented with string courses and mouldings, and retains the evidences of former grandeur amid its degradation and decay.[1] Maitland refers to another building, still standing at the north-west corner of Queen Street, which, in his day, had its lower story in the form of an open piazza, but modern alterations have completely concealed this antique feature. Here was the exchange or meeting-place of the merchants and traders of Leith for the transaction of business, as was indicated by the popular name of the Burss—evidently a corruption of the French term *Bourse*—by which it was generally known at a very recent period. The arches in the Kirkgate have also been closed up and

[1] This tenement is erroneously pointed out in Campbell's History of Leith as bearing the earliest date on any private edifice in the town.

converted into shops of late years, but not so effectually as to conceal their character, which is deserving of special notice as a peculiar and very characteristic feature in the domestic architecture of the town. Returning, however, to the ancient edifices of the Kirkgate, we must refer the reader to the view already given of one which was only demolished in 1845, and which, from its appearance, was undoubtedly one of the oldest private buildings in Leith.[1] Popular fame, as was mentioned before, assigned its erection to Mary of Guise. The value to be attached to such traditional associations may be inferred from a remark in the most recent history of Leith :—"Were we to give credit to all the traditionary information we have received, Mary of Lorraine would appear to have had in Leith not one place of residence, but at least a score, there being scarcely an old house in the town without its claims to the honour of having been the habitation of the Queen Regent. The mortification, therefore, which certainly awaits him who sets out on an antiquarian excursion through Leith, particularly if the house of that illustrious personage be the object of his pursuit, will not proceed from any difficulty in discovering the former residence of her Majesty, but in the much more puzzling circumstance of finding by far too many;—in short, that nearly all the existing antiquities of Leith are fairly divided between Cromwell and Queen Mary, between whom there would seem to have been a sort of partnership in building houses. As might naturally be expected from this association, her Majesty and the Protector would appear to have lived on the most sociable footing. We have in more than one instance found them residing under one roof, Queen Mary occupying probably the first floor, and Cromwell living up-stairs."[2] Such popular aptitude in the coining of traditions is by no means confined to Leith; but the antiquary may escape all further trouble in searching for the Queen's mansion by consulting Maitland, who remarks, "that Mary of Lorraine having chosen Leith for her residence, erected a house to dwell in at the corner of Quality Street Wynd in the Rotten Row," now known as Water Lane, "but the same being taken down and rebuilt, the Scottish Arms which were in the front thereof are erected in the wall of a house opposite thereto on the southern side; and the said Mary, for the convenience of holding councils, erected a handsome and spacious edifice for her Privy Council to meet in."[3] The curious visitor will look in vain now even for the sculptured arms that escaped the general destruction of the ancient edifice wherein the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, spent the last years of her life, embittered by the strife of factions and the horrors of civil war;—an ominous preparative for her unfortunate daughter's assumption of the sceptre, which was then wielded in her name. One royal abode, however, still remains—if tradition is to be trusted—and forms a feature of peculiar interest among the antiquities of the Kirkgate. Entering by a low and narrow archway immediately behind the buildings on the east side, and about half way between Charlotte Street and Coatfield Lane, the visitor finds himself in a singular-looking, irregular little court, retaining unequivocal marks of former magnificence. A projecting staircase is thrust obliquely into the narrow space, and adapts itself to the irregular sides of the court by sundry corbels and recesses, such as form the most characteristic features of our old Scottish domestic architecture, and might almost seem to a fanciful imagination to have been produced as it jostled itself into the straitened site. A richly decorated dormer

[1] Ante, p. 54.

[2] Abridged from Campbell's History of Leith, p. 312.

[3] Maitland, p. 496.

window forms the chief ornament of this portion of the building, finished with unusually fine Elizabethan work, and surmounted by a coronet and thistle, with the letter C. Behind this a simple square tower rises to a considerable height, finished with a bartizaned roof, apparently designed for commanding an extensive view. Such is the approach to the sole remaining abode of royalty in this ancient burgh. The straitened access, however, conveys a very false idea of the accommodation within. It is a large and elegant mansion, presenting its main front to the east, where an extensive piece of garden ground is enclosed, reaching nearly to the site of the ancient town walls; from whence, it is probable, there was formerly an opening to the neighbouring downs. The east front appears to have been considerably modernised. Its most striking feature is a curiously decorated doorway, finished in the ornate style of bastard Gothic, introduced in the reign of James VI. An ogee arch, filled with rich Gothic tracery, surmounts the square lintel, finished with a lion's head, which seems to hold the arch suspended in its mouth; and on either side is a sculptured shield, on one of which a monogram is cut, characterised by the usual inexplicable ingenuity of these quaint riddles, and with the date 1631.[1] Here, according to early and credible tradition, was the mansion of John, third Lord Balmerinoch, where he received the young King, Charles II., on his arrival at Leith on the 29th July 1650, to review the Scottish army, which then lay encamped on the neighbouring links, numbering above forty thousand men. Charles having failed in obtaining the Scottish Crown on his own terms, notwithstanding his being proclaimed King at the Cross of Edinburgh on the execution of Charles I., had now agreed to receive it with all devout solemnity on the terms dictated by the Presbyterian royalists, as a covenanted King. He proceeded from Leith on Friday, 2nd August, and rode in state to the capital of his ancestors, amid the noisiest demonstrations of welcome from the fickle populace. From the Castle, where he was received with a royal salute, he walked on foot to the Parliament House, to partake of a banquet provided for him at the expense of the City, and from thence he returned the same evening to my Lord Balmerinoch's House at Leith.

We have furnished a view of the fine old building at the Coalhill, near the harbour, which is believed to have been "the handsome and spacious edifice" erected by the Queen Regent for the meeting of her council. It is a large and stately fabric, and presents numerous evidences of former magnificence in its internal decorations. The tradition is confirmed by further evidence; as a small and mean-looking little court behind, though abandoned probably for considerably more than a century to the occupation of the very poorest and most squalid of the population, still retains the imposing title of the Parliament Square. The whole of the buildings that enclose this dignified area abound with the dilapidated relics of costly internal adornment; some large and very fine specimens of oak carving were removed from it a few years since, and even a beautifully carved

[1] The arms on the second shield do not support the tradition, as they are neither those of Lord Balmerinoch, nor of his ancestor, James Elphinstone, Lord Coupar, to whom the coroneted C might otherwise have been supposed to refer. The Earls of Crawford are also known to have had a mansion in Leith, but the arms in no degree correspond with those borne by any of these families. They are—quarterly, 1st and 4th, the Royal Arms of Scotland; 2nd and 3rd, a ship with sails furled; over all, on a shield of pretence, a Cheveron. As, however, the house appears by the date to have been built nineteen years before the visit of Charles to Leith, and the period was one when forfeiture and ruin compelled many noble families to abandon their possessions, it is still possible that the tradition may be trustworthy, which assigns it as the mansion of Lord Balmerinoch, and the lodging of the Merry Monarch.

old oaken chair remained till recently an heirloom, bequeathed by its patrician occupants to the humble tenants of their degraded dwellings. A recent writer on the antiquities of Leith, conceives it probable that this may have been the residence of the Regent Lennox; but we have been baffled in our attempts to arrive at any certain evidence on the subject by reference to the titles. "Mary," says Maitland, "having begun to build in the town of Leith, was followed therein by divers of the nobility, bishops, and other persons of distinction of her party; several of whose houses are still remaining, as may be seen in sundry places, by their spacious rooms, lofty ceilings, large staircases, and private oratories or chapels for the celebration of mass." Beyond the probable evidence afforded by such remains of decaying splendour and former wealth, nothing more can now be ascertained. The occupation of Leith by nobles and dignitaries of the Church was of a temporary nature, and under circumstances little calculated to induce them to leave many durable memorials of their presence. A general glance, therefore, at such noticeable features as still remain, will suffice to complete our survey of the ancient seaport.

The earliest date that we have discovered on any of the old private buildings of the burgh, occurs on the projecting turnpike of an antique tenement at the foot of Burgess Close, which bears this inscription on the lintel, in Roman characters:—NISI DNS FRUSTRA, 1573. This ancient alley is the earliest thoroughfare in the burgh of which we have any account. It was granted to the burgesses of Edinburgh, towards the close of the fourteenth century, by Logan of Restalrig, the baronial over-lord of Leith, before it acquired the dignity of a royal burgh, and the owner of nearly all the lands that extended along the banks of the harbour of Leith. We are led to infer from the straitened proportions of this narrow alley, that the whole exports and imports of the shipping of Leith were conveyed on pack-horses or in wheel-barrows, as it would certainly prove impassable for any larger wheeled conveyance. Its inconvenience, however, appears to have been felt at the time, and the Laird of Restalrig was speedily compelled to grant a more commodious access to the shore. The inscription which now graces this venerable thoroughfare, though of a date so much later than its first construction, preserves a memorial of its gifts to the civic Council of Edinburgh, as we may reasonably ascribe to the veneration of some wealthy merchant of the capital the inscribing over the doorway of his mansion at Leith the very appropriate motto of the City Arms. To this, the oldest quarter of the town, indeed, we must direct those who go "in search of the picturesque." Waters' Close, which adjoins Burgess Close, is scarcely surpassed by any venerable alley of the capital, either in its attractive or repulsive features. Stone and timber lands are mixed together in admired disorder; and one antique tenement in particular, at the corner of Water Lane, with a broad projecting turnpike, contorted by corbels and string courses, and every variety of convenient aberration from the perpendicular or horizontal, which the taste or whim of its constructor could devise, is one of the most singular edifices that the artist could select as a subject for his pencil.

The custom of affixing sententious aphorisms to the entrances of their dwellings appears to have pertained fully as much to the citizens of Leith as of Edinburgh. BLISSIT . BE . GOD . OF . HIS . GIFTIS . 1601., I. W., I. H., is boldly cut on a large square panel on the front of an old house at the head of Sheriff Brae; and the same favourite motto

frequently occurs with slight variations. The earliest instance of it is on the front of an ancient tenement at the head of Binnie's Close, St Giles' Street, where it is accompanied with a large and finely cut shield, with two coats of arms impaled, and the date 1594. Near to this, in Muckle's Close, is the following:—THE . BLISSING . OF . GOD . IS . GRIT . RICHES . M . S . 1609. In Vinegar Close, an ancient building, now greatly modernised, is adorned with a large sculptured shield, containing the armorial bearings represented in the vignette at the head of the chapter. In St Andrew Street, over a window on the first floor of a house fronting Smeaton's Close, is the common legend—THE FEIR OF THE LORD IS THE BEGINNING OF AL VISDOME; and on the same building within the close, another window bears the brief inscription and date:—FEIR THE LORD, 1688; the year of the Revolution. The lintel of the ancient doorway of a house in Water Lane, demolished in 1832, bore the following pious couplet, with the date 1574:—

THEY AR WELCOME HERE,
QUHA THE LORD DO FEIR.

And over another doorway in Queen Street, there is cut, in more ancient and ornamental characters—CREDENTI . NIHIL . LINGUÆ. A fine old building near the head of Queen Street, which was only demolished a few years since, was generally believed to be the mansion which had been honoured as the residence of the Queen Regent; but the name of the street, which probably suggested the tradition, is of recent origin, and superseded the more homely one of the Paunch Market; and there is no evidence in its favour sufficient to overturn the statement of Maitland, who wrote at a period when there was less temptation to invent traditions than now. The ancient tenement, however, was evidently one of unusual magnificence. Several large portions of very richly carved oak panelling were removed from it at the time of its demolition, the style of which leaves little doubt of their being fully as old as the date of the Queen Regent's abode in Leith;[1] and its walls were decorated with well executed paintings, some of which are said to have had the appearance of considerable antiquity.[2] The house was highly decorated on the exterior with sculptured dormer windows and other ornaments common to the buildings of the period; and the oak window frames were richly carved in the style so frequently described among the features of our earlier domestic architecture. Many such are still to be met with about Leith, carved in different styles, according to the period of their execution; the most common ornament on those of later date being the *egg and arrow*.

Frequent mention is made by early historians of the King's Work, an extensive building that appears to have occupied the whole ground between the Broad Wynd and Bernard Street. The exact purpose for which it was maintained is not clearly defined in any of the early allusions, but it probably included an arsenal, with warehouses, and resident officials, for storing the goods and managing the revenues of the port. This idea is confirmed by the *reddendum* in the charter, by which James VI. afterwards conferred it on a favourite attendant—viz., that he was to keep one of the cellars in the King's Work in repair for holding wines and other provisions for his Majesty's use.[3] That some funds

[1] Now in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq. [2] Campbell's History of Leith, p. 314. [3] Arnot, p. 572.

were derivable from it to the Crown is proved by the frequent payments with which it was burdened by different monarchs, as in the year 1477, when King James III. granted out of it a perpetual annuity of twelve merks Scots, for support of a chaplain to officiate at the altar of the upper chapel, in the Collegiate Church of the blessed Virgin Mary which he had founded at Restalrig. The King's Work was advantageously placed at the mouth of the harbour, so as to serve as a defence against any enemy that might approach it by sea. That it partook of the character of a citadel or fortification, seems to be implied by an infeftment granted by Queen Mary in 1564 to John Chisholme, who is there designated comptroller of artillery. The ancient buildings had shared in the general conflagration which signalised the departure of the army of Henry VIII. in 1544, and they would appear to have been re-built by Chisholme in a style of substantial magnificence. The following are the terms in which the Queen confirms her former grant to the comptroller of artillery on his completion of the work:—"Efter hir hienes lauchfull age, and revocation made in parliament, hir majeste sett in feu farme to hir lovite suitoure Johnne Chisholme, his airis and asignais, all and haille hir landis, callet the King's Werk in Leith, within the boundis specifit in the infeftment, maid to him thairupon, quhilkis than war alluterlie decayit, and sensyne are reparit and reedifit be the said Johnne Chisholme, to be policy and great decoratioun of this realme, in that oppin place and sight of all strangearis and utheris resortand at the schore of Leith." The property of the King's Work remained vested in the Crown, notwithstanding the terms of this royal grant. In 1575, we find it converted into an hospital for the reception of those who recovered from the plague, and in 1613 it was bestowed by James VI. on his favourite *chamber-chield*, or groom of the chamber, Bernard Lindsay of Lochill, by a royal grant which empowered him to keep four taverns therein. A part of it was then fitted up as a Tennis Court for the favourite pastime of catchpel, and continued to be used for this purpose till the year 1649, when it was taken possession of by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and converted into the Weigh House of the burgh. The locality retained the name of *Bernard's Nook*, derived from its occupation by the royal servitor; and that of Bernard Street, which is now conferred on the broad thoroughfare that leads eastward from the Shore, still preserves a memorial of the favourite chamber-chield of James VI. A large stone panel which bore the date 1650—the year immediately succeeding the appropriation of the King's Work to civic purposes—appeared on the north gable of the old Weigh-house which till recently occupied its site, with the curious device of a rainbow carved in bold relief, springing at either end from a bank of clouds.

The chief thoroughfare which leads in the same direction, and the one we presume which superseded the Burgess Close as the principal approach to the harbour, is the Tolbooth Wynd, where the ancient Town Hall stood: a singularly picturesque specimen of the tolbooth of an old Scottish burgh. It was built by the citizens of Leith in the year 1565, though not without the strenuous opposition of their jealous over-lords of the Edinburgh Council, who threw every impediment in their way; until at length Queen Mary, after repeated remonstrances, wrote to the Provost and Magistrates:—"We charge zow that ze permit oure Inhabitants of oure said toun of Leith, to big and edifie oure said Hous of Justice, within oure said Toun of Leith, and mak na stop nor impediment to thame to do the samyn, for it is oure will that the samyn be biggit, and that ze disist fra further molest-

ing of them in tyme cuming as ze will anser to us thairupon."[1] This royal mandate, which was subscribed at Holyrood Palace on the 1st of March 1563, appears to have had the desired effect, as an ornamental tablet in the upper part of the building had the Scottish Arms, boldly sculptured, with two unicorns for supporters, and the inscription and date in large Roman characters—IN DEFENCE, M. R., 1565. Soon after the demolition of the Heart of Midlothian, the doom of the ancient Tolbooth of Leith was pronounced, and plans procured for a new court-house and prison. Great exertions were then used by several zealous antiquaries, and particularly by Sir Walter Scott and Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., to induce the Magistrates of Edinburgh, under whose authority the work proceeded, to preserve the picturesque and venerable façade, while the remainder of the building could be demolished and rebuilt according to the proposed plan. The proposition was treated with the usual good taste of our civic reformers. A deputation who waited on my Lord Provost to urge their petition, were cavalierly dismissed with the unanswerable argument, that the expense of new designs had already been incurred; and so the singular old house of justice of Queen Mary was replaced by the commonplace erection that now occupies its site.

Near the top of the Tolbooth Wynd, an ancient signal-tower stood, which is represented in the accompanying engraving. It was furnished with little portholes at the top, resembling those designed for musketry in our old Border peel towers and fortalices, but which were constructed here, we presume, for the more peaceful object of watching the owners' merchant vessels as they entered the Firth. An unusually striking piece of sculpture, in very bold relief, occupied a large panel over the archway leading into the court-yard behind. It bore the date 1678, and, amongst sundry other antique objects, the representation of a singularly rude specimen of mechanical ingenuity. This consisted of a crane, the whole machinery of which was comprised in one large drum or broad wheel, made to revolve like the wire cylinder of a squirrel's cage, by a poor labourer who occupied the quadruped's place and clambered up, Sisyphus-like, in his endless treadmill. The perspective, with the grouping and proportions of the whole composition, formed altogether an amusing and curious sample of both the mechanical and the fine arts of the seventeenth century.

At the foot of the Tolbooth Wynd, the good Abbot Ballantyne, who presided over the Monastery of Holyrood during the closing years of the fifteenth century, caused a handsome stone bridge of three arches to be erected over the Water of Leith, and soon after its completion, he built and endowed a chapel at the north end of the bridge, and dedicated it to the honour of God, the Virgin Mary, and St Ninian. The Abbot appears to have had considerable possessions in Leith. He appointed two chaplains to officiate, who were yearly to receive all the profits arising out of a house erected by the founder at the southern end of the Bridge of Leith, with four pounds yearly out of his lands or tenements in South Leith. In addition to the offerings made in the chapel, the tolls or duties accruing from the new bridge were to be employed in repairing the chapel, bridge, and tenement, and the surplus given to the poor. This charter of foundation was confirmed by James IV. on the 1st of January 1493.[2] St Ninian's Chapel was built with the consent of the Chapter of Holyrood Abbey, and the approbation of William, Archbishop of St

[1] Maitland, p. 25.

[2] Ibid, p. 497.

Andrew's; and the ground on which it and the neighbouring tenements were erected is styled in a charter of Queen Mary, dated 1569, "The liberty of the north side of the Water of Leith, commonly called *Rudeside:*" an epithet evidently resulting from its dependency on the Abbey of the Holyrood. St Ninian's Chapel still occupies its ancient site on the banks of the Water of Leith, but very little of the original structure of the good Abbot remains; probably no more than a small portion of the basement wall on the north side, where a small doorway appears with an elliptical arch, now built up, and partly sunk in the ground. The remainder of the structure cannot be earlier than the close of the sixteenth century, and the date on the steeple, which closely resembles that of the old Tron Church destroyed in the Great Fire of 1824, is 1675. A large sculptured lintel, belonging to the latter edifice, has been rebuilt into a more modern addition, erected apparently in the reign of Queen Anne. It bears on it the following inscription in large Roman characters: —BLESSED . AR . THEY . YAT . HEIR . YE . VORD . OF . GOD . AND . KEEP . IT . LVK . XI . 1600. By the charter of Queen Mary, which confirmed the rights that had been purchased by the inhabitants from Lord Holyroodhouse, the Chapel of St Ninian was erected into a church for the district of North Leith, and endowed with sundry annual rents, and other ecclesiastical property, including the neighbouring Chapel and Hospital of St Nicolas, and their endowments. An Act of Parliament was obtained in 1606, creating North Leith a separate and independent parish, and appointing the chapel to be called in all time coming the "parish Kirk of Leith benorth the brig."

The celebrated George Wishart—well-known as the author of the elegant Latin memoirs of Montrose, which were suspended to the neck of the illustrious cavalier when he was executed—was minister of this parish in the year 1638, when the signing of the Covenant became the established test of faith and allegiance in Scotland. He was soon afterwards deposed for refusing to subscribe, and was thrown into one of the dungeons of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, in consequence of the discovery of his correspondence with the Royalists. Wishart survived the stormy revolution that followed, and shared in the sunshine of the Restoration. He was preferred to the See of Edinburgh on the re-establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland, and died there in 1671, in his seventy-first year. He was buried in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, where a long and flattering Latin inscription recorded the whole biography of that *celebris doctor Sophocardius*, as he is styled, according to the scholastic punning of that age. The last minister who officiated in the ancient Chapel of St Ninian was the benevolent and venerable Dr Johnston, the founder of the Edinburgh Blind Asylum, who held the incumbency for upwards of half a century. The foundation of the new parish church of North Leith had been laid so early as 1814, and at length in 1826 its venerable predecessor was finally abandoned as a place of worship, and soon after converted into a granary. "Thus," says the historian of Leith, with indignant pathos, "that edifice which had for upwards of 330 years been devoted to the sacred purposes of religion, is now the unhallowed repository of pease and barley!"

The Hospital and Chapel of St Nicolas, with the neighbouring cemetery, were most probably founded at a later date than Abbot Ballantyne's Chapel, as the reasons assigned by the founder for the building of the latter seem to imply that the inhabitants were without any accessible place of worship. Nothing, however, is now known of their origin, and

every vestige of them was swept away by General Monk when constructing the Citadel of Leith, soon after Cromwell took possession of the town.[1]

The fortifications which were reared under the directions of the Republican General, are thus described in the Itinerary of the learned John Ray, who visited Scotland in 1661 :— "At Leith we saw one of those citadels, built by the Protector, one of the best fortifications that ever we beheld, passing fair and sumptuous. There are three forts advanced above the rest, and two platforms; the works round about are faced with freestone towards the ditch, and are almost as high as the highest buildings within, and withal thick and substantial. Below are very pleasant, convenient, and well-built houses for the governor, officers, and soldiers, and for magazines and stores. There is also a good capacious chapel, the piazza, or void space within, as large as Trinity College [Cambridge] great court." This valuable stronghold, which was reared at the cost of upwards of £100,000 sterling, fell a sacrifice, soon after the Restoration, to the cupidity of the Monarch, and the narrow-minded jealousy of the Town Council of Edinburgh. It was demolished, and its materials sold.[2] We have given, in a previous chapter, a view of the only fragment of it that still remains; and have there pointed out how extensive have been the encroachments effected on the old sea beach of late years. Not only can citizens remember when the spray of the sea billows was dashed by the east wind against the last relic of the Citadel that now stands so remote from the rising tide, but it is only about sixty years since a ship was wrecked upon the adjoining beach, and went to pieces there, while its bowsprit kept beating against the walls of the Citadel, at every surge of the rolling waves that forced it higher on the strand.[3]

Of the earlier fortifications of the town of Leith scarcely a fragment now remains, although they were unquestionably of a much more substantial nature than either of the walls that were constructed for the defence of the neighbouring capital. The capabilities of Leith as a stronghold, which could command a ready intercourse with friendly allies even when assailed by a hostile army, were first perceived by Monsieur D'Esse, the French General, who arrived in the Firth of Forth in the summer of 1548, bringing powerful reinforcements to the aid of the Queen Regent against the English invaders.[4] Under the direction of the French General, the port of Leith was speedily enclosed within formidable ramparts, constructed according to the most approved principles of military science then known on the Continent; as was proved by their successful defence during the siege of 1560, when the ramparts reared to repel an invading army came, under the strange vicissitudes of civil war, to be maintained by foreign arms against the whole native force, mustered, with more alacrity than skill, by the Lords of the CONGREGATION. A large and strong bastion, which bore the name of Ramsay's Fort, was constructed immediately to the north of the King's Work, at the foot of Bernard Street, for the defence of the harbour; from thence the ramparts extended, in a south-easterly direction, to the site now occupied by the Exchange buildings, where the remains of the second bastion existed about forty

[1] Ante, p. 97.

[2] "The Council unanimously understood, that the Kirk of the Citadell [of Leith], and all that is therein, both timber, seats, steeple, stone, and glasswork, be made use of and used to the best avail for reparation of the Hospital Chapel, and ordains the Treasurer of the Hospital to see the samen done with all conveniency."—Excerpt from the records of Heriot's Hospital, April 7, 1673.

[3] Campbell's Hist. of Leith, p. 303.

[4] Ante, p. 53.

years since. These consisted of a narrow mound of earth of considerable height, which stood on the outskirts of the open common or Links of Leith, from the top of which a beautiful and extensive view was commanded on every side. There was an ascent to these remains of the ancient bastion by means of a flight of stone stairs; and from the promenade being long a favourite resort on account of the view which it afforded, it was generally known by the name of the "Lady's Walk." From this point the walls extended nearly in a line with Constitution Street, diverging on either side towards the central bastion of the east wall, which projected considerably beyond the others, and crossing the line of street obliquely towards the south-west corner of St Mary's Churchyard. The chief gate of the town was St Anthony's Port, where the walls intersected the Kirkgate; and beyond this point no vestige of them has remained since the middle of the sixteenth century, although they extended thence to the river, and were continued on the opposite side, so as to enclose the more modern suburb that formed the nucleus of North Leith. No sooner was the treaty concluded which put an end to the siege of Leith, in 1560, than the fortifications that had been reared with so much labour and skill were ordered to be razed to the ground; the Council of the kingdom and the Magistrates of Edinburgh being too keenly impressed with a sense of their mischievous effects in the hands of an enemy, to appreciate the value of a stronghold as one of the keys of the kingdom, which had baffled the united forces of England and Scotland to compel its surrender. The following is the order of the Council, issued at Edinburgh the 2d July 1560, commanding their immediate demolition:—"Forsameikle as it is noturlie knawyn how hurtful the fortifications of Leith hes bene to this haille realme, and in specialle to the townes next adjacent thairunto, and how prejudiciall the samen sall be to the libertie of this haille countrie in caiss straingears sall at any tyme hereafter intruse thameselfs thairin: For thir and siclyke considerations the counsall has thocht expedient, and chargis the provest, baillies, and counsall of Edinburgh, to tak order with the town and commentie of the samen, and causs and compell thame to appoint ane sufficient nomar to cast down and demolish the south pairt of the said town, begynand at Sanct Anthones Port, and passing westward to the Water of Leith, making the block-hous and courteine equal with the ground." In obedience to this order, the whole of the fortifications facing Edinburgh appear to have been immediately levelled with the ground. Those on the east, however, remained long after nearly entire. They are represented in a perfect state, extending uninterruptedly from Bernard's Nook to the point of intersection at the Kirkgate, in a plan of Leith by Captain Greenville Collins, dedicated to Sir James Fleming, who was Provost of Edinburgh in 1681; and considerable remains of them were only cleared away in opening up Constitution Street and the neighbouring approaches about fifty years since.

To the westward of Leith lies the ancient village of Newhaven, or *Our Lady's Port of Grace*, as it was termed of old. It originated in the general impetus given to trade and commerce during the prosperous reign of James IV. Owing to the depth of water, a yard and dock were erected there for shipbuilding, and a harbour constructed for the reception of vessels, from whence it received the name of Newhaven. A chapel was soon afterwards erected, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St James; considerable remains of which may still be traced in the ancient cemetery of the village, consisting chiefly of rude but massive rubble walls. The jealousy of the citizens of Edinburgh, however, stepped in to

strangle in its birth the rising haven. They purchased the superiority of it from James V.; and the Chapel of St James, which appears to have been a dependency of the Preceptory of St Anthony at Leith,[1] being suppressed at the Reformation, it sunk into the mere fishing village it still remains. The houses are mostly of a homely and uninteresting character, though on one near the west end of the village a large sculptured pediment is decorated with a pair of globes, a quadrant, anchor, &c., surmounted by a war galley of antique form, and with the inscription and date,—IN THE NEAM OF GOD, 1588.

Notwithstanding the modern title of the New Town of Edinburgh, it is not altogether destitute of antique and curious associations deserving of notice in these Memorials of the olden time. It has not yet so completely swallowed up the ancient features of the broad landscape that stretched away of old beyond the sedgy banks of the North Loch, but that some few mementoes of bygone times may still be gleaned amid its formal crescents and squares. In preparing the site of the New Town and digging the foundations of the houses, numerous very curious relics of the aborginal owners of the soil have been brought to light. In the summer of 1822 an ancient grave was discovered by some workmen when digging the foundation of a house on the west side of the Royal Circus. It position was due north and south, which is generally regarded as a proof of high antiquity. It was lined all round with flat stones, and the form of a skeleton was still discernable when opened, lying with the head to the south; but the whole crumbled to dust so soon as it was touched. During the following year, 1823, several rude stone coffins were disclosed in digging the foundation of a house on the north side of Saxe-Coburg Place, near St Bernard's Chapel; one of which contained two urns of baked clay, now preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries. This was, in all probability, a burial-place of the period when the Romans had penetrated thus far northward; and the Britons, in imitation of their example, adopted the practice of cremation, while they adhered to the ancient form of their sepulchres. A minute account is printed in the Archæologia Scotica[2] of the discovery, in 1822, of a number of stone coffins near the ancient Roman station at Cramond. They were of rude construction, and laid in regular rows, lying due east and west. A representation is also given of a key found in one of the coffins, not greatly differing in shape from those now in use. No mention, however, is made of urns, and it is probable that they belong to a more recent period, after the introduction of Christianity among the ancient Britons. Other stone coffins were discovered about the same time immediately opposite to St Mary's Church, in levelling the ground for the New Road;[3] and similar evidences of the occupation of the district by native tribes at a very remote period are frequently met with all round Edinburgh. Several such were found in 1846, along the coast of Wardie, in excavating for the foundations of one of the bridges of the Granton Railway. During some earlier operations for the same railway, on the 27th September 1844, a silver and copper coin of Philip II. of Spain, along with a quantity of human bones mingled with sand and shells, were discovered, apparently at a former level of the beach; and which were supposed at the time to be a memento of some Spanish galleon of the Great Armada. Rude clay urns are also of frequent occurrence; several such, filled with decayed and half burned bones, and ashes

[1] "Rentale Portus Gracie alias vocata lie New Havyne."—MS. Ad. Lib. Analysis of Chartularies, J. G. Dalyell, Esq.
[2] Archæologia Scotica, vol. iii. p. 40.
[3] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 48.

were exhumed in digging for the foundation of the north pier of the Dean Bridge. They are very slightly burned, and the ornamental devices, which have been traced on the soft clay, bear a striking resemblance to those usually found on the fragments of ancient pottery which have been discovered in the Tumuli of the North American Continent. Annexed is a view of one of those discovered at the Dean, and now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries.

Another interesting feature which belongs to the history of the New Town, in common with many other cities, is the absorption of hamlets and villages that have sprung up at an early period in the neighbouring country and been gradually swallowed up within its extending outskirts. First among such to fall before the progress of the rising town, was the village of Moutrie's Hill, which stood on the site of the Register Office and James' Square, the highest ground in the New Town. This suburban hamlet is of great antiquity, and its etymology has been the source of some very curious research. Lord Hailes remarks on the subject, "*Moutrees* is supposed to be the corruption of two Gaelic words, signifying the covert or receptacle of the wild boar."[1] It appears, however, from contemporary notices, to have derived its name from being occupied by the mansion of the Moutrays, a family of distinction in the time of James V. A daughter of Alexander Stewart, designed of the Grenane, an ancestor of the Earls of Galloway, who fell at the Battle of Flodden, was married in that reign to Moutray of Seafield.[2] Upon the 26th April 1572, while the whole country around Edinburgh was a desolate and bloody waste by reason of long protracted civil war, a party of the Regent Mar's soldiers, who had been disappointed in an ambuscade they had laid for seizing Lord Claud Hamilton, one of the opposite leaders, took five of their prisoners, Lieutenant White, Sergeant Smith, and three common soldiers, and hanged them immediately on their return to Leith. The leaders of the Queen's party, in Edinburgh, retaliated by like barbarous executions, "and causit hang the morne theirefter twa of thair souldiouris vpoun ane trie behind Movtrays Hous, in sicht of thair aduersaris, in lycht, quha hang ane day, and wer takin away in the nycht be the saidis aduersaris."[3] Another annalist, who styles the locality "The Multrayes in the hill besyid the toun," adds, "The same nycht the suddartis of Leith come to the said hill and cuttit doun the deid men, and als distroyit the growand tries thairabout, quhairon the suddartis wer hangit. Thir warres wer callit amang the peopill the Douglass wearres."[4] Near to the scene of these barbarous acts of retaliation, on the ground now occupied by the buildings at the junction of Waterloo Place with Shakespeare Square,[5] formerly stood an ancient stronghold called Dingwall Castle. It is believed to have derived its name from John Dingwall, who was Provost of the neighbouring Collegiate Foundation of Trinity College, and one of the original Judges of the Court of Session on the spiritual side. The ruins of the castle appear in Gordon of Rothiemay's map as a square keep with round towers at its angles; and some fragments of it are believed to be still extant among the foundations of the buildings on its site. Near to this also there would appear to have been an

[1] Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 96. [2] Wood's Peerage, vol. i. p. 618. [3] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 262. [4] Ibid, p. 294.
[5] Shakespeare Square, in the centre of which stood the old Theatre Royal, was removed in 1860 for the erection of the new Post-Office.

hospital for lepers in early times, from an entry in the Council Records of 30th September 1584, where Michael Chisholm and others are commissioned to inquire into "the estait and ordour of the awld fundatioun of the Lipper-hous besyde Dyngwall." A rural mansion occupied in former days the north-eastern slope of Moutrie's Hill,—a curious waif which long survived the radical changes that had transformed the silent fields in which it stood into long avenues of populous streets and squares. From its elevated position—on the hill where the *Queen's men* hung up their adversaries as a point visible alike to Edinburgh and Leith—it must have commanded a magnificent prospect of the Lothians and Fifeshire, with the Forth, the German Ocean, and the Highland Hills. Now it is buried under lofty tenements, in one of the most populous districts of the New Town, and with miles of streets and houses on every side interposing between it and the distant country. This nucleus of the New Town was not, however, the oldest building it contained. A small fragment of an ancient thoroughfare on the west side of the Register Office till lately bore the name of Gabriel's Road, although it had been closed for many years, and reduced to a mere passage leading to one or two private dwellings; a New Town *close*, in fact, somewhat worse than many of its defamed precursors of the Old Town. This mean-looking alley was the remains of a country road, along which some venerable citizens still remember to have wended their way between green hedges that skirted the pleasant meadows and corn fields of Wood's farm, and which was in days of yore a favourite trysting-place for lovers, where they breathed out their tender tale of passion beneath the fragrant hawthorn. It led in an oblique direction towards the ancient village of Silvermills, and its course is still indicated by the irregular slant of the garden walls that separate the little plots behind Duke Street from the East Queen Street garden.

When James Craig, the architect, a nephew of the poet Thomson, published his engraved plan of the new city, which had been selected as the best from a host of competing designs, he appended to it the following lines from his uncle's poem :—

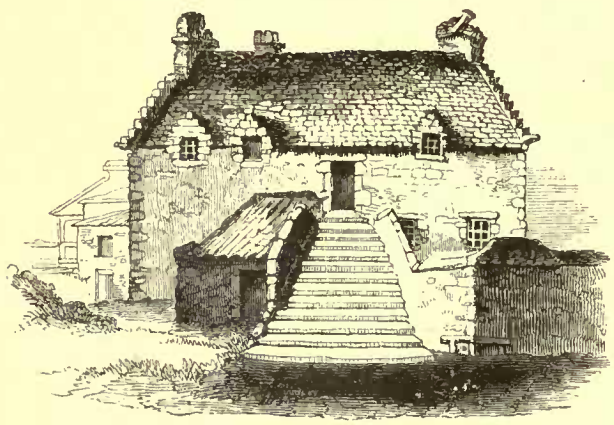
> August, around, what Public Works I see!
> Lo, stately streets! lo, squares that court the breeze!
> See long canals and deepened rivers join
> Each part with each, and with the circling main,
> The whole enliven'd Isle.

The regular array of formal parallelograms thus sketched out for the future city, was received by the denizens of the Old Town with raptures of applause. Pent up in narrow and crooked wynds, its broad, straight avenues, seemed the *beau ideal* of perfection, and the more sanguine of them panted to see the magnificent design realised. Some echo of their enthusiastic admiration still lingers among us, but it waxes feeble and indistinct. The most hearty contemners of the dingy, smoky Old Town, now admit that neither the formal plan nor the architectural designs of the New Town, evince much intellect or inventive genius in their contriver; and, perhaps, even a professed antiquary may venture to hint at the wisdom of our ancestors, who carried their road obliquely down the steep northern slope, from Moutrie's Hill to Silvermills, instead of devising the abrupt precipitous descent from where the statue of George IV. now stands to the foot of Pitt Street; a steep which strikes a stranger with awe, not unmingled with fear, on his first

approach to our "Modern Athens" from the neighbouring coast. When, some two or three centuries hence, the New Town shall have ripened into fruit for some *twenty-second century Improvements Commission*, their first scheme will probably lead to the restoration of Gabriel's Road, and its counterpart from Charlotte Square to Pitt Street, marking the *saltier* of Scotland's patron saint on the antiquated parallelograms of James Craig!

The village of Silvermills, the remains of which lie concealed behind St Stephen's Church and the modern streets that surround it, may not improbably owe its origin to some of the alchemical projects of James IV. or V., both of whom were greatly addicted to the royal sport of hunting for the precious metals, with which the soil of Scotland was then believed to abound. Sir Archibald Napier, the father of the philosopher, was appointed Master of the Mint and superintendent of the mines and minerals within the kingdom; and we are assured, on the authority of an ancient manuscript in the Cotton Library, that "The Laird of Merchiston got gold in Pentland Hills."[1] The village of Silvermills consists almost entirely of a colony of tanners, but one or two of its houses present the crow-stepped gables of the seventeenth century; and though now enclosed within the extended town, we can remember many a Saturday's ramble through green fields that ended at this *rural hamlet*.

Another and more important village, which has experienced the same fate as that of Silvermills, is the ancient baronial burgh of Broughton. Its name occurs in the charter of foundation of Holyrood Abbey, granted by David I. in 1128, and implies, according to Maitland, the *Castle town*. If it ever possessed a fortalice or keep, from whence its name was derived, all vestiges of it had disappeared centuries before its fields were invaded by the extending capital. The Tolbooth, however, wherein the baron's courts were held, and offenders secured to abide his judgment, or to endure its penalties, stood within these few years near the centre of the old village, bearing over its north door the date 1582. Its broad flight of steps was appropriately flanked with a venerable pair of stocks; a symbol of justice of rare occurrence in Scotland, where the *jougs* were the usual and more national mode of pillory. The annexed vignette will suffice to convey some idea of this antique structure, which stood nearly in the centre of the New Town, on the ground now occupied by the east end of Barony Street, from whence it was only removed with all its paraphernalia of obsolete manners and laws in the year 1829. The curious rambler may still stumble on one or two of the humble tenements of the old village, lying concealed among the back lanes of the modern town. A few years since, its rows of tiled and thatched cottages, with their rude fore-



[1] Miscellane Scotica, Napier of Merchiston, p. 228.

VIGNETTE—The Tolbooth, Broughton.

stairs and loop-hole windows, contrasted most strangely with the adjoining fashionable streets and squares.

This ancient barony and the surrounding lands comprehended within its jurisdiction were granted by James VI. in 1568 to Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, in whose time the Tolbooth of the burgh appears to have been erected. The bishop surrendered the lands to the Crown in 1587, in favour of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul, Lord Justice-Clerk; who obtained a charter from the king uniting them into a free barony and regality. Broughton is reputed to have been notorious in old times as the haunt of witches, who were frequently incarcerated in its Tolbooth. An execution of these victims of superstition, which occurred there under peculiarly horrible circumstances, during the period of its possession by the Bellendens, is thus noticed in the minutes of the Scottish Privy Council:—"1608, December 1.—The Earl of Mar declared to the Council that some women were taken in Broughton as witches, and being put to an assize, and convicted, albeit they persevered constant in their denial to the end, yet they were burned quick, after such a cruel manner that some of them died in despair, renouncing and blaspheming [God]; and others, half-burned, brak out of the fire, and were cast quick in it again, till they were burned to the death."[1] Sir William Bellenden, the grandson of Sir Lewis, disposed of the whole lands to Robert, Earl of Roxburgh, in 1627, and by an agreement between him and Charles I., this ancient barony passed by purchase to the Governors of Heriot's Hospital in 1636, to whom the superiority of Broughton was yielded by the Crown, partly in payment of debts due by Charles I. to the Hospital. Thenceforward the barony was governed by a bailiff nominated by the Governors of the Hospital, who possessed even the power of life and death, the privilege of *pit and gallows*, which every feudal baron claimed within his own bounds. In 1721, the Treasurer of the Hospital complains of the expense incurred in prosecuting offenders in the case of some murders committed within the regality; but these onerous and costly privileges were at length abrogated in 1746, by the act abolishing heritable jurisdictions, and the Governors a few years afterwards granted the use of the Tolbooth to one of their tenants as a store-house, "reserving to the Hospital a room for holding their baron courts when they shall think fit."[2] The last occasion on which Old Broughton was directly associated with any event of public importance, was during the memorable campaign of 1650, which preceded the Battle of Dunbar, when General Leslie made it his head-quarters, while he threw up the line of defence from the base of the Calton Hill to Leith, which we have already described as the origin of the great roadway that now forms the chief thoroughfare between Edinburgh and Leith.

Beyond the village of Broughton lies that of Canonmills, on the Water of Leith, which owes its origin to the same source as the Burgh of Canongate, having been founded by the Augustine Canons of Holyrood, doubtless for the use of their own vassals on the lands of Broughton, and their neighbouring possessions. Above this, on the Water of Leith, are the villages of Stockbridge, Bell's Mills, and the Dean, all of considerable antiquity, and now joined to the extended capital, or disappearing before the encroachments of its modern streets. King David I. grants to the Abbey of Holyrood, in its foundation

[1] Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, Sir Walter Scott, p. 315.
[2] Dr Steven's History of Heriot's Hospital, pp. 118, 119.

charter, one of his mills of Dean, with the tenths of his mills of Liberton and Dean; and although all that now remains of the villages of Bell's Mills and the Dean are of a much more recent date, they still retain unequivocal evidences of considerable antiquity. Dates and inscriptions, with crow-stepped gables and other features of the 17th century, are to be found scattered among the more modern tenements, and it was only in the year 1845 that the curious old mansion of the Dean was demolished for the purpose of converting the Deanhaugh into a public cemetery. This was another of those fine old aristocratic dwellings that once abounded in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, but which are now rapidly disappearing, like all its other interesting memorials of former times. It was a monument of the Nisbets of the Dean, a proud old race that are now extinct. They had come to be the head of their house, as Nisbet relates with touching pathos, owing to the failure of the Nisbets of that Ilk in his own person, and as such "laid aside the Cheveron, a mark of cadency used formerly by the House of Dean, in regard that the family of Dean is the only family of that name in Scotland that has right, by consent, to represent the old original family of the name of Nisbet, since the only lineal male representer, the author of this system, is like to go soon off the world, being an old man, and without issue male or female."[1] The earliest notice in the minutes of Presbytery of St Cuthberts of the purchase of a piece of family burying-ground, is by Sir William Nisbet of Dean, in March 1645, the year of the plague. "They grantit him ane place at the north church door, eastward, five elnes of lenth, and thrie elnes of bredth."[2] It appears to have been the piece of ground in the angle formed by the north transept and the choir of the ancient Church of St Cuthbert; and the vault which he erected there still remains, surmounted with his arms; a memorial alike of the demolished fane and the extinct race. When we last saw it, the old oak door was broken in, and the stair that led down to the chamber of the dead choked up with rank nettles and hemlock;—the fittest monument that could be devised for the old Barons of the Dean, the last of them now gathered to his fathers.

The old mansion-house had on a sculptured stone over the east doorway the date 1614, but other parts of the building bore evident traces of an earlier date. The large gallery had an arched ceiling, painted in the same style as one already described in Blyth's Close, some portions of which had evidently been copied in its execution. The subjects were chiefly sacred, and though rudely executed in distemper, had a bold and pleasing effect when seen as a whole. One of the panels, now in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq., bears the date 1627. The dormer windows and principal doorways were richly decorated with sculptured devices, inscriptions, and armorial bearings, illustrative of the successive alliances of its owners; many of which have been preserved in the boundary walls of the cemetery that now occupies its site. The most curious of these are two pieces of sculpture in *basso relievo*, which surmounted two of the windows on the south front. On one of them a judge is represented, seated on a throne, with a lamb in his arms; in his left hand he holds a drawn sword resting on his shoulder, and in his right hand a pair of scales. Two lions rampant stand on either side, as if contending litigants for the poor lamb; the one of them

[1] Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii. part 4, p. 32. Alexander Nisbet, Gent., published the first volume of his system of heraldry in 1722; his death took place shortly afterwards.—*Vide* Preface to 2d Edition Fol.

[2] History of the West Kirk, p. 24.

resting his fore paw on the sword, and the other placing his paw in one of the scales. On the other sculptured pediment a man is seen armed with a thick pole, with a hook at the end, by which he grasps it; a goat, as it seems, is running towards him, as if butting at him, while a bear seizes it by the waist with his teeth, and another is lying dead beyond. The Hope's arms are sculptured on the former pediment, underneath the singular piece of sculpture we have described—which occupies the upper part of a pointed arch—so that it is not improbable that the curious scene of the judge determining the plea between the lions and the lamb, may refer to a family alliance with the great Lord Advocate; though the key to the ingenious allegory has perished with the last of their race.

On the south side of the ancient Burgh of Broughton, and nearly on the sight of the present broad street called Picardy Place, there existed till near the close of last century a small village or hamlet called Picardy, which was occupied exclusively by a body of weavers who are said to have been brought over from the French province of that name by the British Linen Company, and settled there for the improvement of their manufactures.[1] We have found, however, in a copy of Lord Hailes' Annals, a manuscript note, apparently written while this little community of foreign artisans were still industriously plying their looms, in which they are described as a body of French refugees, who fled to this country after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, and settling on the open common that then lay between Broughton and the old capital, they attempted to establish a silk manufactory. A large plantation of mulberry trees is said to have been laid out by them on the slope of Moutrie's Hill, and other provision made for carrying on the whole operations of the silk manufacture there. It is well known, that about 50,000 French refugees fled to England at that period, the majority of them settled at Spitalfield, while the remainder scattered themselves over the kingdom. To a body of these unfortunate wanderers the hamlet of Picardy most probably owed its origin. The failure of their mulberry plantations here, as in other parts of the kingdom, no doubt compelled them to abandon their project; and their experience was probably afterwards made use of in the weaving of linen, on the institution of a company for the encouragement of its manufacture in 1746. Since then this chartered body has devoted its large capital exclusively to the purposes of banking; and it is now one of the most wealthy and influential banking companies of Scotland.

One other locality of considerable interest in the same neighbourhood is the low valley of Greenside, which skirts the northern base of the Calton Hill. Though now exclusively occupied by workshops and manufactories, or by modern dwellings of a very humble character, it formed in ancient times a place of considerable importance. It was bestowed on the citizens by James II., as an arena for holding tournaments and the like martial sports of the age; and, according to Pennant, it continued to be used for such feats of arms even in the reign of Queen Mary. Here, he relates, during a public tournament, "the Earl of Bothwell made the first impression on the susceptible heart of Mary Stuart, having galloped into the ring down the dangerous steeps of the adjacent hill."[2] The rude Earl, however, trusted as little to feats of gallantry as to love for the achievement of his unscrupulous aims; and this may rank among the many spurious traditions which the popular interest in the Scottish Queen has given rise to. A chapel dedicated to the Holy Rood stood in the valley of Greenside at a remote period, and served, in the year 1518, as the

[1] Walks in Edinburgh, p. 217.

[2] Pennant's Tour, vol. i. p. 70.

nucleus of one of the very latest foundations of a monastic institution in Scotland prior to the Reformation; but we leave the history of the ancient religious and benevolent foundations of this locality for the next chapter. During the present century, it was destined for a very different purpose. When the Union Canal was first projected, its plans included the continuation of it through the bed of the North Loch, where the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway now runs. From thence it was proposed to conduct it to Greenside, in the area of which an immense harbour was to have been constructed; and this again being connected by a broad canal with the sea, it was expected that by such means the New Town would be converted into a seaport, and the unhappy traders of Leith compelled either to abandon their traffic, or remove within the precincts of their jealous rivals. Chimerical as this project may now appear, designs were furnished by experienced engineers, a map of the whole plan was engraved on a large scale, and no doubt our civic reformers rejoiced in the anticipation of surmounting the disadvantages of an inland position, and seeing the shipping of the chief ports of Europe crowding into the heart of their new capital!

Of the memorials of the New Town, properly so called, very few fall legitimately within the plan of this work; yet even its modern streets possess some interesting associations that we would not willingly forego. We have already referred to the house which forms the junction with St Andrew Square and St David Street, as the last residence of the celebrated philosopher and historian, David Hume; where that strange death-bed scene occurred which has been the subject of such varied comments both by the eulogists and detractors of the great sceptic. Directly opposite to Hume's house, on the north side of the square, is the house in which Henry Brougham was born. At that period St Andrew Square contained the residences of several noblemen, and was deemed the most fashionable quarter of the rising town. The house on the same side at the corner of St Andrew Street was the mansion of David Steuart, Earl of Buchan, and possesses some claim to our interest as the place where the Society of Scottish Antiquaries was instituted in 1780, and where its earliest meetings were held.[1] Within the first eastern division of George Street, the eye of the modern visitor is attracted by the lofty and magnificent portico of the Commercial Bank, a building that seems destined to attest for ages the skill and taste, if not the inventive genius, of our native architects; yet it occupies the site of the Physicians' Hall, a chaste Grecian edifice designed by Craig, the foundation-stone of which was laid by the celebrated Dr Cullen, in 1774, doubtless with the belief that remote ages might bring to light the memorials which were then buried in its foundations. Nor must we omit to notice the favourite dwelling of Sir Walter Scott in North Castle Street—"*The dear thirty-nine*," which he left under such mournful circumstances in 1826. The New Town of Edinburgh has already many such associations with names eminent in literature and science, some of which, at least, will command the interest of other generations. Our Memorials, however, are of the olden time, and we leave future chroniclers to record those of the modern city.

[1] Paton's Correspondence, pp. 170-172.

CHAPTER XI.

ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES.

NEXT to the Castle of Edinburgh, the ancient Parish Church of St Giles, and the Abbey of Holyrood, form the most prominent objects of interest in the history of the capital. The existence of the first Parish Church of Edinburgh is traced to the second century after the death of its tutelar saint, the Abbot and Confessor St Giles, who was born in Greece, of illustrious parentage, in the sixth century, and afterwards abandoning his native land, and bestowing his wealth on the poor, retired into the wilderness of Languedoc, and founded the celebrated monastery which long after bore his name. To some wandering brother from the banks of the Rhone, we probably owe the dedication of the ancient Parish Church of Edinburgh to St Giles, a favourite saint who owes his honours in the southern capital to Matilda, the Queen of Henry I. of England, and daughter of St Margaret, Queen of Malcolm Canmore, who founded there St Giles's Hospital for lepers, in 1117. The Bishopric of Lindisfarn, which comprehended Edinburgh, dates so early as A.D. 635, and Simeon of Durham, in reckoning the churches and towns belonging to the see in the year 854, mentions *Edwinsburch* among the latter.[1] We can only infer the existence of the Church, however, from this notice, as it is not directly mentioned, nor can we discover its name in any authentic record till the reign of Alexander II.—who succeeded his father, William the Lion, in 1214—when Baldredus, Deacon of Lothian, and John, Perpetual Vicar of the Church of St Giles, at Edinburgh, affix their seals in attestation of a copy of certain Papal bulls and other charters

[1] Maitland, p. 270.

VIGNETTE—Chapel of Robert, Duke of Albany, St Giles's Church.

of the Church of *Megginche*, one of the dependencies of the Abbey of Holyrood.[1] It is again mentioned in an Act of the reign of Robert the Bruce, dated 1319, wherein the Bishop of St Andrew's confirms numerous gifts bestowed at various times on the Abbey and its dependencies. One of these is a gift of all her possessions made by the Lady Donoca, with the consent of her husband and son, in presence of a full consistory held at Edinburgh in St Giles's Church on the Sunday before the Feast of St Thomas, in the year 1293.[2] Still later we find evidence of additions to the original foundation in 1359, when David II., by a charter under his great seal, confirmed to the chaplain officiating at the altar of St Katherine's Chapel in the Parish Church of St Giles, all the lands of Upper Merchiston, the gift of Roger Hog, burgess of Edinburgh. There can be no question, however, of its existence at a much earlier date, as is proved by some of its original architectural features, described hereafter, of which we possess authentic evidence. The Collegiate Church of St Giles, as it now stands, is a building including the work of many different periods, and though no part of its architecture indicates an earlier date than the fourteenth century, its walls probably include masonry of a much more remote era. The prevalence of Norman remains among such of the ancient Parish Churches of Midlothian as still retain any of their original masonry, proves that a very general impetus had been given to ecclesiastical architecture about the period of the founding of Holyrood Abbey, in the 12th century. This entirely accords with what is usually found in the architectural chronology of any populous district in the neighbourhood of an important ecclesiastical foundation; and, indeed, the history of the erection of St Giles's Church is almost entirely comprised in three periods, each of which was marked by the founding of other ecclesiastical buildings. The first of these is the early part of the 12th century, when the example of David I., derived from his experience at the splendid court of Henry I. of England, led to the founding or enlargement of numerous religious houses. The next is 1380—soon after which Dalkeith Church was founded—when numerous chapels were added to the Parish Church; and again, during a succession of years ending in 1462—the year in which the charter of foundation of Trinity Collegiate Church is dated—when the choir of St Giles's Church seems to have been enlarged and completed in its present form; in anticipation, no doubt, of its erection into a collegiate church, which took place a few years thereafter.

It must be a subject of unfailing regret to every true antiquary, that the restoration of St Giles's Church in 1829 was conducted in so rash and irreverent a spirit, in consequence of which so many of its peculiar features have disappeared, along with nearly all those traces of its adaptation to the ceremonial of Roman Catholic worship, which had escaped the rude hands of the equally irreverent, but far more pardonable, Reformers of the sixteenth century. Had its restoration been delayed even for a few years, the increasing study of Gothic architecture, which is already so widely diffused, would in all probability have secured the preservation of much that is now beyond recall. All that can now be done is to endeavour to convey to the reader such idea of the original edifice, and of the successive alterations and additions that it had received, as seemed to be indicated by the building previous to its remodelling in 1829.[3]

[1] Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis, p. 55. [2] Ibid, p. 81.

[3] The restoration of the original edifice is now (1872) being proceeded with, under the auspices of a number of public-spirited citizens.

Edinburgh, in the reign of David I. and long afterwards, was, as we have already shown, no more than an assemblage of rude huts, constructed in full anticipation of their falling a prey to the torch of the southern invaders. Froissart represents the Scots exclaiming more than two centuries later, "thoughe the Englishe brinne our houses, we care lytell therefore; we shall make them agayne chepe ynough!" Nevertheless, it is to David I. that Edinburgh owes its earliest improvement and much of its future prosperity. He was the first monarch who made the Castle of Edinburgh his chief residence; and by his munificent monastic foundation in its neighbourhood, he made it the centre towards which the wealth of the adjacent country flowed, and thereby erected it into the capital of the Lothians centuries before it assumed its position as the capital of the kingdom. It cannot, therefore, surprise us to discover evidence of the rebuilding of the Parish Church of Edinburgh about the period of his accession to the throne; and we accordingly find that some beautiful remains of the original edifice, somewhat earlier in style than the oldest portions of the Abbey Church of Holyrood, were only destroyed about the middle of last century.

The annexed vignette, copied from a very rare print, represents a beautiful Norman doorway which formed the entrance to the nave of St Giles's Church on the north side, and was only demolished about the year 1760. It stood immediately below the third window from the west, within the line of the external wall. A plain round archway that had given access to it was obliterated in the alterations of 1829. This fragment sufficiently enables us to picture the little Parish Church of St Giles in the reign of David I. Built in the massive style of the early Norman period, it would consist simply of a nave and chancel united by a rich Norman chancel arch; altogether occupying only a portion of the centre aisle of the present nave. Small circular-headed windows, decorated with zig-zag mouldings, would admit the light to its sombre interior; while its west front was in all probability surmounted by a simple belfry, from whence the bell would daily summon the natives of the hamlet to matins and vespers, and with slow measured sounds toll their knell as they were lain in the neighbouring churchyard.

This ancient church was never entirely demolished. Its solid masonry was probably very partially affected by the ravages of the invading forces of Edward II., in 1322, when Holyrood was spoiled; or by those of his son in 1335, when the whole country was wasted with fire and sword. The town was again subjected to the like violence, probably with results little more lasting, by the conflagration in 1385, when the English army under Richard II. occupied the town for five days, and then laid it and the Abbey of Holyrood in ashes. The Norman architecture disappeared piece-meal, as chapels and aisles were added to the original fabric by the piety of private donors, or by the zeal of its own

clergy to adapt it to the wants of the rising town. In all the changes that it underwent for above seven centuries, the original north door, with its beautifully recessed Norman arches and grotesque decorations, always commanded the veneration of the innovators, and remained as a precious relic of the past, until the tasteless improvers of the eighteenth century demolished it without a cause, and probably for no better reason than to evade the cost of its repair.

As the population of the town increased, and it advanced in wealth and importance, altars and chapels were founded and endowed by its own citizens, or by some of the eminent Scottish ecclesiastics who latterly resided in Edinburgh; so that St Giles's had increased to a wealthy corporation, with numerous altarages and chaplainries, previous to its erection into a collegiate church by the charter of James III. in 1466. As usual with all large churches, St Giles's presented internally the form of a cross, with the central tower placed at the junction of the nave and choir with the transepts. Externally, however, this had almost entirely disappeared, owing to the numerous chapels and aisles added at various dates, and it has only been restored by sacrificing some of the most interesting and unique features of the ancient building. Previous to the alterations of 1462, notwithstanding the general enlargement of the church by the addition of one or more rows of chapels on either side of the nave, no portion of the central building appears to have been elevated into a clerestory; and in the nave this addition forms one of the modern alterations effected in 1829. Before that recent remodelling, the nave was only elevated a few feet higher than the aisles, and was finished in the same style in which the north aisle still remains, with a neat but simple groining springing from the capitals of the pillars, and decorated with sculptured bosses at the intersections. The south aisle of the nave is evidently the work of a later date. The rich groining and form of its vaulting afford an interesting subject of study for the architectural chronologist, when compared with the simpler design of the north aisle. We may conclude, with little hesitation, from the style of the former, that it was rebuilt in 1387, along with the five chapels to the south of it described hereafter; and, indeed, the construction of the light and beautiful shafts from which their mutual vaultings spring, almost necessarily involved the demolition of the old aisle. Over the vaulted roof of the centre aisle, in the space now occupied by the clerestory, a rude attic was erected, which included several apartments, latterly used as the residence of the bell-ringer Mitchell with his wife and family, who ascended to their elevated abode by the antique turnpike that formerly rose into an octagonal pointed roof of curious stonework, near the central tower. The arches of the tower still remain to show the original height of the nave; and a careful inspection of the choir proves, beyond all doubt, that it underwent a similar alteration by the construction of a clerestory, at the same time that it was lengthened, by the addition of the two eastmost arches, about the middle of the fifteenth century.[1] In some of the larger Gothic churches, the architects are found to have ingeniously aided the perspective of "the long drawn aisles," by diminishing the breadth of the arches as they approach the east end of the choir, where the high altar stood, thereby adding to its apparent extent. In St Giles's Church, however, the opposite is found to be the case. The two eastmost arches are wider and loftier than the

[1] The choir was probably lengthened only to the extent of one arch; but the removal of the east wall would necessarily involve the rebuilding of the second.

others. The pillars are decorated with foliated capitals, elaborately finished with sculptured shields and angels' heads; the shafts are fluted according to a regular and beautiful design, and their bases are enriched with foliated sculpture; while the other pillars of the choir are plain octagons, with their capitals formed by a few simple mouldings. The arching and groining, moreover, of this extended portion of the aisles entirely differs from the western and earlier part; for whereas the latter are formed of concentric arches springing from four sides and meeting in one keystone, so that the top of the windows can reach no higher than the spring of the arch, the former is constructed on the more usual plan of a groined roof, running across the aisle, and admitting of the two eastmost windows on each side rising nearly to the top of the arch. No less obvious proofs are discoverable of the addition of the clerestory at the same period. There are flaws remaining in the lower part of its walls, marking distinctly how far the old work has been taken down. A slight inclination outward, in part of the wall immediately above the pillars, shows that the roof of the choir had corresponded in height with the old nave; and portions of the original groining springing from the capitals of the pillars still remain, only partially chiselled away. The extreme beauty of the clerestory groining, and its remarkably rich variety of bosses, all furnish abundant evidence of its being the work of a later age than the other parts of the building. On the centre boss, at the division of the two eastmost compartments of the ceiling, is the monogram ihs, boldly cut on a large shield; and on the one next to it westward, the following legend is neatly arranged round a carved centre in bold relief:—Ave . gra . pla . dns . tecu .—an abbreviation evidently of the salutation of the Virgin,—*Ave Maria, gratia plena, dominus tecum*,—though from its height, and the contractions necessary to bring it within such circumscribed dimensions, it is not easily deciphered. These, it is probable, stood directly over the site of the high altar, which does not appear to have been removed from its original position at the east end of the old choir upon its enlargement and elongation in the fifteenth century, as we find that Walter Bertrame, burgess of Edinburgh, by a charter dated December 20, 1477, founded a chaplainry at "the Altar of St Francis, situate behind the Great Altar," and endowed it with various annual rents from property in Edinburgh and Leith.[1]

Another striking feature of the additions made to St Giles's Church in the fifteenth century, is the numerous heraldic devices introduced among the ornaments, which afford striking confirmation as to the period when they were executed. The north-east, or King's Pillar, as it is generally called, of which we have already given a view,[2] bears on the east and west sides the royal arms of Scotland; on the north side those of Mary of Guelders—the Queen of James II. and the founder of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity—impaled with the royal arms; and on the south side the arms of France. James II. succeeded to the throne, a mere child, in 1438, and was killed by the bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh Castle in 1460; and the remaining armorial bearings afford further proof of the erection of this addition to the church between these two periods. On the opposite pillar there are, on the south side, the arms of the good town; and on the west those of Bishop Kennedy, the cousin of James II. and his able and faithful councillor, who was promoted to the metropolitan see in 1440, and died in 1466. The other arms are those of Nicolson, and Preston of Craigmillar. On the engaged pillar, on the north side of the

[1] Maitland, p. 271. Inventar of Pious Donations. MS. Ad. Lib.

[2] Ante, p. 24.

altar, are the arms of Thomas de Cranston, *Scutifer Regis*, a man of considerable influence in the reign of James II., and a frequent ambassador to foreign courts, who died about 1470; and on the engaged pillar to the south, the arms are those of Isabel, Duchess of Albany and Countess of Lennox, who, in 1450—about a year before her death—founded the Collegiate Church of Dumbarton, and largely endowed other religious foundations.[1] Maitland remarks—"In the year 1462, a great work seems to have been in hand at this church; for it was by the Town Council ordained that all persons presuming to buy corn before it was entered should forfeit one chalder to the church work."[2] This may be supposed to refer to the same additions to the choir begun in the reign of James II. and then in progress, though it will be seen that other works were proceeded with about the same time. The work had no doubt been aided by the contributions of that monarch, and may have been further encouraged by the gifts of his widowed queen for masses to his soul. The repetition of the royal arms on the King's Pillar is probably intended to refer to James III., in whose reign the work was finished. To the south of the choir, a second aisle of three arches, with a richly-groined ceiling, forms the Preston Aisle, erected agreeably to a charter granted to William Prestoune, of Gortoune, by the city of Edinburgh in 1454, setting forth "yat forasmekle as William of Prestoun the fadir, quam God assoillie, made diligent labour and grete menis, be a he and mighty Prince, the King of France, and mony uyr Lordis of France, for the gettyn of the arme bane of Saint Gele;—the quhilk bane he freely left to our moyr kirk of Saint Gele of Edinburgh, withoutyn ony condition makyn;—we considrand ye grete labouris and costis yat he made for the gettyn yrof, we p^{mit}, as said is yat within six or seven zere, in all the possible and gudely haste we may, yat we sal big an ile, furth frae our Lady Ile, quhare ye said William lyes in the said ile, to be begunyin within a zere; in the quhilk ile yare sall be made a brase for his crest in bosit work; and abone the brase a plate of brase, with a writ, specifiand, the bringing of yat relik be him in Scotland, with his armis; and his armis to be put, in hewyn marble, uyr thre parts of the ile."[3] The charter further binds the Provost and Council to found an altar there, with a chaplain, and secures to the lineal descendants of the donor the privilege of bearing the precious gift of St Giles's arm bone in all public processions. The arms of Preston still remain on the roof of the aisle, as engaged to be executed in this charter; and the same may be seen repeated in different parts of their ancient stronghold of Craigmillar Castle; where also occurs their Rebus, sculptured on a stone panel of the outer wall: a press, and tun or barrel.[4] They continued annually to exercise their chartered right of bearing the arm bone of the Patron Saint till the memorable year 1558, when the College of St Giles walked for the last time in procession, on the 1st of September, the festival of St Giles, bearing in procession a statue hired for the occasion, from the Grey Friars, to personate the Great Image of the Saint, as large as life, because "the auld Saint Geile" had been first drowned in the North Loch as an adulterer, or encourager of idolatry, and thereafter

[1] A letter on the subject of these armorial bearings, signed A. D. [the late Alexander Deuchar, we presume, a first-rate authority on all matters of heraldry], appeared in the Scots Magazine, June 1818. The writer promises to send the result of further observations, but he does not appear to have followed out his intentions.

[2] Maitland, p. 271.

[3] Archæologia Scotica, vol. i. p. 375.

[4] The Rebus of Prior Bolton, in Westminster Abbey, is very similar to this: a tun, or barrel, with a bolt thrust through it.

burnt as a heretic. Only two years before, the Dean of Guild paid 6s. "for paynting of Saut Geile;" and "for mending and polishing Saint Gelis arme, 12d.," but his honours were rudely put an end to by the rioters of 1558; and only four years thereafter the Saint's silver-work, ring, and jewels, and all the vestments wherewith his image and his arm bone were wont to be decorated on high festivals of the Church, were sold by authority of the Magistrates, and the proceeds employed in repairing the Church. Sir David Lindsay deserves more credit than has yet been ascribed to him for the irreverent handling of the saint on this occasion. His *Monarchie* was finished in 1553, and had then had time to have produced its influence on the popular mind. His description of the honours paid by the citizens of Edinburgh to their Patron Saint is sufficiently graphic; nor does he hesitate to forewarn the clergy of the *recompense* that so speedily followed:—

Of Edinburgh, the greit idolatrie,
And manifest abhominatioun,
On thair feist day, all creature may see,
Thay beir ane auld stok image threuch the toun,
With talbrone, trumpet, schalme, and clarioun;
Quhilk hes bene usit mony ane yeir bygone,
With priestis, and freiris, into processioun,
Siclyke, as Bell wes borne throuch Babylone.

Fy on yow, freiris! that usis for to preiche,
And dois assist to sik idolatrie:
Quhy do ye nocht the ignorant pepill teiche,
How ane deid image carvit of ane tre,
As it war haly, suld nocht honourit be;
Nor borne on burges backis, up and doun:
Bot, ye schaw planelie your hypocrisie,
Quhen ye pas formest in processioun.

Fy on yow, fosteraris of idolatrie!
That till ane deid stok, dois sik reverence,
In presens of the pepill publicklie;
Feir ye nocht God, to commit sik effence
I ceunsall yow do yit your diligence,
To gar suppresse sik greit abusioun:
Do ye nocht sa, I dreid your recompense,
Sall be nocht ellis, bot clene confusioun.

The arm bone of the Patron Saint, procured at so great a cost, and heretofore commanding the devout admiration of the faithful, was most probably flung out into the neighbouring churchyard, soon after the discomfiture of his adherents, to mingle unheeded with the ashes of forgotten generations. One fact, however, we learn, from the charter granted by the Magistrates to Preston of Gortoun, as to the appropriation of different parts of the church at that period—viz., that the Lady Aisle, where the altar of the blessed Virgin Mary stood, was part of what now forms the south aisle of the choir, or High Church. To this altar we find one of the earliest recorded gifts bestowed, in the reign of David II., when the first mention of distinct chantries in St Giles's Church is found—viz., "Carta to the Lady Altar of St Geille's, of ane tenement in Edinburgh, given by William Here, burges of Edinburgh."[1] From the style of architecture which prevails through the older

[1] Robertson's Index, 1798, temp. David II., p. 66. The date of the charter is 1365. Regist. Mag. Sigill, p. 54. The deed of gift to St Katherine's Altar in the same reign is dated 1359.

parts of the collegiate church, we feel little hesitation in assigning the erection of the main portion of the fabric to the close of David's reign, which extended from 1329 to 1371, or to that of his successor Robert II. It is finished entirely in that simple and comparatively plain style of pointed architecture, which Dallaway designates Pure Gothic, and of which no specimen will be found later than the fourteenth century. It was a period of almost incessant wars, involving the whole nation in misery for years; but it was no less characterised by religious zeal, encouraged, no doubt, in some degree by the fact that ecclesiastical property was the only species of possession that had any chance of escaping the fury of the invaders. Edward III., however, carried on his Scottish invasion with a ferocity that spared not even the edifices consecrated to religion. In 1355, he desolated the country on to Edinburgh, and laid every town, village, and hamlet in ashes, though not without suffering keenly from the assaults of the hardy Scots. This bloody inroad was peculiarly associated in the minds of the people with the unwonted sacrilege of the invaders, and as it happened about the time of the Feast of Purification, it was popularly known as *the Burnt Candlemas*.[1] In this desolating invasion, St Giles's Church, no doubt, suffered greatly; but the misery of the people, and the uncertainty involved in such a state of continual warfare, did not prevent the restoration of their churches, and we accordingly find in the Burgh Records a contract made, in the year 1380, between the Provost and some masons to vault over a part of the church. This was, no doubt, speedily accomplished, as in 1384 the Scottish barons assembled there and resolved on a war with England, notwithstanding the desire of Robert II. for peace. The result was that the whole town was exposed to another general conflagration by the invading army of Richard II., and the Church of St Giles is expressly mentioned as involved in the general destruction. There is no reason, however, to conclude from this, that the massive walls of the old Gothic fabric were razed to the ground by the flames that consumed the simple dwellings of the unwalled town. The cost of its restoration appears to have been borne by the Government, and various entries occur in the accounts of the Great Chamberlain of Scotland, rendered at the Exchequer between the years 1390 and 1413, of sums granted for completing its re-edification. Nevertheless, the archives of the city preserve authentic evidence of additions being made out of its own funds to the original fabric in 1387, only two years after the conflagration, and an examination of such portions of these as still remain abundantly confirms this idea; the style of decoration being exactly of that intermediate kind between the simple forms of the old nave and the highly ornate style of the choir, which is usually found in the transition from the one to the other.

The contract for the additions made to St Giles's Church from the revenues of the town, and the contributions of its wealthier citizens at the time when the main fabric was left to be restored from the general revenues of the kingdom, while it affords an insight into the progress of the building at that date, cannot but be regarded as a curious proof of that singular elasticity which the Scottish nation displayed during their protracted wars with England; showing as it does, the general and local government vieing with one another in the luxury of ornate ecclesiastical edifices almost as soon as the invaders had retreated across the Borders. The agreement bears to be made at Edinburgh, November

[1] Dalrymple's Annals, pp. 237, 8.

29th, 1387, between "Adam Forster, Lord of Nether Leberton, Androw Yichtson, Provest of the Burgh of Edynburgh, and Communitie of that Ilk, on the ta half, and Johne Johne of Stone, and Johne Skayer, masounys, on the toyer half," and requires that "the forsaidys Johne Johne, and Johne, sall make and voute fyve Chapells on the south syde of the Paryce Kyrke of Edynburgh, fra the west gavyl, lyand and rynan doun est, on to the grete pyler of the stepyl, voutyt on the same maner by the masounys, as the vout abovye Sanct Stevinys auter, standand on the north syde of the parys auter of the Abbay of Haly-rude Houss. Alsua yat ylk man sal mak in ylk Chapel of the four, a wyndow with thre lychtys in fourm masonne lyke, the qwhilk patroune yai hef sene; and the fyfte Chapel voutyt with a durre, in als gude maner als the durre, standand in the west gavyl of ye forsaid kyrk. Alsua ye forsayde five Chapellys sall be thekyt abovyn with stane, and water thycht; ye buttras, ye lintels fynyt up als hech as ye lave of yat werk askys."[1] The whole of these five chapels remained, with their beautiful groined roofs, and clustered columns, until the *restoration* of the ancient edifice in 1829, when the two west ones were demolished, apparently for no better reason than because they interfered with the architect's design for a uniform west front. The third chapel, which now forms the west lobby of the *Old Church*, as this subdivision of the building is styled, retained till the same date the beautiful vaulted entrance erected in 1387; it was an open porch, with a richly-groined ceiling, and over it a small chamber, lighted by an elegant oriel window, the corbel of which was an angel holding the city arms. A fac-simile of this has been transferred to the west side of the aisle,[2] though without either the beautiful porch which it surmounted, or the picturesque turret-stair which stood on its west side, and formed the approach to the Priest's Chamber as well as to the roof of the church. The demolition of this portion of the ancient edifice led to the discovery of a large accumulation of charters and ancient records of the city, which had been placed at some early period in the chamber over the porch, and had lain there undisturbed probably for more than two centuries. It had contained also a series of pictorial decorations of an unusual character as the adornments of any part of a church, but which appear to have been painted on the panelling of the chamber about the period of the Revolution, when it formed an appendage to the Council Chambers. The only fragments of these that have been preserved are now in the collection of C. K. Sharpe, Esq., and consist of a trumpeter, a soldier bearing a banner, and a female figure holding a cornucopia. The costume of the figures, which are above half-life size, is of the reign of William III. The paintings are really works of some merit, so far as can be judged from these detached fragments, which were literally rescued from the ruins of the ancient vestry, and are insufficient to show what had been the subject of the whole design. The two eastern chapels are now included in the *Old Church*, and though greatly defaced by modern partitions and galleries, retain some of the original groining, constructed five centuries ago, in imitation of St Stephen's Chapel in the Abbey of Holyrood.

[1] Maitland, p. 270.

[2] The carved stones of the original window are now in the possession of A. E. Ellis, Esq., and cannot but excite the surprise of every one who sees them, as the most of them are nearly as fresh and sharp as when first executed. Among other interesting fragments rescued by Mr Ellis at the same period, there is a very fine stoup for holy water, formed in shape of a shallow bason, with a large star covering it, and leaving the interstices for the water. It had projected from the wall on a richly-flowered corbel, which has been rudely broken in its removal.

An aisle appears to have been added at a later period to the south of the two last chapels, the beautifully groined roof of which was fully as rich as any portion of the choir. This appears to be the chapel referred to in a "charter of confirmation of a mortification by Alexander Lauder of Blyth, Knight, Provost of Edinburgh, to ane altarage of St Gilles Kirk," dated 17th August 1513,[1] by which he founded a "chaplainry in the New Chapel, near the south-western corner of the church, in honour of God, the Virgin Mary, and Gabriel the Archangel."[2] It consisted of two arches extending between the porch and the south transept, and in the south wall, between the two windows, a beautiful altar tomb was constructed under a deep recess, on which a recumbent figure had, no doubt, been originally placed, although it probably disappeared along with the statues, and other ancient decorations, that fell a prey to the reforming zeal of 1559, when "The Black and Gray Freris of Edinburgh were demolissed and castin doun aluterlie, and all the chepellis and collegis about the said burgh, with thair zairds, were in lykwyise distroyit; and the images and altaris of Sanctgeilis kirk distroyit and brint, be the Erlis of Ergyle and Glencarne, the pryour of Sanctandrois and Lord Ruthvene, callit the congregatioun."[3] The principal ornaments of this fine tomb suggest its having been erected for some eminent ecclesiastic. Underneath the corbels from which the crocketed arch springs, two shields are cut, bearing the emblems of our Saviour's passion, the one on the right having the nails, spear, and reed with the sponge, and the other the pillar and scourges. The pinnacle with which the arch terminates is adorned with the beautiful emblem of a heart within the crown of thorns, and on either side of it a lion and dragon are sculptured as supporters. On the top of this an ornamental corbel formerly supported a clustered pillar, from the capital of which the rich groining of the roof spread out its fan-like limbs towards the fine bosses of the centre key-stones. All this, however, which combined to form one of the finest and most unique features of the Old Church, has been sacrificed to secure that undesirable uniformity which ruins the Gothic designs of modern architects, and is scarcely ever found in the best ancient examples. One-half of the aisle has been demolished, and a wall built across where the clustered pillar formerly supported the beautiful roof of the chapel, in order to give it the appearance externally of an aisle to the south transept. The altar tomb has been removed in a mutilated state to this fragment of the ancient chapel, now degraded to the mean office of a staircase to the Montrose aisle on the east side of the same transept, which, with a floor half way up its ancient pillars, serves for a vestry to the *Old Church.*

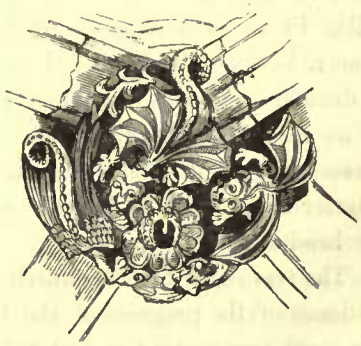
On the north side of the nave a range of chapels appears to have been added at a somewhat later date than those built on the south side in 1387, judging from the style of ornament and particularly the rich groining of the roof. These consisted of two small chapels on each side of the ancient Norman porch, while above it there was an apartment known as the Priest's Room. This had, no doubt, served as a vestry for some of the clergy officiating at the numerous altars of the church, though Maitland gives it the name of the Priest's Prison, as the place of durance in olden times for culprits who had incurred the

[1] Inventar of Pious Donations. M.S. Ad. Lib. Alexander Lauder filled the office of Provost in the years 1501–3, and again in 1508–10. The Earl of Angus was the Provost in 1513, and marched with the burgher force to Flodden Field.

[2] Maitland, p. 271.

[3] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 269.

Church's censures. This same apartment served as the prison in which Sir John Gordon of Haddo was secured in 1644, previous to his trial and execution, from whence one of the places of worship into which the nave of the ancient Collegiate Church was divided derived its singular name of "Haddow's Hole." Both the porch, and the two chapels to the east of it, have disappeared in the recent remodelling of the church, although they formed originally very picturesque features externally, with their pointed gables, and steep roofs "theikit with stane," and with them also the deep archway which had formerly given access to the most ancient fragment of the Parish Church. The eastmost of these chapels, which is now replaced by what appears externally as the west aisle of the north transept, was the only portion of the church in which any of the coloured glass remained, with which, doubtless, most of its windows were anciently filled. Its chief ornament consisted of an elephant, very well executed, underneath which were the crown and hammer, the armorial bearings of the Incorporation of Hammermen, enclosed within a wreath. From these insignia we may infer that this was St Eloi's Chapel, at the altar of which, according to the traditions of the burgh, the craftsmen of Edinburgh who had followed Allan, Lord High Steward of Scotland, to the Holy Land, and aided in the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre from the Infidels, dedicated the famous *Blue Blanket*, or "Banner of the Holy Ghost."[1] The large and beautiful centre key-stone of this chapel is now in the collection of C. K. Sharpe, Esq. It is adorned with a richly-sculptured boss, formed of four dragons, with distended wings, each different in design, the tails of which are gracefully extended, so as to cover the intersecting ribs of the groined roof. The centre is formed by a large flower, to which an iron hook is attached; from whence, no doubt, anciently depended a lamp over the altar of St Eloi, the patron saint of the Hammermen of Edinburgh. The painted glass from the chapel window—which, from the rarity of such remains in Scotland, would have possessed even a greater value than the beautiful key-stone — has either gone to enrich some private collection, or been destroyed like the old chapel to which it belonged, as we have failed in all attempts to recover any clue to it. The view of the church from the north-west will suffice to convey some idea of the singularly picturesque appearance of this part of the old building externally, even when encumbered with the last of the Krames, and with its walls and windows defaced with many incongruous additions of later date. A restoration of this would have well rewarded the labour of the architect, and merited a grateful appreciation, which very few indeed will consider due to the uniformity that has been effected by its sacrifice. The two western chapels still remain, with a very light and elegant clustered pillar, adorned with sculptured shields on a rich foliated capital, from which spring the ribs of the groined roof and the arches that divide it from the adjoining aisle. The ornamental sculptures of this portion of the church are of a peculiarly



[1] Pennecuick's History of the Blue Blanket, p. 28.

striking character. On the centre key-stone of the eastern chapel, the monogram of the Virgin is inwrought with the leaves of a gracefully sculptured wreath, and the same is repeated in a simpler form on one of the bosses of the neighbouring aisle. But the most interesting of these decorations are the heraldic devices which form the prominent ornaments on the capital of the pillar. These consist, on the south side, of the arms of Robert, Duke of Albany, the second son of King Robert II.; and, on the north side, of those of Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas. In the year 1401, David, Duke of Rothsay, the unfortunate son of Robert III., was arrested by his uncle, the Duke of Albany and Governor of Scotland, with the consent of the king his father, who had been incensed against him by the daily complaints which his uncle contrived to have carried to the old king's ear. The circumstances of his death have been pictured with thrilling effect in the popular pages of "The Fair Maid of Perth." He was committed a close prisoner to the dungeon of Falkland Castle, and there starved to death, notwithstanding the intervention of a maiden and nurse, who experienced a far different fate from that assigned by Scott, though their efforts to rescue the Prince from his horrible death are described with considerable accuracy. "The Blacke Booke of Scone saith, that the Earle Douglas was with the Governour when he brought the Duke from Saint Andrew's to Falkland,"[1] having probably been exasperated against the latter, who was his own brother-in-law, by the indignity which his licentious courses put upon his sister. Such are the two Scottish nobles whose armorial bearings still grace the capital of the pillar in the old chapel. It is the only other case in which they are found acting in concert besides the dark deed already referred to; and it seems no unreasonable inference to draw from such a coincidence, that this chapel had been founded and endowed by them as an expiatory offering for that deed of blood, and its chaplain probably appointed to say masses for their victim's soul. A view of this interesting and beautiful part of the interior of St Giles's Church—with the gallery and pews removed—forms the vignette at the head of the chapter.

The transepts of the church as they existed before 1829, afforded no less satisfactory evidence of the progress of the building. Distinct traces remained of the termination of the south transept a few feet beyond the pillars that separated the south aisle of the choir from Preston's, or the Assembly Aisle, as it was latterly termed. Beyond this, the groining of the roof entirely differed from the older portion, exhibiting unequivocal evidence of being the work of a later age. This part of the Old Church forms—or rather, we should perhaps say, formed—by far the most interesting portion of the whole building, from its many associations with the eminent men of other days. Here it was that Walter Chepman, a burgess of Edinburgh, famous as the introducer of the printing-press to Scotland, founded and endowed a chaplainry at the altar of St John the Evangelist, "in honour of God, the Virgin Mary, St John the Apostle and Evangelist, and all Saints." The charter is dated 1st August 1513, an era of peculiar interest. Scotland was then rejoicing in all the prosperity and happiness consequent on the wise and beneficent reign of James IV. Learning was visited with the highest favour of the court, and literature was rapidly extending its influence under the zealous co-operation of Dunbar, Douglas,

[1] Hume of Godscroft's Hist. of the Douglases, p. 118. Hume attempts to free the Earl from the charge, but with little success.

Kennedy, and others, with the royal master printer. Only one month thereafter, Scotland lay at the mercy of her southern rival. Her King was slain; the chief of her nobles and warriors had perished on Flodden Field; and adversity and ignorance again replaced all the advantages that had followed in the train of the gallant James's rule. Thenceforth the altars of St Giles's Church received few and rare additions to their endowments. There is good reason for believing that Walter Chepman lies buried in the south transept of the Church, close by the spot where "the Good Regent," James Earl of Murray, the Regent Morton, and his great rival the Earl of Atholl, are buried, and adjoining the aisle where the mangled remains of the great Marquis of Montrose were reinterred, with every mark of honour, on the 7th of January 1661. This receives strong corroboration from an agreement entered in the Burgh Registers, 30th June 1579, by which the Council "grants and permits that upon the west part of Walter Chepmanis Iyle, fernent the Earl of Murrayis tomb, sal be broken, and thair ane burial-place be maid for the Earl of Athole."

The Regent's tomb, which stood on the west side of the south transept, was on many accounts an object of peculiar interest. As the monument erected to one who had played so conspicuous a part in one of the most momentous periods of our national history, it was calculated to awaken many stirring associations. The scene which occurred when the Regent's remains were committed to the tomb was itself not the least interesting among the memorable occurrences that have been witnessed in the ancient Church of St Giles, when the thousands who had assembled within its walls were moved to tears by the eloquence of Knox. "Vpoun the xiiij day of the moneth [of Februar, 1570], being Tyisdaye," says a contemporary, "my lord Regentis corpis being brocht in ane bote be sey fra Striueling to Leith, quhair it was keipit in Johne Wairdlaw his hous, and thairefter caryit to the palace of Halyrudhous, wes transportit fra the said palace of Halyrudhous to the college kirk of Sanctgeill in this manner; that is to say, William Kirkaldie of Grange knycht, raid fra the said palice in dule weid, beirand ane pensall quhairin wes contenit ane reid lyoun; efter him followit Coluill of Cleishe, maister houshald to the said regent, with ane vther pensell quhairin wes contenit my lord regentis armes and bage; efter thame wes the Erlis of Athole, Mar, Glencarne, lordis of Ruthvene, Methvene, maister of Grahame, lord Lindsay, with diuerse vtheris barronis, beirand the saidis corpis to the said college kirk of Sanctgeill, quhairin the samyne wes placeit befoir the pulpett; and thairefter Johne Knox minister made ane lamentable sermond tuitching the said murther; the samin being done, the said corpis wes burijt in Sanct Anthoneis yle within the said college kirk."[1] The Regent's tomb was surmounted with his arms, and bore on the front of it a brass plate with the figures of Justice and Faith engraved thereon, and the epitaph composed by Buchanan[2] for the purpose:—

IACOBO STOVARTO, MORAVIÆ COMITI, SCOTIÆ PROREGI;
VIRO, ÆTATIS SVÆ, LONGE OPTIMO: AB INIMICIS,
OMNIS MEMORIÆ DETERRIMIS, EX INSIDIIS EXTINCTO,
CEV PATRI COMMVNI, PATRIA MŒRENS POSVIT.

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 158.

[2] Calderwood's Hist., vol. ii. p. 526.

Underneath the coat of arms, to the left of the above inscription, was the motto,—PIETAS, SINE VINDICE, LUGET; and on the right side,—JUS EXARMATUM EST. The monument which stood directly opposite to that of the Regent was generally understood to be that of the Earl of Atholl, who was buried with great solemnity in the south aisle of the church on the 4th of July 1579. The sumptuous preparations for this funeral led to the interference of the General Assembly, by whom, "commissioun was givin to some brethrein to declare to the lords that the Assemblie thought the croce and the stroups superstitious and ethnick like, and to crave they may be removed at the Erle of Atholl's buriall. The lords answered, they sould caus cover the mortcloath with blacke velvet, and remove the strowpes."[1] The lords, however, failed in their promise. The *strowpes*, or flambeaux, were used on the occasion, notwithstanding the promise to the contrary, in consequence of which a riot ensued. Crawford[2] describes the stately monument erected over his grave; but from his allusion to an allegorical device of a pelican, vulned, feeding her young—the crest of the Earls of Moray, but an emblem, as he conceives, designed to signify the long devotion borne by the Earl of Atholl to his country—he has evidently mistaken for it that of the Regent. There was a vacant panel on this monument, apparently intended for inserting a brass plate similar to that on the Earl of Murray's tomb, but it had either been removed or never inserted. On the top had been a coat of arms, but all that remained was a representation of two pigeons, and the date 1579,[3] which, however, may be received as conclusive evidence of its having been the Earl of Atholl's monument. The portion of the Church which contained these monuments was approached by a door from the Parliament Close, which was never closed, so that the Regent's Aisle was a common place for appointments. It is alluded to in Sempill's satirical poem, "The Banishment of Poverty," as a convenient lounge for idlers, where he humorously describes the repast provided for him by the Genius of Poverty:—

> Then I knew no way how to fen;
> My guts rumbled like a hurle-barrow;
> I dined with saints and noblemen,
> Ev'n sweet Saint Giles and Earl of Murray.

It probably originated no less in the veneration with which "the Good Regent" was regarded than in the convenience of the place, that it was long a common occurrence to make bills payable at "the Earl of Murray's" tomb, and to fix on it as the place of assignation for those who proposed entering on any mutual contract.[4] The fact will seem hardly credible to future generations, that this national monument, erected, as the inscription on it expressed, as the tribute of a mourning country to their common father, was deliberately demolished during the alterations in 1829 in the process of enlarging the Assembly Aisle.

[1] Calderwood's Hist., vol. iii. p. 446. [2] Crawford's Officers of State, p. 136. Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii. Ap. p. 180.

[3] Kincaid's Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 179. The *pigeons* were probably young pelicans.

[4] The custom is one of long standing. Among the Closeburn papers, in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq., a contract by Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick for the payment of a considerable sum of money, dated in the reign of Charles I., makes it payable at Earl Murray's tomb. There is a remarkable charter of James II. in 1452, entailing the lands of Barntoun on George Earl of Caithness, and his heirs and *assigns*, and his *natural* daughter; with this proviso, that he, or his assigns, should cause to be paid to his bastard daughter, Janet, on a particular day, between the rising and setting of the sun, in the Parish Church of St Giles, in his burgh of Edinburgh, upon the high altar of the same, three hundred marks, usual money.—Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 774.

The plan of the architect proved after all a total failure, and a new hall had to be provided elsewhere for the meetings of the General Assembly of the Church. The removal of this important national monument was not effected without considerable opposition, and its destruction in the face of repeated remonstrances reflects indelible disgrace on all who had a share in it. The brass plate, with the inscription prepared by Buchanan for this tomb, has been rescued from the general wreck, and is now preserved by the descendants of the Regent at Dunnybristle House. We trust it is preserved to be again restored to the place where it so long formed the chief point of attraction. The same transept, styled the *Old Church*,[1] was the scene of Jenny Geddes's famous onslaught on the Dean of St Giles's, owing to the alterations which were in progress on the choir at the period when the use of the liturgy was attempted to be enforced, in order to adapt it for the cathedral service.[2] A very characteristic episode or by-play, which was enacted in a corner of the church while the heroine of the Cutty Stool was playing her more prominent part with the Dean, is thus narrated by a contemporary :—"A good Christian woman, much desirous to remove, perceaving she could get no passage patent, betooke herselfe to her Bible in a remote corner of the church. As she was there stopping her eares at the voice of popische charmers, whome she remarked to be verie headstrong in the publict practise of their anti-christiane rudiments, a young man sitting behind her beganne to sound foarth, *Amen!* At the hearing therof, she quicklie turned her about, and after she had warmed both his cheekes with the weight of her hands, she thus schott against him the thunderbolt of her zeal—'False theefe! (said she) is there no uther parte of the kirke to sing masse in but thou must sing it at my lugge?' The young man, being dashed with such ane hote unexpected rencounter, gave place to silence in signe of his recantatione."[3] The erection of the Bishopric of Edinburgh in 1633, and the appointment of the Collegiate Church of St Giles to be the cathedral of the diocese, led to its temporary restoration internally to something like its ancient appearance. But ere the royal commands could be carried into effect for the demolition of all its galleries and subdivisions, and its adaptation as the cathedral church of the new bishop, the entire system of Church polity for which these changes were designed had come to a violent end, involving many more important things in its downfall. "In this Isle," says Kincaid, "are sundry inscriptions in Saxon characters, cut on the pavement, of very coarse sculpture." Similar ancient monuments covered the floor in other parts of the church, but every vestige of them has been swept away in the *improvements* of 1829. A large portion of one, boldly cut and with the date 1508, was preserved in the nursery of the late firm of Messrs Eagle & Henderson. The inscription ran round the edge of the stone in Gothic characters, and contained the name and date thus :—

Jacobi . lame . qui . obiit . ano . dm . mo . vo : octavo.

A shield in the centre bore a lamb, well executed, lying with its feet drawn together. Other two of these monumental stones, now completely defaced, form the paving in front of the Fountain Well!

[1] Lord Rothes' Relation, Append. p. 198.

[2] "In the year 1636, the Town Council ordered one of the Bailiffs and one of the Clerks of Edinburgh to desire James Hanna, the Dean of St Giles's Church, to repair to Durham, to take a Draught of the Choir of the Cathedral Church in that city, in order to fit up and beautify the inside of St Giles's Church after the same manner."—Maitland, p. 281.

[3] A Breefe and True Relatione of the Broyle, &c., 1637.

The changes effected on the north transept, though equally radical with any we have described on other parts of the church, were accompanied with some beneficial effects, calculated to atone in a slight degree for the destruction of its ancient features. This transept remained in its original state, extending no further than the outer wall of the north aisle of the choir. Beyond this, and within the line of the centre aisle of the transept, was the belfry turret, with its curious and picturesque stone roof, which is accurately represented in the view from the north-west. This turret was entirely removed and built anew, with a crocketed spire in lieu of the more unique though rude form of the old roof, in a position to the west of the transept, so as so admit of the latter being extended as far north as the outer wall of the old building. This was accomplished by the demolition of an aisle which had been added to the old transept, apparently about the end of the fifteenth century, and which, though equally richly finished with groined roof and sculptured bosses and corbels, was used till very shortly before its demolition as the offices of the town-clerk. The appropriation, indeed, of the centre of the ancient Collegiate Church, was perhaps an act of as disgraceful and systematic desecration as ever was perpetrated by an irreverent age. The space within the great pillars of the centre tower was walled off and converted into a stronghold for the incarceration of petty offenders, and the whole police establishment found accommodation within the north transept and the adjoining chapels. The reverent spirit of earlier times, which led to the adornment of every lintel and façade with its appropriate legend or Scripture text, had long disappeared ere this act of sacrilege was so deliberately accomplished, otherwise a peculiarly suitable motto might have been found for St Giles's north doorway in the text: "*My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves!*"

In the subdivision of the ancient church for Protestant worship, the south aisle of the nave, with three of the five chapels built in 1389, were converted into what was called the Tolbooth Kirk. Frequent allusions, however, by early writers, in addition to the positive evidence occasionally furnished by the records of the courts, tend to show that both before the erection of the new Tolbooth, and after it was found inadequate for the purposes of a legislative hall and court house, the entire nave of St Giles's Church was used for the sittings of both assemblies, and is frequently to be understood as the place referred to under the name of the Tolbooth. In the trial, for example, of "Mr Adame Colquhoune, convicted of art and part of the treasonable slaughter and murder of umq^{le} Robert Rankin," the sederunt of the court is dated March 16, 1561–2, "In Insula, vocat. Halie-blude Iill, loco pretorii de Ed^{r}.,"[1] and nearly a century later, Nicoll, the old diarist, in the midst of some very grave reflections on the *instabilitie of man, and the misereis of kirk and stait* in his time, describes the frequent changes made on "the Kirk callit the Tolbuith Kirk, quhilk wes so callit becaus it wes laitlie the pairt and place quhair the criminall court did sitt, and quhair the gallous and the mayden did ly of old; lykewyse, this Kirk alterit and chayngit, and of this one Kirk thai did mak two."[2] During the interval between the downfall of Episcopacy in 1639, and its restoration in 1661, a constant succession of changes seem to have been made on the internal subdivision of St Giles's Church, though without in any way permanently affecting the original features of the building.

[1] Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, Supplement, p. 419.

[2] Nicoll's Diary, p. 170.

Externally, the recent alterations, though greatly injuring the Old Church in some parts, and particularly in its south front towards the Parliament Close, have effected decided improvements on others. Many of the buttresses had been injured or entirely removed to make way for the booths erected against its walls, and most of the mullions and tracery of the windows had disappeared, and been replaced by clumsy wooden sashes. In the year 1561 the western wall was rebuilt by order of the Town Council. It is probable that this part of the building was originally characterised by the usual amount of ornament lavished on the west fronts of cathedrals and collegiate churches, as canopied niches, gurgoils, and other fragments of ornate ecclesiastical architecture were scattered in an irregular manner throughout the rude masonry. When it was rebuilt, however, it was no doubt hemmed in with buildings as it remained till 1809, so that there was little inducement to erect anything more than a substantial wall. Here, therefore, the architect found a fair field for the exercise of his genius, and the result is at any rate an improvement on what preceded it. The east end is also improved externally by the addition of buttresses, though at the sacrifice of "our ladie's niche;" and the new work preserves an exact fac-simile of the tracery of the great east window. On the north side of the choir the monument of the Napier family forms a conspicuous and interesting feature, though recent investigations by the late Professor Wallace are generally received as a confutation of the tradition that it marks the tomb of the illustrious Inventor of Logarithms.[1] It is exceedingly probable that this monument indicates the site of St Salvator's altar, to the chaplain of which Archibald Napier of Merchiston, in 1494, mortified an annual rent of twenty merks out of a tenement near the College Kirk of the Holy Trinity.[2]

The present graceful Crown Tower of St Giles's, which forms so striking a feature not only of the church but of the town, dates no further back than the year 1648, when it was rebuilt on the model of the older tower, which had then fallen into decay. Of the four bells, which seem to have formed the whole complement of the belfry in early times, one, which bore the name of *St Mary's Bell*, was taken down at the same time that St Giles's arm bone was cast forth as a relic of superstition, and "with the brazen pillars in

[1] Archæologia Scotica, vol. iv. p. 213; where evidence is produced, derived from the writings of James Hume of Godscroft, a contemporary of Napier, to show that he was buried in St Cuthbert's Church. The question, however, still admits of doubt. Hume's work, a Treatise on Trigonometry, was published at Paris in 1636. He remarks of the Inventor of Logarithms:—"Il mourut l'an 1616, et fut enterré hors la Porte Occidentale d'Edinbourg, dans l'Eglise de Sainct Cudbert." In this statement the wrong year is assigned for his death, and other passages show that the author was at least personally unacquainted with the Scottish philosopher. The stone in St Giles's Church is, after all, the best evidence. The inscription simply bears:—S . E . P. FAM . DE NEPERORUM INTERIUS HIC SITUM EST. But it is surmounted with the arms and crest of Merchiston, along with the Wrychtishousis shield. The recent biographer of Napier remarks (Mems. of Napier of Merchiston, by Mark Napier, Esq., p. 425), "The stone has every appearance of being much older than the time of the philosopher." To us, however, it appears quite in the style of that period, the best evidence of which is its close resemblance to that of the rare title-page of the first edition of the Logarithms, published at Edinburgh by Andrew Hart, A.D. 1614, a fac-simile of which adorns that interesting volume of biography. The close intimacy between the Napiers of Merchiston and Wrychtishousis had been cemented by an alliance in 1513. Its continuation in the time of the philosopher is shown by an application from his neighbour for a seat or *dask* adjoining his in the Parish Church of St Cuthbert, so that their possession of a common place of sepulture at the period of his death is extremely probable. Add to this, the unvarying traditions among the descendants of Napier, as we are assured by his biographer, all pointing to the Collegiate Church of St Giles as the burial-place of the philosopher, where his ancestors had founded a chantry, most probably above their own vault. Further evidence may yet be discovered on this subject. The late Rev. Principal Lee informed us, that he possessed an abstract of documents proving the use of the family vault in St Giles's Church at a later date than the death of the philosopher, which adds to the improbability of his being buried elsewhere.

[2] Inventar of Pious Donations, M.S. Ad. Lib.

the Church, were ordered to be converted into great guns for the use of the Town," a resolution so far departed from, that they were sold the following year for twe hundred and twenty pounds.[1] Two of the remaining bells were recast at Campvere in Zealand, in 1621;[2] and the largest of these having cracked, it was again recast at London in 1846. In 1585, St Giles's Church obtained some share of its neighbours' spoils, after having been stripped of all its sacred furniture by the iconoclasts of the sixteenth century. That year the Council purchased the clock belonging to the Abbey Church of Lindores in Fife, and put it up in St Giles's steeple,[3] previous to which time the citizens probably regulated time chiefly by the bells for matins and vespers, and the other daily services of the Roman Catholic Church.

Such is an attempt to trace, somewhat minutely, the gradual progress of St Giles's, from the small Parish Church of a rude hamlet, to the wealthy Collegiate Church, with its forty altars, and a still greater number of chaplains and officiating priests; and from thence to its erection into a cathedral, with the many vicissitudes it has since undergone, until its entire remodelling in 1829. The general paucity of records enabling us to fix the era of the later stages of Gothic architecture in Scotland confers on such inquiries some value, as they suffice to show that our northern architects adhered to the early Gothic models longer than those of England, and executed works of great beauty and mechanical skill down to the reign of James V., when political and religious dissensions abruptly closed the history of ecclesiastical architecture in the kingdom. No record preserves to us the names of those who designed the ancient Parish Church of St Giles, or the elaborate additions that gradually extended it to its later intricate series of aisles, adorned with every variety of detail. It will perhaps be as well, on the whole, that the name of the modern architect who undertook the revision of their work should share the same oblivion.

Very different, both in its history and architectural features, from the venerable though greatly modernised Church of St Giles, is the beautiful edifice which stood at the foot of Leith Wynd, retaining externally much the same appearance as it assumed nearly 400 years ago, at the behest of the widowed Queen of James II., whose ashes repose beneath its floor. The Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity was founded in 1462, by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guelders, for a provost, eight prebends, and two singing boys; in addition to which there was attached to the foundation an hospital for thirteen poor bedemen, clad, like the modern pensioners of royalty, in blue gowns, who were bound to pray for the soul of the royal foundress. In the new statutes, it is ordered that "the saidis Beidmen sall prepair and mak ilk ane of yame on yair awin expensis, ane Blew-gown, *conform to the first Foundation.*" The Queen Dowager died on the 16th November 1463, and was buried "in the Queen's College besyde Edinburgh, quhilk sho herself foundit, biggit, and dotit."[4] No monument remains to mark the place where the foundress is laid; but her tomb is generally understood to be in the vestry, on the north side of the church. The death of the Queen so soon after the date of the charter of foundation, probably prevented the completion of the church according to the original design. As it now stands it consists of the choir and transepts, with the central tower partially built, and evidently

[1] Maitland, p. 273. [2] Ibid, p. 62. [3] Burgh Register, vol. vii. p. 177. Maitland, p. 273. [4] Lesley's Hist. p. 36.

hastily completed with crow-stepped gables and a slanting roof. The church is a beautiful specimen of the decorated English style of architecture. The east end of the choir more especially has a very stately and imposing effect. It is an Apsis, with a lofty window in each of its three sides, originally filled with fine tracery, and not improbably with painted glass, though the only evidence of either that now remains is the broken ends of mullions and transoms. The ornamental details with which the church abounds exhibit great variety of design, though many of those on the exterior are greatly injured by time. Various armorial bearings adorn different parts of the building, and particularly the east end of the choir. One of the latter has angels for supporters, but otherwise they are mostly too much decayed to be decipherable. One heraldic device, which, from its sheltered position on the side of a buttress at the west angle of the south transept, has escaped the general decay, is described both by Maitland and Arnot as the arms of the foundress. It proves, however, to be the arms of her brother-in-law, Alexander Duke of Albany, who at the time of her decease was residing at the court of the Duke of Guelders. From the royal supporters still traceable, attached to a coat of arms sculptured on the north-east buttress of the vestry, the arms of the foundress would appear to have been placed on that part of the church where she lies buried. In the foundation charter it is specially appointed, that "whenever any of the said Prebendaries shall read Mass, he shall, after the same, in his sacredotal habiliments, repair to the tomb of the foundress with a sprinkler, and there devoutly read over the *De Profundis*, together with the *Fidelium*, and an exhortation to excite the people to devotion." Many of the details of the church are singularly grotesque. The monkey is repeated in all variety of positions in the gurgoils, and is occasionally introduced in the interior among other figures that seem equally inappropriate as the decorations of an ecclesiastical edifice, though of common occurrence in the works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The varied corbels exhibit here and there an angel, or other device of beautiful form; but more frequently they consist of such crouching monsters, labouring under the burden they have to bear up, as seem to realise Dante's *Purgatory of Pride*, where the unpurged souls dree their doom of penance underneath a crushing load of stone :—

> As, to support incumbent floor or roof,
> For corbel, is a figure sometimes seen,
> That crumples up its knees unto its breast;
> With the feigned posture, stirring ruth unfeigned
> In the beholder's fancy.[1]

The centre aisle is lofty, and the groining exceedingly rich, abounding in the utmost variety of detail. A very fine doorway, underneath a beautiful porch with groined roof, gives access to the south aisle of the choir, and a small but finely proportioned doorway may be traced underneath the great window of the north transept, though now built up. The admirable proportions and rich variety of details of this church, as well as its perfect state externally, untouched, save by the hand of time—if we except the tracery of its windows—render it one of the most attractive objects of study to the

[1] Cary's Daute. Purgatory. Canto x.

lover of Gothic architecture that now remains in the capital. Unhappily, however, the march of improvement threatens its demolition. It has already been marked for a prey by the engineers of the North British Railway, for the purpose of enlarging their terminus; and unless the exertions of the lovers of antiquity succeed in averting its destruction, the doom has already been pronounced of this venerable fane which covers the remains of Mary of Guelders, the Queen of James II.[1] The vestry affords, externally, a fine specimen of the old Scottish method of "theiking with stone," with which the whole church, except the central tower, was roofed till about the year 1814, when it was replaced with slates. The vestry also exhibits a rare specimen of an ancient Gothic chimney, an object of some interest to the architect, from the few specimens of domestic architecture in that style which have escaped the general destruction of the religious houses in Scotland.

The collegiate buildings, erected according to the plan of the foundress, were built immediately adjoining the church on the south side, while the hospital for the bedemen stood on the opposite side of Leith Wynd. In 1567 the church, with the whole collegiate buildings, were presented by the Regent Murray to Sir Simon Preston, Provost of Edinburgh, by whom they were bestowed on the town. New statutes were immediately drawn up for regulating "the beidmen and hospitularis now present and to cum;"[2] and the hospital buildings being found in a ruinous condition, part of the collegiate buildings were fitted up and converted into the new hospital, which thenceforth bore the name of Trinity Hospital. This venerable edifice was swept away in 1845 in clearing the site for the railway station, and its demolition brought to light many curious evidences of its earlier state. A beautiful large Gothic fireplace, with clustered columns and a low-pointed arch, was disclosed in the north gable, while many rich fragments of Gothic ornament were found built into the walls—the remains, no doubt, of the original hospital buildings used in the enlargement and repair of the college. In the bird's-eye view in Gordon's map, an elegant Gothic lantern appears on the roof above the great hall, but this had disappeared long before the demolition of the building. In enlarging the drain from the area of the North Loch, in 1822, an ancient causeway was discovered fully four feet below the present level of the church floor, and extending a considerable way up the North Back of the Canongate. Its great antiquity was proved on the recent demolition of the hospital buildings, by the discovery that their foundations rested on part of the same ancient causeway thus buried beneath the slow accumulations of centuries, and which was not improbably a relic of the Roman invasion. One of the grotesque gurgoils of the Trinity Hospital is now preserved in the Antiquarian Museum.

In the view of Trinity College Church, drawn by Paul Sandby for Maitland's History of Edinburgh, a building is shown attached to the west end of it, which appears to have been a separate hospital maintained by the town, after the Magistrates had obtained the exclusive control of the Queen's charitable foundation. In the will of Katharine Norwell, for example, the widow of the celebrated printer Thomas Bassendyne, dated 8th August

[1] As anticipated, Trinity College Church was taken down on the construction of the North British Railway in 1846. The stones having been almost entirely preserved, and a site obtained on a spot nearly opposite to where it originally stood, it is now (1872) being rebuilt.

[2] Maitland, pp. 211, 480.

1593, she leaves "to ewerie ane of the pure folkis in the Hospitall of the Trinitie College, and of the Toun College of the west end of the College Kirk, iij s. iiij d."[1]

One other collegiate church was enclosed within the walls of the ancient capital, known as that of St Mary in-the-Fields, or, more commonly, the Kirk-of-Field. We have already referred to it as the scene of one of the most extraordinary deeds of violence that the history of any age or country records—the murder of Darnley, the husband of Queen Mary, perpetrated by Bothwell and his accomplices on the night of the 9th of February 1567, when the Provost's house, in which he lodged, was blown into the air with gunpowder, involving both Darnley and his servant in the ruins.[2] When young Roland Græme, the hero of the *Abbot*, draws near for the first time to the Scottish capital, under the guidance of the bluff falconer, Adam Woodcock, he is represented exclaiming on a sudden—"Blessed Lady, what goodly house is that which is lying all in ruins so close to the city? Have they been playing at the Abbot of Unreason here, and ended the gambol by burning the church?" The ruins that excited young Græme's astonishment were none other than those of the Kirk-of-Field, which stood on the sight of the present University buildings. It appears in the view of 1544, as a large cross church, with a lofty central tower; and the general accuracy of this representation is in some degree confirmed by the correspondence of the tower to another view of it taken immediately after the murder of Darnley, when the church was in ruins. The latter drawing, which has evidently been made in order to convey an accurate idea of the scene of the murder to the English Court, is preserved in the State Paper Office, and a fac-simile of it is given in Chalmers' Life of Queen Mary. The history of the Collegiate Church of St Mary in-the-Fields presents scarcely any other feature of interest than that which attaches to it as the scene of so strange and memorable a tragedy. Its age and its founder are alike unknown. It was governed by a provost, who, with eight prebendaries and two choristers, composed the college, with the addition of an hospital for poor bedemen; and it is probable that its foundation dated no earlier than the fifteenth century, as all the augmentations of it which are mentioned in the "Inventar of Pious Donations," belong to the sixteenth century. Bishop Lesley records, in 1558, that "the Erle of Argyle and all his cumpanie entered in the toune of Edinburgh without anye resistance, quhair thay war weill receaved; and suddantlie the Black and Gray Freris places war spulyeit and cassin doune, the haill growing treis plucked up be the ruittis; the Trinitie College and all the prebindaris houses thairof lykewise cassin doun; the altaris and images within Sanct Gelis Kirke and the Kirk-of-Field destroyed and brint."[3] It seems probable, however, that the Collegiate Church of St Mary-in-the-Field was already shorn of its costliest spoils before the Reformers of the Congregation visited it in 1558. In the "Inventory of the Townis purchase from the Marquis of Hamilton, in 1613," with a view to the founding of the college, we have found an abstract of "a feu charter granted by Mr Alexander Forrest, provost of the Collegiate Church of the blessed Mary in-the-Fields near Edin^r, and by the prebends of the said church," bearing date 1554, wherein, among other reasons specified, it is stated: "considering that ther houses, especialy ther hospital annexed and incorporated with ther college, were burnt doun and destroyed by their auld enemies of England, so that nothing of their said hospital was left, but they are altogether waste and entirely

[1] Bannatyne Misc., vol. ii. p. 221. [2] Ante, p. 78. [3] Lesley, p. 275.

destroyed; wherethrough the divine worship is not a little decreaced in the college, because they were unable to rebuild the said hospital; . . Therefore they gave, granted, set in feu farme, and confirmed to a magnificent and illustrious Prince, James Duke of Chattelarault, Earl of Arran, Lord Hamilton, &c., all and hail their tenement or hospital, with the yards and pertinents thereof; lying within the burgh of Edinburgh in the street or wynd called School-House Wynd, on the east part thereof." The Duke of Chatelherault appears, from frequent allusions by contemporary annals, to have built a mansion for his own use on the site of the Hospital of St Mary's Collegiate Church, which afterwards served as the first hall of the new college. The Town Council proceeded leisurely, yet with hearty zeal, in the gradual extension of the college; and frequent notices in the Council Records prove the progress of the buildings. On the 25th June 1656, the following entry occurs:—"For the better carieing on of the buildinges in the colledge, there is a necessetie to break down and demolishe the hous neirest to the Patterraw Port, quich now the *Court du Guaird* possesseth; thairfoir ordaines the thesaurer, with John Milne, to visite the place, and to doe therein what they find expedient, as weill for demolishing the said hous, as for provyding the Court du Guaird uterwayis." Private citizens largely promoted the same laudable object, not only by pecuniary contributions, but by building halls and suits of chambers at their own cost. No regular plan, however, was adopted, and the old college buildings at the time of their demolition presented a rude assemblage of edifices of various dates and very little pretension to ornament.

Beyond the walls of the capital the ancient Parish Church of Restalrig was erected by James III. into a Collegiate Church for a dean and canons; and the college was subsequently enlarged both by James IV. and V., as well as by numerous contributions from private individuals. It must have been a large church, with probably collegiate buildings of considerable extent attached to it, if we may judge from the uses to which its materials were applied.[1] The village also appears to have been a place of much greater size and importance than we can form any conception of from its present remains. It was no doubt in early times the chief town of the barony, and a much more extensive one than the Port of Leith. During the siege of the latter in 1559–60, Bishop Lesley informs us that "the Lord Gray, lieutennent of the Inglis army, ludged in Lestalrig toun, in the Deanis hous, and mony of all thair hors and demi-lances."[2] The choir, which is the only part that has escaped demolition, is a comparatively small, though very neat specimen of decorated English Gothic. It remained in a ruinous state until a few years since, when it was restored and fitted up with some degree of taste as a Chapel of Ease for the neighbouring district. A church is believed to have existed here at a very early period, as it was celebrated for the tomb of Saint Triduana, a noble virgin who is said to have come from Achaia in the fourth century, in company with St Rule, and to have died at Restalrig. Her tomb was the resort of numerous pilgrims, and the scene as was believed of many miracles.[3] By a

[1] Ante, p. 83.

[2] Lesley, p. 284.

[3] The miracles ascribed to St Triduana were chiefly wrought on diseased eyes; and she is accordingly frequently painted carrying her eyes on a salver or on the point of a sword. Lindsay speaks of pilgrims going "to St Tredwell to mend their eue;" and again in his curious inventory of saints in *The Monarchie*:—

Sanct Tredwall, als, thare may be sene,
Quhilk on ane prick hes baith her ene.

charter of James IV., dated a few months before the Battle of Flodden, the Abbots of Holyrood and Newbottle are empowered to erect into a new prebendary the chapelry of St Triduan's aisle, founded in the Collegiate Church of Restalrig by James Bishop of Ross. The existence both of the church and parish at the death of Alexander III. is proved by various charters. In 1291, Adam of St Edmunds, parson of Lestalric, obtained a writ to the Sheriff of Edinburgh to put him in possession of his lands and rights; and the same ecclesiastic swore fealty to Edward in 1296.[1] The portion of the choir now remaining cannot date earlier than the fourteenth century, and is much plainer than might be expected in a church enriched by the contributions of three successive monarchs, and the resort of so many devout pilgrims, as to excite the special indignation of one of the earliest assemblies of the Kirk as a monument of idolatry. An ancient crypt or mausoleum of an octangular form and of large dimensions, stands on the south side of the church. It is constructed internally with a groined roof springing from a single pillar in the centre; and is still more beautifully adorned externally with some venerable yews that have taken root in the soil accumulated on its roof. This ancient mausoleum is believed to have been erected by Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, knight, in the earlier part of the sixteenth century,[2] and has evidently been constructed on the model of St Margaret's Well, which still stands in its neighbourhood. It afterwards became the property of the Lords Balmerinoch, and on their forfeiture in 1746 it passed to the Earls of Bute, whose property it now remains. In the year 1560 the Assembly, by a decree dated December 21, "finds that the ministrie of the word and sacraments of God, and assemblie of the peiple of the whole parochin of Restalrig, be within the Kirk of Leith; and that the Kirk of Restalrig, as a monument of idolatrie, be raysit and utterly castin doun and destroyed;"[3] and eleven years thereafter we find its materials taken to build a new port at the Nether Bow.

Not far from the ancient Collegiate Church of Restalrig, on the old road to Holyrood Abbey, is the beautiful Gothic Well dedicated to St Margaret, the Patron Saint of Scotland. An octagonal building rises internally to the height of about four and a half feet, of plain ashlar work, with a stone ledge or seat running round seven of the sides, while the eighth is occupied by a pointed arch which forms the entrance to the well. From the centre of the water which fills the whole area of the building, pure as in the days of the pious Queen, a decorated pillar rises to the same height as the walls, with grotesque gurgoils, from which the water has originally been made to flow. Above this springs a beautiful groined roof, presenting, with the ribs that rise from corresponding corbels at each of the eight angles of the building, a singularly rich effect when illuminated by the reflected light from the water below. A few years since this curious fountain stood by the side of the ancient and little frequented cross-road leading from the Abbey Hill to the village of Restalrig. A fine old elder tree, with its knotted and furrowed branches, spread a luxuriant covering over its grass-grown top, and a rustic little thatched cottage stood in front of it, forming altogether a most attractive object of antiquarian pilgrimage. Unhappily, however, the inexorable march of modern improvement has visited the spot. A station of the North British Railway now occupies the site of the old elder tree and the rustic cottage;

[1] Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 785.

[2] "Obitus domini Roberti Logane, militis, donatoris fundi preceptorie Sancti Anthonii prope Leith, anno Domini 1439."—Obituary of the Preceptory of St Anthony.

[3] The Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 5.

and the well has to be sought for within the recesses of a dark and unsightly drain, grudgingly constructed by the Railway Directors after an interdict had arrested them in the process of demolishing the ancient Gothic building, and stopping the fountain, whose miraculous waters—once the resort of numerous pilgrims— seem to find a few, even in our own day, who manifest the same faith in their healing virtues.[1]

Most of the smaller convents and chapels within the capital have already been treated of along with the other features of their ancient localities. One, however, still remains to be noticed, not the least value of which is, that it still exists entire, and with some unusually rare relics of its original decorations. In early times there existed in the Cowgate, a little to the east of the old monastery of the Grey Friars, an ancient *Maison Dieu*, as it was styled, which, having fallen into decay, was refounded in the reign of James V., chiefly by the contributions of Michael Macquhen, a wealthy citizen of Edinburgh, and afterwards of his widow, Janet Rynd. The hospital and chapel were dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, and by the will of the foundress were left in trust to the Corporation of Hammermen, by whom the latter is now used as a hall for their own meetings. The foundation was subsequently augmented by two several donations from Hugh Lord Somerville in 1541; and though the building doubtless shared in the general ruin that swept over the capital in 1544, they must have been very speedily repaired, as the windows are still adorned with the ancient painted glass, containing the royal arms of Scotland encircled with a wreath of thistles, and those of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, within a laurel wreath, along with the shields of the founder and foundress also enclosed in ornamental borders. One other fragment, a Saint Bartholomew, has strangely escaped the general massacre of 1559, that involved the destruction of all the other apostles. The workmanship of the latter is decidedly inferior to that of the heraldic emblazonry—its hues have evidently faded; while the deep ruby and bright yellow of the royal arms still exhibit the unrivalled brilliancy of the old glass-painters' work. These fragments of ancient painted glass possess a peculiar value, as scarcely another specimen of the Art in Scotland has escaped the destructive fury of the reforming mobs. Another unusual, though not equally rare feature, is the tomb of the foundress, which remains at the east end of the chapel, with the inscription round its border in ancient Gothic characters:—

> Heir lyis ane honorabil woman, Janet Rynd, ye Spous of umquhil Micel Makquhen, burges of Ed. founder of yis place, and deceissit ye iiij day of Decem^r A^o. dno. m^o. v^o. vij^o.[2]

The centre of the stone is occupied with the arms of the founders, husband and wife, impaled on one shield. This sculptured slab is now level with a platform which occupies the

[1] Lectures on the Antiquities of Edinburgh, by a Member of the Holy Guild of St Joseph. Part iv. p. 126.

[2] The date assigned by Pennecuick for the death of the foundress is 1553; but this seems to be a mistake. She speaks in the charter of her husband having resolved on this Christian work when "greatly troubled with a heavy disease, and *oppressed with age*," and as his endowment is dated 1503, this would make his widow survive him exactly half a century. The date on the tomb is difficult to decipher, being much worn, but it appears to be 1507. The deed executed by her is said to be dated so late as 1545, but the original is lost, and only a partial transcript exists among the records of the Corporation of Hammermen. If such be the correct date, it is strange that no notice should be taken of the burning of the town by the English the previous year, although the deed refers to property lying in the High Street, and in various closes and wynds, which must then have been in ruins, or just rising from their ashes. The deed of 1545 is possibly an abstract of previous ones, including those of Lord Somerville, as it specifies his barony of Carnwath Miln, without naming him.

east end of the chapel for the accommodation of the officials of the Corporation of Hammermen during their meetings; but it is probable from its elevation that it is an altar tomb, the sides of which may also be decorated with sculpture, though so long hidden by the Corporation *Dais*. The date of the foundation of the hospital is 1503, but the charter by which its augmentation and permanent establishment was secured by the widow of its founder is said to be dated so late as 1545—the year succeeding the total destruction of the whole town. It is at any rate a document of that age, and is not only curious as one of the latest deeds executed for such a purpose, but is characterised by a degree of naïvete as rare in legal documents of the sixteenth century as now. It runs thus:—"To all and sundry, to whois knowledge thir presents sall come, and be seen, I Jonet Ryne, relict, executrix, and only intromissatrix, with the guds and gear of umquhil Michael Macquhan, burges of Edinburgh, wishing peace in our Lord, makes known by thir presents, That when the said Michael was greatly troubled with an heavy disease, and oppressed with age, zit mindful of eternal life, he esteemed it ane gud way to obtain eternal life to erect some christian work, for ever to remain and endure: He left seven hundred pound, to be employed for the supplement of the edifice of the Magdalen chapell, and to the other edifices, for foundation of the chapel and sustentation of seven poor men, who should continually there put forth their prayers to God Almighty; for there was many others that had promised to mortifye some portion of their goods for perfeiting and absolveing of the said wark, but they failzied, and withdrew from such an holly and religious work, and altogether refused thereupon to confer the samen. Quhilk thing I taking heavily, and pondering it in my heart, what in such an dificle business sould be done; at last, I thought night and day upon the fulfilling of my husband's will, and took upon me the burden of the haill wark, and added two thousand pounds to the £700 left be my husband: And I did put furth these soumes wholly, after his death, upon the edification of that chapel, ornaments thereof, and building of the edifice for the habitation of the chaplane, and seven poor men, and for buying of land, as well field-land, as burgh-land, and yearly annualrents, for the nourishment, sustentation, and clothing of them, as hereafter mair largely set down. *Therefore, wit ye me*, To the praise and honour of Almighty God, and of his mother the Blissed Virgin Mary, and of Mary Magdallen, and of the haill celestial court, to have erected and edified ane certain chapell and hospital-house, lyeing in the burgh of Edinburgh, upon the south side of the King's high street, called the Cowgate, for habitation of the foresaid chaplain and poor, and that from the foundation thereof; and has dedicate the samen to the name of Mary Magdallen, and has foundit the said chaplain, and seven poor, for to give forth their continual prayers unto God, for the salvation of the soul of our most illustrious Mary Queen of Scots, and for the salvation of my said umquhil husband's soul and mine: And also, for the salvation of the souls of our fathers and mothers, and for all the souls of those that shall put to their helping hand, or sall give any thing to this work: As also, for the patrons of the said chapel: And also, for the souls of all those of whom we have had any thing whilk we have not restored, and for the whilk we have not given satisfaction; to have given and granted, and by this my present charter in poor and perpetual alms, and to have confirmed in mortification: As also, to give and grant, and by this present charter, gives in poor alms and mortification, to confirm to Almighty God, with the Blessed Virgin Mary, the said chapell and chapell-house, for the sustentation of ane secular chaplain, and seven poor men, and

for the chaplain, and four poor brethren, to have their yearly food, and perpetual sustentation within the said hospital; and for buying of their habits every twa year once, I mortify these annualrents under-written," &c.[1] After very minute directions for the appointment of the chaplain and the management of the hospital, it is provided:—"And farder, the said chaplane, every year, once in the year, for the said Michael and Jonet, sall make suffrages, which is, 'I am pleased,' and 'direct me, O Lord;' with ane Mess of rest, 'being naked, he clothed me;' with two wax candles burning on the altar. To the whilk suffrages and mess, he shall cause ring the chapel bell the space of ane quarter of an hour, and that all the foresaid poor, and others that shall be thereintill, shall be present at the foresaid mess with their habites, requesting all these that shall come in to hear the said mess to pray for the said souls. And farder, every day of the blessed Mary Magdallen, patron of the foresaid hospital, and the day of the indulgence of the said hospital, and every other day of the year, the said chaplaine shall offer up all the oblations, and for every oblation shall have twa wax candles upon the altar, and twa at the foot of the image of the patron in twa brazen candlesticks, and twa wax torches on the feast of the nativity of our Saviour, Pasch, and Whitsunday, of the days of Mary Magdallen, and of the days of the indulgences granted to the said hospital, and doubleing at other great feasts, with twa wax candles alenerly." Such were the provisions for the due observance of all the formulary of the services of the Church, which the chaplain on his induction was bound "to give his great oath, by touching the sacred Evangile," that he would neither infringe nor suffer to be altered. It is probable that the chapel was hardly built ere the whole scheme of its founders was totally overthrown. Certain evidence at least tends to show, that neither the steeple nor its fine-toned bell ever fulfilled the will of the foundress, by summoning the bedemen and all who chose to muster at the call to pray for the repose of the founders' souls. The chapel is adorned at its east end with the royal arms, the city arms, and the armorial bearing of twenty-two corporations, who unite to form the ancient body known as the United Incorporation of Hammermen, the guardians of the sacred banner, the Blue Blanket, on the unfurling of which every liege burgher of the kingdom is bound to answer the summons. The north and east walls of the chapel are almost entirely occupied with a series of tablets recording the gifts of numerous benefactors. The earliest of these is probably a daughter of the founder, "Isobel Macquhane, spouse to Gilb^{t} Lauder, merchant burgess of Edin^{r}, who bigged ye crose house, and mortified £50 yearly out of the Cousland, anno 1555." Another records that, "John Spens, burgess of Edinburgh, bestowed 100 lods of Wesland lime for building the stipel of this chapell, anno 1621." Here, therefore, is the date of erection of the steeple, which receives corroboration from its general features, with the old-fashioned gurgoils in the form of ornamental cannons, each with a bullet ready to issue from its mouth. The furnishing of the steeple with "The Chapel Bell" appears to have been the subject of still further delay, as the bell bears this legend around it, in Roman characters:—SOLI DEO GLORIA · MICHAEL BURGERHUYS ME FECIT, ANNO 1632; and in smaller characters, GOD BLIS THE HAMMERMEN OF MAGDALENE CHAPEL." The bell is still rung according to the will of the foundress, however different be the objects answered by its warning note; and it was further applied, soon after its erection, to summon the inhabitants of the neighbouring district to the parish

[1] Hist. of the Blue Blanket, &c., by Alexander Pennecuick, p. 46–48.

church, as appears from the Corporation records:—"16 June, 1641, the Grayfriars' Kirk-Session applied to the Corporation, in order to have the Magdalane Chapple bell rung on their account, for which they agreed to pay £40 Scots yearly, which was agreed to during pleasure."[1]

This ancient chapel claims our interest now as the arena of proceedings strangely different from those contemplated by its founders. In 1560, John Craig, a Scottish Dominican monk, returned to his native country after an absence of twenty-four years, during which he had experienced a succession of as remarkable vicissitudes as are recorded of any individual in that eventful age. He had resided as chaplain in the family of Lord Dacre, an English nobleman, and was afterwards appointed to an honourable office in the Dominican monastery at Bologna, through the favourable recommendations of the celebrated Cardinal Pole. The chance discovery of a copy of Calvin's Institutes in the convent library led to an entire change in his religious opinions, in consequence of which he was compelled to fly; and being at length seized, he endured a tedious imprisonment in the dungeons of the Roman Inquisition. From this he was delivered the very day before that fixed for an Auto-da-fé in which he was doomed to suffer at the stake, in consequence of the tumultuous rejoicing of the Roman population on the death of the Pope, Paul IV., in 1559, when the buildings of the Inquisition were pillaged, and its dungeons broken open. Thence he escaped, amid many strange adventures, first to Bologna, and then to Vienna, where he was appointed chaplain to the Emperor Maximilian II. After a time, however, the Inquisition found him out, and demanded his being delivered up to suffer the judgment already decreed. This it was that compelled his return to Scotland, at the very time when his countrymen were carrying out a system in conformity with his new opinions. He found, however, on revisiting his country after so long an absence, that he had almost entirely forgot his native tongue, and he accordingly preached in Latin for a considerable time, in St Magdalene's Chapel, to such scholars as his learning and abilities attracted to hear him. He afterwards became the colleague and successor of Knox, and as such published the banns of marriage in St Giles's Church, preparatory to the fatal union of Queen Mary with Bothwell. We learn also from Melville's Diary, that "The Generall Assemblie conveinit at Edinbruche in Apryll 1578, in the Magdalen Chapell. Mr Andro Melvill was chosin Moderator, whar was concludit, That Bischopes sould be callit be thair awin names, or be the names of *Breither* in all tyme coming, and that lordlie name and authoritie banissed from the Kirk of God, quhilk hes bot a Lord, Chryst Jesus."[2] One other incident concerning the ancient chapel worthy of recording is, that in 1661 the body of the Marquis of Argyle was carried thither, and lay in the chapel for some days, until it was removed by his friends to the family sepulchre at Kilmun, while his head was affixed to the north gable of the Tolbooth.

The Abbey of Holyrood, though a far more wealthy and important ecclesiastical establishment than St Giles's College, or any other of the ancient religious foundations of the Scottish capital, may be much more summarily treated of here. Its foundation charter still exists, and the dates of its successive enlargements and spoliations have been made the subject of careful investigation by some of our ablest historians. The

[1] Archæologia Scotica, p. 177.

[2] Melville's Diary, Wodrow Soc. p. 61.

foundation of St David's Abbey has already been referred to, with the picturesque legend from whence it derives its name. The beautiful fragment of the Abbey Church which still remains, forming the nave of the ancient building, retains numerous traces of the original work of the twelfth century, though enriched by the additions of a later age. The earliest drawing of the Abbey and Palace that exists is the bird's-eye view of 1544, where it is marked by its English draughtsman as "the King of Skotts palis," although the sole claimant to the throne at that date was the infant daughter of James V. A comparison of this with the portions still remaining leaves little doubt of its general accuracy. The Abbey Church appears with a second square tower at the west front, uniform with the one still standing to the north of the great doorway. The transepts are about the usual proportions, but the choir is much shorter than it is proved from other evidence to have originally been, the greater part of it having, perhaps, been reduced to ruins before the view was taken. During the levelling of the ground around the Palace, and digging a foundation for the substantial railing with which it was recently enclosed, the workmen came upon the bases of two pillars, in a direct line with the nave, on the site of the east railings, proving that the ancient choir had been of unusual length. A mound of earth which extends still further to the east, no doubt marks the foundations of other early buildings, and from their being in the direct line of the building, it is not improbable that a Lady Chapel, or other addition to the Abbey Church, may have stood to the east of the choir, as is frequently the case in larger cathedral and abbey churches. A curious relic of the ancient tenants of the monastery was found by the workmen already referred to, consisting of a skull, which had no doubt formed the solitary companion of one of the monks. It had a hole in the top of the cranium, which served most probably for securing a crucifix; and over the brow was traced in antique characters the appropriate maxim, *Memento Mori*. This solitary relic of the furniture of the Abbey was procured by the late Sir Patrick Walker, and is still in the possession of his family. The English army that "brent the abbey called Holyrode house, and the pallice adjonynge to the same," in 1544, returned to complete the destruction of the Abbey in 1547, almost immediately after the accession of Edward VI. to his father's throne. Their proceedings are thus recorded by the English chronicler: —"Thear stode south-westward, about a quarter of a mile from our campe, a monasterie: they call it Hollyroode Abbey. Sir Water Bonham and Edward Chamberlayne gat lycense to suppresse it; whearupon these commissioners, making first theyr visitacion thear, they found the moonks all gone, but the church and mooch parte of the house well covered with leade. Soon after, thei pluct of the leade and had down the bels, which wear but two; and according to the statute, did somewhat hearby disgrace the hous. As touching the moonkes, bicaus they wear gone, thei put them to their pencions at large."[1] It need hardly excite surprise, that the invaders should not find matters quite according to the statute, with so brief an interval between such *visitacions*. The state in which they did find the Abbey, proves that it had been put in effectual repair immediately after their former visit.

The repeated burnings of the Abbey by the English army were doubtless the chief cause of the curtailment of the church to its present diminished size; yet abundant

[1] Patten's Expedition to Scotland. Frag. of Scot. Hist.

evidence remains to show that the choir and transepts were in existence fully a quarter of a century later, and that had the necessary exertions been then made for its repair, we might still have possessed the ancient building in its original and magnificent proportions, instead of the ruined nave, which alone remains to show what once had been. In "the heads of the accusation and chief offences laid to Adam, Bishop of Orknay, his charge," by the General Assembly of 1569, the fifth is, that "all the said kirks, for the most part, wherein Christ's evangell may be preached, are decayed, and made, some sheepfolds, and some so ruinous, that none darre enter into them for fear of falling; specially Halrudhouse, although the bishop of Sanct Andrews, in time of papistry, sequestrate the whole rents of the said abbacy, because only the glassen windows were not holden up and repaired."[1] To this the Bishop replied, "That the Abbay Church of Halyrudhouse hath been, these 20 years bygane, ruinous through decay of two principall pillars, so that none were assured under it; and two thousand pounds bestowed upon it would not be sufficient to ease men to the hearing of the word, and ministration of the sacraments. But with their consent, and help of ane established authority, he was purposed to provide the means, that the superfluous ruinous parts, to wit, the Queir and Croce Kirk, might be disponed be faithfull men, to repair the remanent sufficiently."[2] The Bishop's economical plan was no doubt put in force, and the whole of the choir and transept soon after demolished and sold, to provide funds for converting the nave into the Parish Kirk of the Canongate. The two western pillars, designed to support a great central tower, now form the sides of the east window constructed within the arch, and an examination of the masonry with which the lower parts of this and the side arches are closed, shows that it is entirely built with fragments of clustered shafts and other remains of the ruins. It was at this time, we presume, that the new royal vault was constructed in the south aisle of the nave, and the remains of the Scottish kings removed from their ancient resting-place near the high altar of the Abbey Church. It is built against the ancient Norman doorway of the cloisters, which still remains externally, with its beautiful shafts and zigzag mouldings, an undoubted relic of the original fabric of St David. The cloisters appear to have enclosed a large court, formed in the angle of the nave and south transept. The remains of the north side are clearly traceable still, and the site of the west side is now occupied by the Palace buildings. Here was the ambulatory for the old monks, when the magnificent foundation of St David retained its pristine splendour, and it remained probably till the burning of the Abbey after the death of James V. We learn on the occasion of the marriage of James IV. with the Princess Margaret of England, that "after all reverences doon at the Church, in ordere as before, the Kyng transported himself to the Pallais, through the clostre, holdynge always the Queen by the body, and hys hed bare, till he had brought hyr within her chammer."

The west front, as it now remains, is evidently the work of very different periods. It has been curtailed of the south tower to admit of the completion of the quadrangle according to the design of Sir William Bruce, and the singular and unique windows over the great doorway are evidently additions of the time of Charles I., whose initials appear

[1] Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, p. 163.

[2] Ibid, p. 167.

below, on the oak beam of the great doorway. Between the windows an ornamental tablet of the same date, and decorated in the style of the period, bears the inscription :—BASILICAM HANC, CAROLVS REX, OPTIMVS INSTAVRAVIT, 1633; with the further addition in English ;—HE SHALL BUILD A HOUSE FOR MY NAME, AND I WILL ESTABLISH THE THRONE OF HIS KINGDOM FOR EVER ; a motto of strange significance, when we consider the events that so speedily befell its inscriber, and the ruin that overwhelmed the royal race of the Stuarts, as with the inevitable stroke of destiny. The chief portions of the west front, however, are in the most beautiful style of early English, which succeeded that of the Norman. The details on the west front of the tower, in particular, with its elaborately sculptured arcade, and boldly cut heads between the arches, and the singularly rich variety of ornament in the great doorway, altogether unite to form a specimen of early ecclesiastical architecture unsurpassed by any building of similar dimensions in the kingdom. A beautiful doorway on the north side, in a much later style, is evidently the work of Abbot Crawfurd, by whom the buttresses of the north side were rebuilt as they now remain, in the ornate style of the fifteenth century. He succeeded to the abbacy in 1457, and according to his namesake, in the "Lives of Officers of State," he rebuilt the Abbey Church from the ground. Abundant evidence still exists in the ruins that remain to disprove so sweeping a statement, but the repetition of his arms on various parts of the building prove the extensive alterations that were effected under his directions. He was succeeded by Abbot Ballantyne, equally celebrated as a builder, who appears to have completed the work which his predecessor had projected. Father Hay records, that "he brocht hame the gret bellis, the gret brasin fownt, twintie fowr capis of gold and silk; he maid ane chalice of fine gold, ane eucharist, with sindry chalicis of silver; he theikkit the kirk with leid; he biggit ane brig of Leith, ane othir ouir Clide; with mony othir gude workis, qwilkis ware ouir prolixt to schaw."[1]

The brazen font here mentioned was carried off by Sir Richard Lee, captain of the English pioneers in the Earl of Hertford's army, and presented to the Abbey Church of St Alban's, with a gasconading Latin inscription engraved on it, which may be thus rendered :—"When Leith, a town of some celebrity in Scotland, and Edinburgh, the chief city of that nation, were on fire, Sir Richard Lee, Knight of the Garter, snatched me from the flames, and brought me to England. In gratitude for such kindness, I who heretofore served only to baptize the children of Kings, now offer the same service to the meanest of the English nation. Lee, the conqueror, so wills it. Farewell. A.D. 1543–4. 36 Hen. VIII." This font a second time experienced the fate of war, during the commotions of Charles I.'s reign, when the ungrateful *Southron*, heedless of its condescending professions, sold it as a lump of useless metal.[2] Seacome, in his History of the House of Stanley, refers to an old but somewhat confused tradition of an ancestor of the family of Norris of Speke Hall, Lancashire, who commanded a company, as would appear from other sources, at the Battle of Pinkie, "in token whereof, he brought

[1] Liber Cartarum, p. xxxii.

[2] Camden's Britannia, by Gough, vol. i. p. 338, where the original Latin inscription is given.

from the deceased King of Scots' Palace all or most of his princely library, many books of which are now at Speke, particularly four large folios, said to contain the Records and Laws of Scotland at that time. He also brought from the said Palace the Wainscot of the King's Hall, and put it up in his own hall at Speke, wherein are seen all the orders of architecture, as Tuscan, Dorick, Ionick, Corinthian, and Composite; and round the top of it this inscription, 'SLEEPE . NOT . TILL . YE . HATHE . CONSEDERD . HOW . THOW . HAST . SPENT . YE . DAY . PAST . IF . THOW . HAVE . WELL . DON . THANK . GOD . IF . OTHER . WAYS . REPENT . YE.' "[1] Speke Hall still exists as one of the fine old manor-houses of Lancashire, and could this tradition be relied on would form an object of peculiar attraction, as the antique wainscot with its quaint moral still adorns the great hall. It proves, however, to be the work of a later age, corresponding to similar specimens in the neighbouring halls, erected in the reign of Elizabeth. It might, indeed, be confidently affirmed, that the Roman orders were not introduced into Scotland till a considerably later period; but the above description answers very partially to the original. The tradition, however, is probably not altogether without foundation. Two figures of angels, richly gilt, "in form such as are introduced under consoles in Gothic architecture," formerly surmounted the wainscot, evidently no part of the original design, and these, it is conjectured, may have been among the spoils which were carried off from the Palace in 1547.[2]

The Abbey of Holyrood frequently afforded accommodation to the Scottish Court, before the addition of a distinct royal dwelling to the ancient monastic buildings. This, it is probable, was not effected till the reign of James IV. It is certain, at any rate, that large sums were spent by him in building and decorating the Palace during the interval of four years between his betrothment and marriage to Margaret of England. In the map to which we have so frequently referred, the present north-west tower, which forms the only ancient portion of the Palace as it now stands, is shown standing almost apart, and only joined to the south-west tower of the Abbey Church by a low cloister. To the south of this appears an irregular group of buildings, of considerable extent, and apparently covered with tiles, while the whole houses in the Canongate seem, from the colouring of the drawing, to be only thatched. It is not necessary, however, further to investigate the early history of the Palace here, as most of the remarkable historical incidents associated with it have already been referred to.

The latest writer who has left any account of the old Palace is John Taylor, the Water poet, in the amusing narrative of his *Pennylesse Pilgrimage to Scotland in* 1618. The following is his description:—"I was at his Majestie's Palace, a stately and princely seate, wherein I saw a sumptuous Chappell, most richly adorned with all appurtenances belonging to so sacred a place, or so royall an owner. In the inner court I saw the King's Armes cunningly carved in stone, and fixed over a doore aloft on the wall, the Red Lyon being the Crest, over which was written this inscription in Latin:—*Nobis hæc invicta miserunt* 106 *Proavi.* I inquired what the English of it was? it was told me as followeth, which I thought worthy to be recorded—106 *Fore-fathers have left this to us unconquered;*"—an interpretation which leads the Water poet into a series of very loyal

[1] *Vide* Archæologia Scotica, vol. iv.; from whence the inscription is correctly given.

[2] Ibid, p. 14.

reflections on "this worthy and memorable motto!" The visit of Taylor to the Palace and Chapel was almost immediately after that of James VI. to Scotland, so that he no doubt saw them in all the splendour which had been prepared for the King's reception. The palace was probably abandoned to neglect and decay after the last visit of Charles I. in 1641, otherwise it is probable that Cromwell would have taken up his abode there during his residence in Edinburgh. The improvements, however, effected by Charles, both on the Palace and Abbey Church, appear to have been considerable. One beautiful memorial of his residence there is the elaborately carved sun-dial which still adorns the north garden of the Palace, and is usually known as Queen Mary's Dial, although the cipher of her grandson, with those of his Queen and the Prince of Wales, are repeated on its most prominent carvings. The Palace was converted into barracks by Cromwell soon after his arrival in Edinburgh, and as Nicoll relates, "ane number of the Englisches futemen being ludgit within the Abay of Haly Rud Hous, it fell out that upone an Weddinsday, being the threttene day of November 1650, the haill royall pairt of that palice wes put in flame, and brint to the ground on all the pairtes thairof."[1] The diarist, however, has afterwards qualified this sweeping assertion by adding, "except a lyttel;" and there is good reason for believing that the oldest portion of the Palace, usually known as James the Fifth's Tower, entirely escaped the conflagration, as its furniture, if not so old as Queen Mary's time, certainly at least dates in the reign of Charles I., some of it being marked with the cipher of that monarch and his Queen, Henrietta Maria. A fac-simile of a rare print, after a drawing by Gordon of Rothiemay, in the first volume of the Bannatyne Miscellany, preserves the only view of the Palace that has come down to us as it existed prior to this conflagration. The main entrance appears to occupy nearly the same site as at present. It is flanked on either side by round embattled towers, or rather semicircular bow windows, between which is a large panel, surmounting the grand gateway, and bearing the royal arms of Scotland. A uniform range of building, pierced with large windows, extends on either side, and is flanked on the north by the great tower which still remains, but finished above the battlements as represented in the vignette on page 34. The empty panels also which still remain in the front turrets appear to have been filled with sculptured armorial bearings. No corresponding tower existed at the south-west corner of the building until its remodelling by Sir William Bruce.

The Palace was speedily rebuilt by order of the Protector, but his work came under revision soon after the Restoration. The directions given by Charles II. for its alteration and completion enter into the minutest details, among which such commands as the following were probably dictated with peculiar satisfaction:—"Wee doe hereby order you to cause that parte thereof which was built by the usurpers, and doth darken the court, to be taken down."[2] The zeal with which both Charles II. and James VII. devoted

[1] Nicoll's Diary, p. 35.

[2] Royal warrants. Liber. Cart. p. cxxix. The royal orders would appear to have been occasionally departed from, *e.g.*, the Earl of Lauderdale writes, by command of Charles II., in 1671:—"His Maj^ties likes the front very well as it is Designed, provided the gate where the King's coach is to come in be large enough, As also he likes the taking doune of that narrow upper parte which was built in Cromwell's time. Hee likes not the covering of all that betwixt the two great toures with platform at the second storie, but would have it heightened to a third storie, as all the inner court is, and sklaited with skaily as the rest of the court is to be;" in all which respects the original design has evidently been carried out, notwithstanding his Majesty's directions to the contrary.

themselves to the restoration of the ancient palace of their fathers, would almost seem to imply the forethought of securing a fit retreat for them in the ancient capital of the Stuarts, in case of their being again driven from the English throne. On the north-west pier of the piazza, within the quadrangle of the Palace, the following inscription, in large Roman characters, marks the site of the foundation-stone of the modern works:—FVN · BE · RO · MYLNE · MM · IVL · 1671 ·

The chief popular interest which attaches to the Palace arises from its associations with the eventful reign of Queen Mary, and the romance that clings to the name of her unfortunate descendant Prince Charles, though there is a nameless charm about the grey ruins of the Abbey, and the deserted halls of the Palace of our old kings, which no Scotsman can resist. A noble and a doomed race have passed away for ever from these scenes of many a dark tragedy in which they acted or suffered, yet not without leaving memories to haunt the place, and all the more vividly that no fortunate rival intrudes to break the spell. In the accompanying engraving of the interior of the Chapel, a point of view has been chosen which shows the royal vault, the cloister door behind it, the Roxburgh vault, and the monument of Adam, Bishop of Orkney, attached to one of the pillars—a group including some of the most interesting features of the ruined nave. The royal vault was broken into by the revolutionary mob that spoiled the Chapel Royal in 1688, and it was again rifled after the fall of the roof in 1768, in consequence of the folly of those employed to repair it, who loaded it with a covering of huge flagstones, of a weight altogether disproportioned to the strength and age of the walls. On the latter occasion, the head of Queen Magdalene—which, when seen by Arnot in 1766, was entire, and even beautiful—and the skull of Darnley were carried off. The latter having come into the possession of Mr James Cummyng of the Lyon Office, the eccentric secretary of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, his life was rendered miserable thereafter by the persecutions of the shrewdish cicerone of the Chapel, who haunted him like the ghost of the murdered Darnley, and lived on his terrors by constant threats of exposure to the Barons of Exchequer. After his death the skull was traced to the collection of a statuary in Edinburgh, but all clue to it seems now lost.

A few old portraits, with sundry relics of the various noble occupants of the Palace in earlier times, form the only other objects of attraction to the curious visitor. Among the pictures in the Duke of Hamilton's apartments is one of the many questionable portraits of Queen Mary. It claims to be an original, in the dress in which she was executed, though, if the latter statement be true, it goes far to discredit its originality. Another fair lady, dressed as a shepherdess, and described as the work of Vandyke, though probably only a copy, is a portrait of Dorothy, Countess of Sutherland—Waller's *Sacharissa*. Here, too, are the portraits of two celebrated royal favourites, Jane Shore and Nell Gwynne, as the ciceroni of the Palace invariably persist in styling the latter, though in reality a portrait of her frail rival Moll Davies, and bearing a striking resemblance to her engraved portrait. It corresponds also to the latter in having black hair, whereas that of Nell was fair; but it is usual to confer the name of Nell Gwynne on all portraits of such frail beauties.[1]

[1] From Nell Gwynne's will, dated Oct. 18, 1687, and preserved at Doctors Commons, it appears that her real name was Margaret Symcott; so that the story of her descent from an ancient Welsh family is a spurious invention of courtly peerage writers, for the gratification of her *illustrious* descendants.

Among the representatives of the rougher sex in this very miscellaneous assemblage is a very sour-looking divine, dubbed John Knox, and a grave clergyman, probably of the time of Charles I., whose red calotte or skull cap, we presume, led to his being engraved both by Pennant and Pinkerton as Cardinal Beaton.[1] In the Marquis of Breadalbane's apartments there is a full-length portrait of Lady Isabella Thynne, daughter of the Earl of Holland, who perished on the scaffold during the great civil war. The lady is represented with a lute in her hand, for her great skill on which she is celebrated in the poems of Waller. Aubrey relates that her sister, "The beautiful Lady Diana Rich, as she was walking in her father's garden at Kenington, to take the fresh air before dinner, about eleven o'clock, being then very well, met with her own apparition, habit, and everything, as in a looking-glass." She died about a month thereafter of the smallpox; and her sister, the Lady Isabella, is affirmed to have received a similar warning before her death.[2] These and other portraits adorn the various lodgings of the different noblemen who possess apartments in the Palace; but many of them, being the private property of the noble lodgers, can hardly be considered as part of the decorations of Holyrood. The latest contribution to its walls is Wilkie's full-length portrait of George IV., in the Highland costume, as he appeared on his visit to the northern capital in 1822.

A much slighter survey will suffice for the remaining ecclesiastical foundations of the Scottish capital, of the majority of which no vestige now remains. Among the latter is the Monastery of Blackfriars of the order of St Dominic, founded by Alexander II. in 1230, which stood on the site of the Surgical Hospital. It is styled in the foundation charters *Mansio Regis*, that monarch having, we presume, bestowed on the friars one of the royal residences for their abode. It appears to have been a wealthy foundation, subsequently enlarged by gifts from Robert I. and James III., as well as by many private donations confirmed by the latter monarch in 1473.[3] The monastery was accidently destroyed by fire in 1528; but it is probable that the church was only partially injured by the conflagration, as it appears in the view of 1544 as a large cross church, with a central tower and lofty spire. It no doubt experienced its full share in the events of that disastrous year, and it had hardly recovered from these repeated injuries when the Reformers of 1558 completed its destruction.

The Monastery of the Greyfriars in the Grassmarket has already been described, and the venerable cemetery which has been made from its gardens frequently referred to. Over

[1] A portrait of Cardinal Beaton, copied, we believe, by Chambers from an original French painting, is now at St Mary's College, Blair, and another copy of the same hangs in the Refectory of St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh. It represents him about the age of 35, when he was ambassador at the French Court. The face is oval, the features regular, and the expression somewhat pensive, but very pleasing. He wears mustaches and an imperial, and we may add, bears not the slightest resemblance to the Holyrood portrait. On the background of the picture the following inscription is painted, most probably copied from the original portrait:—Le bienherevx David de Bethvne, Archevesque de St André, Chancelliere et Regent du royaume d'Ecosse, Cardinal et Legat a latere, fut massacré pour la foy en 1546.

[2] Law's Memorials, preface, p. lxvi.

[3] "Charter of confirmation of all Mortifications maid to the said Brethren Predicators in Edin^{r}, viz. One made be Alexander II., of an a. rent of 10 marks *de firmis burgalibus de Edin^{r}*. One made be George Seaton and Cristain Murray his spouse, of 20 marks yearly out of the lands of Hartshead and Clint. One made be Phillipia Moubray, Lady Barnebugle, of 20s. sterling, yearly, out of little Barnbugle. One made be Joan Barcklay of Kippe of 10s. yearly, out of the lands of Duddingstone and husband-lands thereof. One be Jo. Sudgine of 30s. 4d. out of his tenement of Leith, on the south side of the water thereof, between Alen Nepar's land on the East and Rottenrow on the West, 14 May 1473."—Inventar of Pious Donations, MS.

the entrance to the churchyard, at the foot of the Candlemaker Row, the following moral distich was originally inscribed:—

Remember, Man, as thou goes by,
As thou art now, so once was I;
As I am now, so shalt thou be;
Remember, Man, that thou must die.[1]

The principal gateway, opposite the east end of the church, is a work of more recent construction, and appears, from the records of Monteith, to have involved the destruction of the monument of no less illustrious a citizen than Alexander Miller, master tailor to King James VI., who died in the year 1616. The Old Greyfriars' Church, as it was styled, was suddenly destroyed by a fire which broke out on the morning of Sunday the 19th of January 1845, and presented to the astonished parishioners a blazing mass of ruins as they assembled for the services of the day. It bore on the north-east pillar the date 1613, and on a panel surmounting the east gable that of 1614, underneath the city arms. It was a clumsy, inconvenient, and ungainly edifice, with few historical associations and no architectural beauties to excite any regret at its removal. It is very different, however, with the surrounding churchyard, which it disfigured with its lumpish deformity. Its monuments and other memorials of the illustrious dead who repose there form an object of attraction no less for their interesting associations than their picturesque beauty; while it is memorable in Scottish history as the scene of the signing of the Covenant by the enthusiastic leaguers of 1638, and the place of captivity, under circumstances of peculiar cruelty, of the insurgent Covenanters taken in arms at Bothwell Brig. Like other great cemeteries it forms the peaceful resting-place of rival statesmen and politicians, and of many strangely diverse in life and fortune. Here mingle the ashes of George Heriot, the father of the royal goldsmith; George Buchanan, Alexander Henderson, Sir George Mackenzie, Sir James Stewart, Principal Carstairs, Sir John de Medina, the painter; Allan Ramsay, Colin Maclaurin, Thomas Ruddiman, and many others distinguished in their age for rank or genius.

The Carmelites, or Whitefriars, though introduced into Scotland in the thirteenth century, did not acquire an establishment in Edinburgh till 1518, when the Provost and Bailies, conveyed, by charter dated the 13th April, "to Jo. Malcolme, provincial of the Carmelites, and his successors, y^{r} lands of Green-side, with the chapell or kirk of the Holy Cross y^{r}of."[2] From this we learn that a chapel existed there in ancient times, of which no other record has been preserved, and adjoining it was a cross called the Rood of Greenside. It was the scene of martyrdom of David Stratoun and Norman Gourlay, a priest and layman, who were tried at Holyrood House, in the presence of James V.; and on the 27th of August 1534, were led "to a place besydis the Roode of Greynsyd, and thair thei two war boyth hanged and brunt, according to the mercy of the Papisticall Kirk."[3] The tradition has already been referred to that assigns the same locality for the burning of Major Weir. On the suppression of the order of Carmelites at the Reformation, John Robertson, a benevolent merchant, founded on the site of their convent an hospital for lepers, "pursuant

[1] Monteith's Theatrum Mortalium, p. 1. The last word is evidently intended to be pronounced in the old broad Scottish fashion, *dee*.

[2] Inventar of Pious Donations.

[3] Knox's Hist., Wodrow Soc., vol. i. p. 60.

to a vow on his receiving a signal mercy from God." The hospital was placed under the control of the Town Council, who drew up a series of most stringent statutes to secure the good conduct and above all the perfect isolation of the wretched inmates. A gallows was erected at the end of the hospital to enforce obedience, and even the opening of the gate between sunset and sunrise was declared punishable with the halter. The grassy vale, within whose natural amphitheatre the earliest exhibitions of the regular drama were witnessed by the Court of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, and where the crowds of the neighbouring capital were attracted at one time by the pastimes that accompanied a *Wapinschaw*, and at another by the terrors of judicial vengeance, retained till near the close of last century nearly the same features that led to its selection for such displays in the reign of James II. Pennant, writing in 1769, remarks:—"In my walk this evening I passed by a deep and wide hollow beneath the Caltoun Hill, the place where those imaginary criminals, witches, and sorcerers, in less enlightened times, were burnt; and where at festive seasons the gay and gallant held their tilts and tournaments."[1] The locality still retains its ancient name of Greenside; but the grassy slope, from whence it derived its name, is now one of the most densely-populated districts of the New Town.

Beyond the Monastery of the Carmelites, on the outskirts of Leith, at the south-west corner of St Anthony's Wynd, stood the Preceptory of St Anthony, founded by Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig in 1435. This was the only establishment of the order in Scotland. They followed the rule of St Augustine, and appear to have been a sort of religious knights, though not Knight Templars, as they are erroneously styled by Maitland, who has been misled in this by a charter of James VI. The "Rentale Buke," containing a list of the benefactors to the preceptory, written on vellum, in the year 1526, with a few additions in a later hand, is preserved in the Advocates' Library, wherein "It is statuit and ordanit in our Scheptour for sindri resonabil causis that the saulis of thaim that has gevin zeirlye perpetuall rent to this Abbay and Hospitall of Sanct Antonis besyd Leith, or has augmentit Goddis seruice be fundacion, or ony vther vays has gevyn substanciusly of thair gudis to the byggyn reperacion and vphaldyng of the forsaid Abbay and place, that thai be prayit for euerylk sunday till the day of dome."[2] The list of benefactors which follows exhibits a pretty numerous array, though in the majority of cases the benefactions are of no great value. The obituary closes in 1499, and in little more than half a century thereafter, the prayers for the dead, which the chapter of the preceptory had ordained to last *till the day of doom*, were abruptly brought to a close, and the church or preceptory reduced nearly to a heap of ruins, during the siege of Leith in 1560.[3] No other Scottish foundation appears to have been dedicated to this saint, notwithstanding his celebrity by means of the picturesque legends which the Romish calender associates with his name. The ancient Hermitage and Chapel of St Anthony, which occupies a site of such singular beauty underneath the overhanging crags of Arthur's Seat, are believed to have formed a dependency of the preceptory at Leith, and to have been placed there to catch the seaman's eye as he entered the Firth, or departed on some long and perilous voyage; when his vows and offerings would be most freely made to the patron saint, and the hermit who ministered at his altar. No record, however, now remains to add to the

[1] Pennant's Tour, vol. i. p. 69. [2] List of Benefactors, &c. Bann. Misc., vol. ii p. 299. [3] Ante, p. 66.

tradition of its dedication to St Anthony; but the silver stream, celebrated in the plaintive old song, "O waly, waly up yon bank," still wells clearly forth at the foot of the rock, filling the little bason of St Anthony's Well, and rippling pleasantly through the long grass into the lower valley.

The Chapel and Hermitage of St Anthony, though deserted and roofless for centuries, appear to have remained nearly entire, with the exception of the upper portion of the tower, till about the middle of the last century. Arnot, writing about the year 1779, remarks:—"The cell of the Hermitage yet remains. It is sixteen feet long, twelve broad, and eight high. The rock rises within two feet of the stone arch, which forms its roof; and at the foot of the rock flows a pure stream, celebrated in an old Scottish ballad." All that now remains of the cell is a small recess, with a stone ledge constructed partly in the natural rock, which appears to have been the cupboard for storing the simple refreshments of the hermit of St Anthony. The Chapel is described by the same writer as having been a beautiful Gothic building, well suited to the rugged sublimity of the rock. "It was forty-three feet long, eighteen feet broad, and eighteen high. At its west end there was a tower of nineteen feet square, and it is supposed, before its fall, about forty feet high. The doors, windows, and roof, were Gothic; but it has been greatly dilapidated within the author's remembrance."[1] The tower is represented in the view of 1544 as finished with a plain gabled roof; and the building otherwise corresponds to this description. The wanton destruction of this picturesque and interesting ruin proceeded within our own recollection; but its further decay has at length been retarded for a time by some slight repairs, which were unfortunately delayed till a mere fragment of the ancient hermitage remained. The plain corbels and a small fragment of the groined roof still stand; and an elegant sculptured stoup for holy water, which formerly projected from the north wall, was preserved among the collection of antiquities of the late firm of Messrs Eagle and Henderson. It is described by Maitland as occupying a small arched niche, and opposite to it was another of larger dimensions, which was strongly fortified for keeping the Pix with the consecrated bread;[2] but no vestige of the latter now remains, or of any portion of the south wall in which it stood.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century, St Mary's Church at Leith appears to have been erected; but notwithstanding its large size—what remains being only a small portion of the original edifice—no evidence remains to show by whom it was founded. The earliest notice we have found of it is in 1490, when a contribution of an annual rent is made "by Peter Falconer, in Leith, to a chaplain in St Piter's Alter, situat in the Virgin Mary Kirk in Leith."[3] Similar grants are conferred on the chaplains of St Bartholomew's and St Barbarie's Altars, the latest of which is dated 8th July 1499—the same year in which the Record of the Benefactors of the neighbouring preceptory is brought to a close.[4]

Maitland and Chalmers,[5] as well as all succeeding writers, agree in assigning the destruction of the choir and transepts of St Mary's Church to the English invaders under

[1] Arnot, p. 256. [2] Maitland, p. 152. [3] Inventar of Pious Donations, MS. Ad. Lib.

[4] One charter of a later date is recorded in the Inventar of Pious Donations, by "Jo. Logane of Restalrig, mortifying in St Anthony's Chapel in Leith, his tenement, lying on the south side of the Bridge," dated 10th Feb. 1505.

[5] Maitland, p. 497. Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 786.

the Earl of Hertford in 1544. No other evidence, however, exists in support of this than the general inference deducible from the burning of Leith by the English, immediately before their embarkation; a procedure which, unless accompanied by more violent modes of destruction, must have left the remainder of the church in the same condition as the nave which still exists. Such evidence as may still be gleaned from contemporary writers leaves little reason to doubt that it was not demolished until the siege of Leith in 1560, when it was subjected to much more destructive operations than the invaders' torch. It stood directly exposed to the fire of the English batteries, cast up on the neighbouring downs, and of which some remains are still left.[1] "In this meintyme," says Bishop Lesley, "the Inglismen lying encamped upoun the south est syd of the toun, besyd Mount Pellam, schot many gret schottis of cannonis and gret ordinances, at the parrishe Kirk of Leyth, and Sanct Anthoneis steple, quhilk was fortefiit with mounted artailyerie thairupoun be the Frenchmen, and brak doun the same."[2] An anonymous historian of the same period relates still more explicitly:—"The 15th of Aprill, the fort wes cast and performed, scituate upon the clay-hills, east from the Kirk of Leith, about twoe fflight shott; where the greate ordinance being placed, they beganne to shoote at St Antonyes steeple in Leith, upon the which steeple the Frenchmen had mounted some artillerie, which wes verie noisome to the campe; bot within few howers after, the said steeple was broken and shott downe, *likewise they shott downe some part of the east end of the Kirk of Leith.*"[3] St Mary's Church, as it existed at the time our drawing was made, showed at the east end two of the four great central pillars of the Church, and was otherwise finished by constructing a window in the upper part of the west arch of the central tower, much in the same style as was adopted in converting the nave of Holyrood Abbey into a parish church. The date 1614, which was cut on the east gable, probably marked the period at which the ruins of the choir were entirely cleared away. The side aisles appear for the most part to be the work of the same period. A range of five dormer windows was constructed at that date above both the centre and side aisles, and though a novel addition to a Gothic Church, must have had a very picturesque and rich effect. The whole of these, with the exception of the two western ones on the south side of the Church, were taken down in 1747,[4] and the remaining ones were demolished in 1847, along with the east and west gables of the Church, and, in fact, nearly every feature that was worth preserving; the architect having, with the perverse ingenuity of modern *restorers*, preserved only the more recent and least attractive portions of the venerable edifice. As some slight atonement for this, the removal of the high-pitched roof of the side aisles has brought to light a range of very neat square-headed clerestory windows, which had remained concealed for upwards of two centuries, and which it is fortunately intended to retain in the restoration of the building.

The only other ancient parish church that remains to be noticed is that of St Cuthbert. Its parish appears to have been one of the earliest and most extensive districts set apart as a parochial charge. "The Church of St Cuthbert," says Chalmers, "is unquestionably ancient, perhaps as old as the age which followed the demise of the worthy Cuthbert, towards the end of the seventh century." It was enriched by important grants, and parti-

[1] Ante, p 66.
[2] Lesley, p. 285.
[3] A Historie of the Estate of Scotland, Wodrow Misc., vol. i. p. 84.
[4] Maitland, p. 494.

cularly by the gift from Macbeth of Liberton, of the tithes and oblations of Legbernard —a church of which all traces are now lost—conferred on it in the reign of David I., previous to the foundation of Holyrood Abbey. The Chapels of Corstorphine and Liberton pertained to it. The Crown lands surrounding the Castle were bestowed on it by David I., and it claimed tithes of the fishing on the neighbouring coast; so that it was then the wealthiest church in Scotland, except that of Dunbar; but from the date of the foundation of St David's Abbey of Holyrood it became a vicarage, while the Abbey drew the greater tithes. Besides the high altar, there were in St Cuthbert's Church several altars, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, to St Anne, and other saints, of most of which no very accurate account is preserved. The ancient church was subjected to many vicissitudes, and greatly modified by successive alterations and repairs, so that comparatively little of the original fabric remained when the whole was demolished about the middle of last century, and the present huge, unsightly barn erected in its stead. In Gordon's bird's-eye view it appears as a large cross church, with a belfry at the west gable, and a large square tower, probably of great antiquity, standing unroofed at the south-west corner of the nave. The ancient church was nearly reduced to a heap of ruins by the Duke of Gordon, during the siege of the Castle in 1689; and little attempt was likely to be made at that period to preserve any of its early features in the necessary repairs preparatory to its again being used as the parish church.

Among the dependencies of the ancient Church of St Cuthbert there were the Virgin Mary's Chapel, Portsburgh, of which nothing more is known than its name and site; and St Roque's and St John's Chapels on the Borough Muir. About half a mile to the west of Grange House there stood, till the commencement of the present century, the ruins of the ancient Chapel of St Roque, dedicated to the celebrated saint of that name. A later writer derives its title from the unconsecrated surname of its supposed founder, Simon La Roque, French ambassador,[1] but without assigning any authority. In the treasurer's accounts for March 20th, 1501–2, the following entry occurs:—"Item, to the wrichtis of Sanct Rokis Chapell xiiij s." This, it is exceedingly probable, indicates the erection of the chapel, as it corresponds with the apparent date suggested by its style of architecture. It cannot, however, be certainly referred to the chapel on the Borough Muir, as a subsequent entry in 1505, of an offering "to Sanct Rowkis Chapell," describes the latter as at the end of Stirling Bridge. Of the following, however, there can be no doubt:—"1507, Aug^{t} 15. The Sanct Rowkis day to the kingis offerand in Sanct Rowkis Chapell xiiij s." That this refers to the chapel on the Borough Muir of Edinburgh is proved by the evidence of two charters signed by the king at Edinburgh on the same day. The shrine of St Roque was the special resort of afflicted outcasts for the cure of certain loathsome diseases. Lindsay, in *The Monarchie*, describes the saint as himself bearing a boil or ulcer as the symbol of his peculiar powers:—

> Sanct Roche, weill seisit, men may see,
> Ane byill new brokin on his knee.

[1] Hist. of West Kirk, p. 11. Possibly Monsieur Lacrok, ambassador in 1567, is here meant. It is, at any rate, without doubt, an error, originating probably in the similarity of the names.

And again, in speaking of domestic pilgrimages, he assigns to this saint the virtues for which he was most noted by the citizens of Edinburgh in early times:—

> Sa doith our commoun populare,
> Quhilk war to lang for till declare,
> Thair superstitious pilgramagis,
> To monie divers imagis:
> Sum to Sanct Roche, with diligence,
> To saif thame from the pestileuce:
> For thair teith to Sanct Apollene;
> To Sanct Tredwell to mend thair ene.

The Chapel of St Roque has not escaped the notice of the Lord Lyon King's poetic eulogist, among the varied features of the landscape that fill up the magnificent picture, as Lord Marmion rides under the escort of Sir David Lindsay to the top of Blackford Hill, in his approach to the Scottish camp, and looks down on the martial array of the kingdom covering the wooded links of the Borough Muir. James IV. is there represented as occasionally wending his way to attend mass at the neighbouring Chapels of St Katherine or St Roque; nor is it unlikely that the latter may have been the scene of the monarch's latest acts of devotion, ere he led forth that gallant array to perish around him on the Field of Flodden. The Church of St John the Baptist, which was afterwards converted into the Chapel of the Convent of St Katherine de Sienna, was then just completed; but George Lord Setoun, whose widow founded the convent a few years later, and Adam Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, her father, were among the nobles who marshalled their followers around the Scottish standard, to march to the fatal field where both were slain. In accordance with the attributes ascribed by Lindsay to St Roque, we find his chapel resorted to by the victims of the plague, who encamped on the Borough Muir during the prevalence of that dreadful scourge in the sixteenth century; and the neighbouring cemetery became the resting-place of those who fell a prey to the pestilence. Among the statutes of the Burgh is the following for December 1530, "We do yow to wit, forsamekle as James Barbour, master and gouernour of the foule folk on the Mure, is to be clengit, and hes intromettit with sindry folkis gudis and clais quhilkis ar lyand in Sanct Rokis Chapell, Thairfor al maner of personis that has ony clame to the said gudis that thai cum on Tysday nixt to cum to the officiaris, and thar clais to be clengit, certyfyand thaim, and thai do nocht, that all the said clais gif thai be of litill availl sal be brynt, and the laif to be gevin to the pure folkis."[1] Arnot relates that this ancient chapel—an engraving of which is given in the re-issue of the quarto edition of his history—narrowly escaped the demolition to which its proprietor had doomed it about the middle of last century, owing to the superstitious terrors of the workmen engaged to pull it down. The march of intellect, however, had made rapid strides ere its doom was a second time pronounced by a new proprietor early in the present century, when the whole of this interesting and venerable ruin was swept away, as an unsightly encumbrance to the estate of a retired tradesman!

The teinds or tithes of the Borough Muir belonged of old to the Abbey of Holyrood; but this did not interfere with the acquirement of nearly the whole of its broad lands by private proprietors, and their transference to various ecclesiastical foundations. The name

[1] Acts and Statutes, Burgh of Edinburgh. Mait. Misc., vol ii. p. 117.

of Gillie Grange, by which a part of it is still known, and that of The Grange, now the property of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart., preserve memorials of the grange or farm which belonged of old to the Collegiate Church of St Giles. Here, towards the close of the prosperous reign of James IV., Sir John Crawford, a canon of St Giles's Church, founded and endowed the Church of St John the Baptist, portions of the ruins of which are believed still to form a part of the garden wall of a house on the west side of Newington, called Sciennes Hall. The following notice of its foundation occurs in the *Inventar of Pious Donations*, bearing the date 2d March 1512:—"Charter of Confirmation of a Mortification be Sir Jo. Crawford, ane of the Prebenders of St Giles Kirk, to a kirk bigged by him at St Geillie Grange, mortyiefying yrunto 18 aikers of land, of the said lands, with the Quarrie Land given to him in Charitie be ye said brough, with an aiker and a quarter of a particate of land in his 3 aikers and a half an aiker of the said mure pertaining to him, lying at the east side of the Common Mure, betwixt the lands of Jo. Cant on the west, and the Common Mure on the east and south parts, and the Murebrugh, now bigged, on the north." This church was designed as a chantry for the benefit of the founder and his kin, along with the reigning Sovereign, the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and such others as it was usual to include in the services for the faithful departed in similar foundations. The chaplain was required to be of the founder's family or name, and the patronage was assigned after his death to the Town Council of Edinburgh.

The Church of St John the Baptist did not long remain a solitary chaplainry. Almost immediately after its erection, the Convent of St Katherine de Sienna was founded by the Lady Seytoun, whose husband, George, third Lord Seton, was slain at the Battle of Flodden. "Efter quhais deceiss," says the Chronicle of the House of Seytoun, "his ladye remanit wido continualie xlv yeiris. Sche was ane nobill and wyse ladye. Sche gydit hir sonnis leving quhill he was cumit of age; and thairefter sche passit and remainit in the place of Senis, on the Borrow Mure, besyd Edinburgh, the rest of her lyvetyme. Quhilk place sche helpit to fund and big as maist principale."[1] The history of this religious foundation, one of the last which took place in Scotland in Roman Catholic times, and the very last, we believe, to receive additions to the original foundation, acquires a peculiar interest when we consider it in connection with the general progress of opinion throughout Europe at the period. The Bull of Pope Leo X. by which its foundation is confirmed, is dated 29th January 1517. Cardinal Wolsey was then supreme in England, and Henry VIII. was following on the career of a devoted son of the Church which won him the title of *Defender of the Faith.* Charles V., the future Emperor of Germany, had just succeeded to the crown of Spain, and Martin Luther was still a brother of the order of St Augustine. This very year Leo X. sent forth John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, authorised to promote the sale of indulgences in Germany, and soon the whole of Europe was shaken by the strife of opinions. The peculiar circumstances in which Scotland then stood, delayed for a time its participation in the movement; and meanwhile the revenues of the convent of St Katherine de Sienna received various augmentations, and the Church of St John the Baptist was permanently annexed to it as the chapel of the convent. The nuns, however, were speedily involved in the troubles of the period. In 1544 their convent shared the same fate as the neighbouring capital, from the barbarous revenge of the

[1] Hist. of House of Seytoun, p, 37.

English invaders; and in 1567, its whole possessions passed into the hands of laymen, and its inmates were driven forth from the cloisters within whose shelter they had maintained the severe rules of their order with such strictness that even the pungent satirist, Sir David Lindsay, exempts them from the unsparing censure of his pen. In the first act of *The Satyre of the Three Estaitis*, Veritie enters with the English Bible in her hand, and is forthwith pronounced by the Parson a *Lutheran*, and remanded to the stocks. Chastitie follows, and in vain appeals to the Lady Prioress, the Abbot, the Parson, and my Lord Temporalitie, all of whom give the preference to Dame Sensualitie, and ignominiously dismiss her, until at length she is also consigned to the stocks. In her appeal to my Lord Temporalitie, she tells him she has come to prove "the temporal state," because the nuns have driven her out of doors. Nevertheless, in *The Complaynt of the Papingo*, when scared by the sensuality of "The sillie nunnis,"

> "Chaistitie thare na langer wald abyde;
> Sa for refuge, fast to the freiris scho fled,
> Quhilkis said, thay wald of ladyis tak na cure:
> Quhare bene scho now, than said the gredie Gled?
> Nocht amang yow, said scho, I yow assure:
> I traist scho bene, upon the Burrow-mure,
> Besouth Edinburgh, and that richt mouy menis,
> Profest amang the sisteris of the Schenis.
> Thare hes scho fund hir mother Povertie,
> And Devotioun her awin sister carnall:
> Thare hath scho fund Faith, Hope, and Cheritie,
> Togidder with the vertues cardinall:
> Thare hes scho fund ane convent, yet unthrall,
> To dame Sensuall, nor with Riches abusit,
> Sa quietlye those ladyis bene inclusit."

About three miles to the south of the Convent of St Katherine de Sienna is the Balm Well of St Katherine, celebrated in ancient times for its miraculous powers in curing all cutaneous diseases, and still resorted to for its medicinal virtues. St Katherine, it is said, was commissioned by the pious Queen of Malcolm Canmore, to bring home some oil from Mount Sinai, and staying to rest herself by this well on her return, she chanced to drop some of the oil into the water, from which its peculiar characteristic, as well as its miraculous powers, were affirmed to be derived. A black bituminous substance constantly floats on the water, believed to be derived from the coal-seams that abound in the neighbourhood, and perhaps justly commands the faith still reposed in it as a remedy for the diseases to which it is applied. A chapel was erected near it, and dedicated to St Margaret, but no vestige of it now remains. Thither, it is said, the nuns of the convent on the Borough Moor were wont to proceed annually in solemn procession, to visit the chapel and well, in honour of St Katherine. When James VI. returned to Scotland in 1617, he visited the well, and commanded it to be enclosed with an ornamental building, with a flight of steps to afford ready access to the healing waters; but this was demolished by the soldiers of Cromwell, and the well now remains enclosed with plain stone work, as it was partially repaired at the Restoration.[1]

With the last foundation of the adherents of the old faith we may fitly close these Memo-

[1] Archæol. Scot. vol. i. p. 323.

rials of the olden time. An unpicturesque fragment of the ruins of the Convent of St Katherine de Sienna still remains, and serves as a sheep-fold for the flocks that pasture in the neighbouring meadow; and the name of the Sciennes, by which the ancient Mure-burgh is now known, preserves some slight remembrance of the abode of "the Sisters of the Schenis," where *Chastitie* found hospitable welcome, at a time when the bold Scottish satirist represents her as spurned from every other door. A few notes, in reference to more recent ecclesiastical erections, are reserved for the Appendix; but there is something in the flimsy and superficial character of our modern religious edifices, which, altogether apart from the sacred or historical associations attached to them, deprives them of that interest with which we view the architectural remains of the Middle Ages. Instead of stuccoed ceilings and plaster walls, we find, in the old fabrics, solid ribs of stone, and the arched vaulting adorned with intricate mouldings and richly sculptured bosses. The clustered piers below, that range along the solemn aisles, are like the huge oaks of the forest, and their fan-like groinings like the spreading boughs, from whence their old builders have been supposed to have drawn the first idea of these massive columns and the o'er-arching roof.

After all, the olden time with which we have dealt is a comparatively modern one. The relics even of St Margaret's Chapel, and St David's Monastery, and the Maiden Castle, which Chalmers ranks only as "first of modern antiques,"[1] would possess but poor claims to our interest, as mere antiquities, beside the temples of Egypt or the marble columns of the Acropolis. The Castle, indeed, is found to have been occupied as a strong-hold as far back as any trustworthy record extends; and beyond this our older British chroniclers relate, as authentic, traditions which assign to it an origin nearly coeval with the Temple of Solomon, and centuries before the founding of Rome! Wyntoun records of the renowned "Kyng Ebrawce," who flourished 989 years before the Christian era:—

> "He byggyd EDYNBURGH wytht-alle,
> And gert thaim Allynclowd it calle,
> The Maydyn castell, in sum place
> The sorowful Hil it callyd was."

Coming down a little nearer our own day, we arrive at the era of Fergus the First, the famed progenitor of one hundred and eighteen sovereigns, "of the same unspotted blood and royal line," who began his reign 330 years before Christ. Fergus, however, was no plebeian upstart. He again traced his descent from Milesius, who reigned in Ireland 1300 years before the Christian era, and "who makes the twenty-sixth degree inclusively from Noe; the twenty-first from Niul, a son of Fenius-farsa, king of Scythia, a prince very knowing in all the languages then spoken; the twentieth from Gaedhal-Glass, a contemporary with Moses and Pharaoh; the seventeenth inclusively from Heber-Scot, an excellent bow-man!"[2] Upon the whole, we are put in the fair way of tracing King Fergus's genealogy back to Adam,—a very satisfactory and credible beginning, in case any of its more recent steps should be thought to stand in need of additional proof. Leaving such famous worthies of the olden time, we come thereafter to Edwin, king of Northumbria, of whom we possess trustworthy historic account, and who, there seems no reason to doubt, gave his

[1] Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 569.

[2] Dr Matthew Kennedy, Abercromby's Martial Achievements, vol. i. p. 4.

own name to the burgh, where he possessed a stronghold presenting such great natural advantages as were likely to tempt his frequent residence within its walls. Edwin, who was the ablest and most powerful among the sovereigns of Britain in his time, lost his kingdom and his life at the Battle of Hatfield, on the 12th of October 633. From that date, the Castle and town of Edinburgh may be considered as occupying some degree of prominence among the towns of the ancient kingdom, and thenceforward we are able to glean occasional authentic notices of it from our older chroniclers. The reign of Edwin is chiefly memorable for the introduction of Christianity into the kingdom of Northumbria, and probably no long time elapsed thereafter before some humble Christian fane was reared in Edinburgh, to supersede by its worship the heathen rites for which the summit of Arthur's Seat, or of some other of the neighbouring hills, may have been set apart as the most appropriate temple.

Glancing back thus over an interval of twelve centuries, the familiar scenes that surround us acquire a new aspect, and become pregnant with a deeper meaning than the mere beauty of the landscape, or the unrivalled grandeur of the old city that occupies its heights, can convey to the tasteful observer. History becomes a living drama, instead of a mere bundle of dusty parchments; and the actors, who pass away in succession with its many changing scenes, appear once more before us what they really were, men of like passions with ourselves. With this feeling we have attempted to recover the fading traces of the more ancient antiquities of the Scottish capital, and to preserve an authentic record of those of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which are fast passing away, like their predecessors, beyond recall, notwithstanding the promise of durability which the substantial masonry of that period seems to offer. "The walles," says Taylor the Water Poet, in his *Pennylesse Pilgrimage*, "are eight or tenne foot thicke, exceeding strong, not built for a day, a weeke, or a moneth, or a yeere, but from Antiquitie to Posteritie, for many Ages." *Posteritie*, however, finds little that suits its changed tastes and habits in these "goodlie houses," and is busy replacing them with structures more adapted to modern wants; but the very fact of their having thus become obsolete confers on them a new value, as monuments of a period and state of society altogether different from our own. This it is that gives to the pursuits of the antiquary their true value. These relics of the past, however insignificant they may appear in themselves, assume a very different claim on our interest when thus regarded as the memorials of our national history, or the key to the manners and the habits of our forefathers. As such they acquire a worth which no mere lapse of time could confer; nor have our forefathers played so mean a part in the history of nations that their memorials should possess an interest only to ourselves.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I. EDINBURGH.

REFERENCE has been made in the beginning of this Work to the venerable antiquity ascribed to Edinburgh by early chroniclers, who assign as it founder, Ebranke, a contemporary of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, king of Israel!—Grafton's Chronicle, 1569. John Hardyng, a still earlier chronicler, records of the same ancient "Kyng of Brytain,"—

> "He made also the Mayden Castell stronge
> That men now calleth the Castell of Edenburgh,
> That on a rock standeth full hye out of throng
> On mount Agwet, where men may se out through
> Full many a toune, castel, and borough,
> In the shire about, it is so hye in syght
> Who will it scale he shall not find it light."

The following reference to Edinburgh by a foreigner, evidently describing the first impression conveyed by the view of it from the Forth, occurs in a curious French poem, "Le Chevalier sans reproche Jacques de Lalain," par Messire Jean d'Ennetieres," &c. &c. Tournay, 1632. 8vo. In this, the 9th canto is occupied with the details of a combat between the hero and James (9th) Earl of Douglas, fought at Stirling in presence of the king, three against three. Towards the close of the preceding canto (p. 206), Edinburgh is thus described,—Lalain's vessel having arrived in the Forth :—

> "Edymbourgk toutesfois fait paroistre ses cornes,
> Au dessous d'un espois de nuages bien mornes.
> Devers l'Est, et le Sud là ceint une muraille,
> Du costé du couchant, il ne luy faut tenaille
> Ny bouleuert flancquant ; car un bien haut rocher
> La couvre tellement qu'on ne peut l'approcher.
> Là dessus le chasteau est de nature telle,
> Que l'Escoçois le dit le fort de la Pucelle :
> Tant l'a fortifié la nature avec l'art,
> Que des filles pouroyent maintenir tel rampart.
> Au Nort un precipice en hauteur effroyable,
> Le rend de celle part de tout point imprenable."

II. ANCIENT MAPS AND VIEWS OF EDINBURGH.

1544.—The frequent reference to maps of different dates through the Work, renders some account of them desirable for the general reader. The oldest, and by far the most valuable, is that of which a facsimile is given in the first volume of the Bannatyne Miscellany, to illustrate a description of Edinburgh, referred to in the course of this Work, by Alexander Alesse, a native of Edinburgh, born 23d April 1500, who embraced the Protestant faith about the time when Patrick Hamilton, the first Scottish martyr, was brought to the stake in 1527. He left Scotland about the year 1532 to escape a similar fate, and is believed to have died at Leipzig in 1565. The original map is preserved in the British Museum (M.S. Cotton. Augustus 1, vol. ii. Art. 56), and is assigned with every appearance of probability to the year 1544, the date of the Earl of Hertford's expedition under Henry VIII. The map may be described as chiefly consisting of a view from the Calton Hill, and represents Arthur's Seat and the Abbey apparently with minute accuracy. The higher part of the town is spread out more in the character of a bird's-eye view; but there also the churches, the Netherbow Port, and other prominent features, afford proof of its general correctness. The buildings about the Palace and the whole of the upper town have their roofs coloured red, as if to represent tiles, while those in the Canongate are coloured grey, probably to show that they were thatched with straw. The only other view that bears any near resemblance to the last, occurs in the corner of one of the maps in "John Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine," published at London in 1611. It is, perhaps, only a reduction of it, with some additions from other sources. It must have been made, at any rate, many years before its publication, as both the Blackfriars Church and the Kirk-of-Field form prominent objects in the town. Trinity College Church is introduced surmounted by a spire. St Andrew's Port, at the foot of Leith Wynd, appears as a gate of some architectural pretensions; and the old Abbey and Palace of Holyrood, with the intricate enclosing walls surrounding them, are deserving of comparison with the more authentic view.

1573.—The next in point of time is a plan engraved on wood for Holinshed's Chronicles, 1577, and believed to be the same that is referred to in "A Survey taken of the Castle and towne of Edinbrogh in Scotland, by vs Rowland Johnson and John Fleminge, servantes to the Q. Ma^tie^, by the comandement of S^r^ William Drury, Knighte, Governor of Berwicke, and Mr Henry Killigrave, Her Ma^ties^ Embassador." The view in this is from the south, but it is chiefly of value as showing the position of the besiegers' batteries. The town is mapped out into little blocks of houses, with singular-looking heroes in trunk hose interspersed among them, tall enough to step over their roofs! A facsimile of this illustrates the "Journal of the Siege," in the second volume of the Bannatyne Miscellany. Of the same date is a curious plan of the Castle, mentioned in Blomefield's History of Norfolk:—"At Ridlesworth Hall, Norfolk, is a picture of Sir William Drury, Lord Chief-Justice of Ireland, 1579, by which hangs an old plan of Edinburgh Castle, and two armies before it, and round it—*Sir William Drurye, Knt., General of the Englishe, wanne Edinburghe Castle* 1573."—Gough's British Topography, vol. ii. p. 667.

1580.—Another map, which has been frequently engraved, was published about 1580 in Braun's *Civitates Orbis*. "Any person," says the editor of the Bannatyne Miscellany (vol. i. p. 185), "who is acquainted with the localities of the place may easily perceive that this plan has been delineated by a foreign artist from the information contained in the printed text, and not from any actual survey or sketch; and consequently is of little interest or value." The same, however, might, with equal propriety, be said of the preceding map, which has fully as many errors as the one now referred to. The latter is certainly much too correct, according to the style of depiction adopted in these bird's-eye maps, to admit of the idea of its being drawn from description, though it is not improbable that it may have been made up from others, without personal survey. It affords some interesting points of comparison with that of 1574.

1645.—About this date two drawings of Edinburgh appear to have been made, from which engravings were executed in Holland. From their style of drawing, it is exceedingly probable that they are the work of Gordon of Rothiemay, previous to his large bird's-eye view from the south, described in the next paragraph. They are engraved on one large sheet of copper, forming long, narrow, panoramic views, each of them measuring seven and a half inches by twenty-two and a half inches, within the work; and are now very rarely to be met with. The first is inscribed, VRBIS EDINÆ FACIES MERIDIONALIS—*The Prospect of the South Side of Edinburgh.* The point of sight appears to be towards St Leonard's Hill. Heriot's Hospital is introduced without the dome of the centre tower, and with the large towers at the angles covered with steep-pointed roofs,—a rude representation seemingly of the ogee roofs with which at least two of them were originally surmounted. (Vide page 343.) Beside it is the Old Greyfriars, as it then stood, with a plain square tower at its west end. But the most conspicuous object in both views is "*The Tron Kirk, with the Steeple,*" as it is described, though it consists only of the square tower, finished with a plain and very flat slanting roof;—an object which suffices very nearly to determine the date of the drawing. *The Nether Bow Steeple, and the Steeple of Canno-tolbuith*, are also introduced with tolerable accuracy. The Palace is, unfortunately, very rudely executed. The Abbey Church, with its tower and spire, and James V. Tower, are the only portions shown, and neither of them very well drawn. A wall runs from the Palace along the South Back of the Canongate to the Cowgate Port, pierced with small doors, and entitled *The Back Entries to the Cannon-gait.*

The companion view from the Calton Hill is entitled VRBIS EDINÆ LATVS SEPTENTRIONALE. The most prominent objects are the same as in the former, including the unfinished steeple of the Tron Church. In both *the High Kirk steeple* is very imperfectly rendered; though, indeed, no old view renders St Giles's beautiful crown tower correctly. *The Castle Chappel* is marked in both views; and in the latter, both it and the large ancient church on the north side of the Grand Parade, form the most prominent objects in the Castle. The Palace is entirely concealed in the latter view; and in both of them no attention appears to have been paid to any details in the private buildings of the town. The copy of these we have examined, and the only one we have ever seen is in the possession of David Laing, Esq. The plate has no date or engraver's name.

1647.—Maitland remarks (History of Edinburgh, p. 86), "In this year, 1647, a draught or view of Edinburgh being made by James Gordon, minister of Rothiemay, by order of the Common Council, they ordered the sum of Five Hundred Marks to be paid him for the pains and trouble he had been at in making the same." This view, or plan, which was engraved at Amsterdam by De Wit, on a large scale, is one of the most accurate and valuable records that could possibly exist. It is a bird's-eye view taken from a south point of sight, and measures forty-one and a quarter inches long by sixteen inches broad. The public buildings are represented with great minuteness and fidelity, and in the principal streets almost every house of any note along the north side may be distinguished. A very careful copy of this was published at London, with views of the town in the corners of the plate, early in the following century, "exactly done from the original of ye famous D. Wit, by And^{r}. Johnston," and is dedicated to the Hon. George Lockhart, the celebrated politician, better known as "Union Lockhart." Another tolerably accurate facsimile of the original plan was engraved by Kirkwood on the same large scale, in the present century; but the plate and the chief portion of the impressions perished in the Great Fire of 1824, the premises of the engraver being at that time in the Parliament Square. Gough remarks, in his Topography (vol. ii. p. 673), "The Rev. Mr James Gordon of Rothiemay's plan of Edinburgh has been re-engraved in Holland, but not so accurately as that done from his own drawing, in vol. xii. of Piere Vander Aa's 'Gallerie agreable du Monde,' a collection of plans, views of towns, &c., in 66 vols. thin folio, at Leyden."

1650.—Another rare view of Edinburgh from the south, engraved by Rombout Van den Hoyen, appears to have been drawn about 1650. In the left corner of the sky the arms of Scotland are introduced, not very accurately drawn; a flying scroll bears the name *Edynburgum*, and above the sky is the inscription *Edenburgum Civitas Scotiæ celeberima.* Two mounted figures are introduced in the foreground, riding apparently over the ridge of St Leonard's Hill, along the ancient Dumbiedyke's Road, towards the town. The date of the view is ascertain-

able from the introduction of the Weigh-house steeple, demolished by Cromwell in 1650, and the spire of the Tron Church, which was completed about 1663, although the church was so far advanced in 1647 as to be used as a place of worship. The destruction of the greater part of the ancient Palace in the former year, affords further evidence of this view having been taken about that period, as it is represented with considerable accuracy as it stood previous to the fire. The north garden is laid out in the formal style of the period, with *Queen Mary's Bath* very accurately introduced in the angle formed by two of the enclosing garden walls. It appears to have been engraved in Holland, and is illustrated with a stanza in Latin, Dutch, and French, consisting of a very self-complacent soliloquy of the good town on its own ancient glory. A lithographic copy of this view is occasionally to be met with.

1693.—The THEATRUM SCOTÆ, of Captain John Slezer, was printed at London in 1693. He visited this country for the first time in 1669, so that the drawings of the interesting series of Scottish views published by him must have been made during the interval between these dates. They are of great value, being in general very faithful representations of the chief towns and most important edifices in Scotland at that period. Much curious information in reference to the progress of this national work has been selected from the records in the General Register House, and printed in the 2d vol. of the Bannatyne Miscellany. Among these, the following items of the Captain's account of "Debursements" afford some insight into the mode of getting up the views :—

		Lib. Sterlin.
IMPRIMIS.	For bringing over a Painter, his charges to travel from place to place, and for drawing these 57 draughts contained in the said Theatrum Scotiæ, at 2 lib. sterlin per draught, ...	0114 : 00 : 00
ITEM,	To Mr Whyte at London, for ingraving the said 57 draughts, at 4 lib. 10 shillings over head, ...	0256 : 10 : 00
ITEM,	To Mr Wycke, the battell painter at London, for touching and filling up the said 57 draughts with little figures, at 10 shillings sterlin per piece, inde,	0028 : 10 : 00
ITEM,	Captain Slezer hath been at a considerable loss by 12 plates of prospects, which were spoiled in Holland, as partly appears by a contract betwixt Doctor Sibbald and the said Captain, dated anno 1691, which loss was at least	0072 : 10 : 00

In the early edition of Slezer's views the only general *Prospect* of Edinburgh is the one from the Dean. But the view of the Castle from the south also includes some interesting portions of the Old Town, and to these another view of the Castle from the north-east was afterwards added. Four different editions of the Theatrum Scotiæ are described in Gough's British Topography, and a fifth edition of 100 copies was published at Edinburgh in 1814, edited by the Rev. Dr Jamieson, with a life of Slezer, and other additional matter, and illustrated with impressions from the original plates, which are still in existence. The work is to be met with in most public libraries, and affords some curious views of the chief towns of Scotland, as they existed in the latter end of the seventeenth century.

1700.—About this date is a large and very accurate view of Edinburgh from the north, which has been engraved more than once. The original plate, which appeared first in the third edition of Slezer's Theatrum Scotiæ, dedicated to the Marquis of Annandale, was published in 1718. It is a long view, with the Calton Hill forming the foreground, beyond which Trinity College Church and Paul's Work appear on one side, with the North Loch stretching away towards the Well-house Tower. The large ancient church of the Castle, as well as St Margaret's Chapel, form prominent objects in the Castle ; while in the town the Nether Bow Port, the old High School, demolished in 1777, and others of the ancient features of the city, are introduced with considerable care and accuracy of detail. The whole is engraved with great spirit, but no draftsman's or engraver's name is attached to it. Another copy of the same, on a still larger scale, though of inferior merit as an engraving, is dedicated to Queen Anne.

1742.—Of this date is Edgar's map of Edinburgh, engraved for Maitland's History of Edinburgh. It was drawn by William Edgar, architect, for the purpose of being published on a much larger scale; but he died before this could be accomplished, when it was fortunately engraved by Maitland, on a scale sufficiently large for reference to most of its details. It is of great value as an accurate and trustworthy ground-plan of the city almost immediately before the schemes of civic reform began to modify its ancient features. A very useful companion to this is a large map, "including all the latest improvements," and dedicated to Provost Elder in 1793. It contains a very complete reference to all the closes and wynds in the Old Town, many of which have since disappeared, while alterations in the names of those that remain add to the value of this record of their former nomenclature.

1753.—A small folio plate of Edinburgh from the north-west, bearing this date, is engraved from a drawing by Paul Sandby. It appears to have been taken from about the site of Charlotte Square, though the town is represented at a greater distance. Its chief value arises from the idea it gives of the site of the New Town, consisting, on the west side of the Castle, where the Lothian Road has since been made, of formal rows of trees, and beyond them a great extent of ground mostly bare and unenclosed. Old St Cuthbert's Church is seen at the foot of the Castle rock, with a square central tower surmounted by a low spire.

In 1816 an ingenious old plan of Edinburgh and its environs was published by Kirkwood, on a large scale. He has taken Edgar as his authority for the Old Town; South Leith from a survey by Wood in 1777; the intervening ground, including North Leith and the site of the New Town from a survey made in 1759, by John Fergus and Robert Robinson; and the south of Edinburgh, including the whole ground to the Pow Burn, from another made the same year by John Scott. It is further embellished with a reduced copy of the view of 1580, and a plan of Leith made in 1681. The names of most of the proprietors of ground are given from the two last surveys, belonging to the town, and the whole forms a tolerably complete and curious record of the neighbourhood of Edinburgh about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Gough remarks, in his British Topography, with reference to John Clerk, Esq. of Eldin,—whose amateur performances with the etching needle are coveted by collectors of topographical illustrations, on account of their rarity, a few impressions only having been printed for private distribution,—"I am informed he intends to etch some views of Edinburgh of large size, having made some very accurate drawings for that purpose." Two of these, at least, have been etched on narrow plates, about fifteen inches long. One of them, a view from the north, has Lochend and Logan of Restalrig's old tower in the foreground; with the initials J. C., and the date 1774. The other is from the head of the Links, with Wrychtishousis' mansion in the foreground. They are not, however, so accurate as Gough—or more probably his Scottish authority, Mr George Paton—had anticipated.

To this list we may add a south view of Edinburgh by Hollar, on two sheets. We have never seen a copy of it, nor met with any person who has seen more than one of the sheets, now at Cambridge. It is very rare, has no date, and is perhaps, after all, only a copy of Gordon's bird's-eye view. Gough mentions an ancient drawing of Edinburgh preserved in the Charter Room of Heriot's Hospital, but no such thing is now known to exist, although the careful researches of Dr Steven, in the preparation of his History of the Hospital, could hardly have failed to discover it, had it still remained there.

Of modern views the best is that drawn by W. H. Williams, or as he is more frequently styled, Grecian Williams, and engraved on a large scale, with great ability and taste, by William Miller. It is taken from the top of Arthur's Seat, so that it partakes of the character of a bird's-eye view, with all the beauty of correct perspective and fine pictorical effect.

A rare and interesting print published in 1751, engraved from a drawing by Paul Sandby, preserves a view of Leith at that period. It is taken from the old east road, and, owing to the nature of the ground, and the site of the town being chiefly a declivity towards the river, little more is seen than the nearest rows of houses and the steeple of St Mary's Church. The rural character of the neighbouring downs, however, is curious, as well as a singular looking old-fashioned carriage, which forms one of the most prominent objects in the view.

III. CHURCHES.

TRON CHURCH.—The Tron Church, or Christ's Church at the Tron, as it should be more correctly termed, is one of two churches founded about the year 1637, in consequence of want of accommodation for the citizens in the places of worship then existing. They proceeded very slowly, impeded no doubt by the political disturbances of the period. In 1647 the Church at the Tron was so far advanced as to admit of its being used for public worship, but it was not entirely finished till 1663. On the front of the tower, over the great doorway, a large ornamental panel bears the city arms in *alto relievo*, and beneath them the inscription ÆDEM HANC CHRISTO ET ECCLESIÆ SACRARUNT CIVES EDINBURGENSES, ANNO DOM. MDCXLI. Some account has been given (page 260) of the changes effected on the church in opening up the southern approaches to the city, in the year 1785. It is finished internally with an open timber roof, somewhat similar to that in the Parliament House; but its effect has been greatly impaired by the shortening of the church when it was remodelled externally. In 1824 the old steeple was destroyed by fire. It was built according to a design frequently repeated on the public buildings throughout Scotland at that period, but the examples of which are rapidly disappearing. Old St Nicholas's Church at Leith still preserves the model on a small scale, and the tower of Glasgow College is nearly a facsimile of it. The old tower of St Mary's Church, as engraved in our view of it, was another nearly similar, but that has been since taken down; and a destructive fire has this year demolished another similar erection at the Town Hall, Linlithgow. The site chosen for the second of the two churches projected in 1637 was the Castle Hill, on the ground now occupied by the Reservoir. The building of the latter church was carried to a considerable extent, as appears from Gordon's View of Edinburgh, drawn about ten years later; but the Magistrates discovering by that time that it was much easier to project than to build such edifices, they, according to Arnot, "pulled down the unfinished church on the Castel Hill, and employed the materials in erecting the Tron." There is good reason, however, for believing that Arnot is mistaken in this account of the interruption of the former building. It is unquestionable, at any rate, that at no period since the Reformation has the same zeal been manifested for religious foundations as appears to have prevailed at that period. In 1639, according to Arnot, David Machall, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, left three thousand five hundred merks, or, as in the Inventar of Pious Donations, "1000 merks yearly, to maintain a chaplain in the Tron Church of Edin^{r} to mak Exercise every Sunday from 8 to 9 in the morning." In 1647, Lady Yester founded the church that bears her name; and in 1650, Thomas Moodie, or as he is styled in Slezer's Theatrum Scotiæ, Sir Thomas Moodie of Sachtenhall, bequeathed the sum of twenty thousand merks to the Town Council, in trust, for building a church in the town, and which, after various projects for its application to different purposes, was at length made use of for providing a church for the parishioners of the Canongate, on their ejection from Holyrood Abbey by James VII. in 1687. Such does not seem to be a period when a church which had been in progress for years, and, as would appear from Gordon's View, was advancing towards completion, would be deliberately levelled with the ground, from the difficulty of raising the necessary funds. The following entry in the Inventar of Pious Donations, throws new light both on this and on the object of Moodie's bequest: "Tho^{s} Mudie left for the re-edyfing to the Kirk that was throwne doun by the English in the Castle Hill of Ed^{r}. 40,000 merks,——but what is done y^{r}in I know not." There is added on the margin in a later hand, seemingly that of old Robert Milne, *circa* 1700; "The Wigs built the Canongate Kirk y^{r}w^{t}." From this it appears that the church on the Castle Hill shared the same fate as the old Weigh-house, its materials having most probably been converted into redoubts for Cromwell's artillery, during the siege of the Castle, for which purpose they lay very conveniently at hand. In the year 1673, a bell, which cost 1490 merks and 8 shillings Scots, was hung up in the steeple, and continued weekly to summon the parishioners to church till the Great Fire of 1824, when, after hanging till it was partly melted by the heat, it fell with a tremendous crash among the blazing ruins of the steeple. Portions of it were afterwards made into quaichs and other similar memorials

of the conflagration. In 1678 the furnishing of the steeple was completed, by putting up there the old clock that had formerly belonged to that of the Weigh-house.

The bequest of Thomas Moodie appears to have cost its trustees some little concern as to how to dispose of it, a few years having sufficed to effect very radical changes on the ideas of the civic Council as to the church accommodation required by the citizens. Fountainhall records in 1681 (vol. i. p. 156), "The Town of Edinburgh obtain an act anent Thomas Moodie's legacy and mortification to them of 20,000 merks, that in regard they have no use for a church (which was the end whereto he destined it), that therefore they might be allowed to invert the same to some other public work. The Articles and Parliament recommended the Town to the Privy Council, to see the will of the defunct fulfilled as near as could be; for it comes near to sacrilege to invert a pious donation. The Town offers to buy with it a peal of Bells to hang in St Gile's Steeple, to ring musically and to warn to Church, and to build a Tolbooth above the West Port of Edinburgh, and to put Thomas Moodie's name and arms thereon. Some thought it better to make it a stipend to the Lady Yester's Kirk, or to a minister to preach to all the prisoners in the Canongate and Edinburgh Tolbooths, and at the Correction-house, Sunday about." In the records of the Privy Council, May 15, 1688, when Moodie's bequest was finally appropriated towards providing the ejected burghers of Canongate with a Parish Church, it appears that the annual interest of it had been appropriated to the payment of the Bishop of Edinburgh's house rent. (Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 505.) The arms of Moodie now form a prominent ornament on the front of the Canongate Church. In the vestry an elevation of the church is preserved, having a steeple attached to its south front; but the funds which had been raised for this ornamental addition were appropriated to build the Chapel of Ease at the head of New Street.

Lady Yester's Church.—The Inventar of Pious Donations appends to a long list of pious *mortifications* by Lady Yester, a genealogical sketch, which we correct and complete from Wood, who thus describes the ecclesiastical origin of the Lothian family :—"Mark Ker, second son of Sir Andrew Ker of Cessford, entering into holy orders, was promoted in 1546 to the dignity of Abbot of Newbottle; which station he possessed at the Reformation, 1560, when he renounced the profession of Popery, and held his benefice in commendam. . . . . He married Lady Helen Lesly, second daughter of George fourth Earl of Rothes, and by her had issue, Mark. On the death of his father in 1584, the Commendatorship of Newbottle, to which the latter had been provided by Queen Mary in 1567, was ratified to him by letters under the Great Seal; and he was also appointed one of the extraordinary Lords of Session in his father's place, 12th November 1584. He had the lands of Newbottle erected into a barony, with the title of a Baron, 28th July 1587," &c. This was the father of Lady Yester, of whom the following account appears in the *Inventar:* "The s^{d} Dame Margaret Ker was the eldest [the third] daughter of Mark Commendator of Newbottle, one of the lo/ of council and session, yrafter E. of Lothian, procreat betwixt him and [Margaret] Maxwell, a daughter of Jo. lo/ Herries. In her young years she was 1st married to Ja. Lo. Hay of Yester, and by her wise and vertuous government, she was most instrumental in preserving and improving of the s^{d} estate. By him she had two sons, Jo. lo/ Hay of Yester, yrafter E. of Tweedale, and Sir Wm. her 2d son, for whom she purchased the Barrone of Linplam, &c. The s^{d} Dame Margaret Ker having lived many years a widow, she married Sir Andrew Ker, younger of Fernyhirst, and procured his father to be made Lo/ Jedburgh. Besides the many Gardens, Buildings, Parks, made be her in all places belonging to her husband, in every paroch qr either of her husbands had money-rents, she erected and built Hospitals and schools." After this follows the list, which is altogether surprising, as evidence of continued munificence and benevolent piety; among which are the following items :—

"Towards the building of the Town [Tron?] Kirk of Edin^{r}., she gifted 1000 m.

"She built an kirk near the High School in Ed^{r}., and bestowed toward the building y^{r}of £1000, with 5000 m. for the use of the minister of the s^{d} church, and a little before her death caused joyne y^{r}to an little Isle for the use of the minister, q^{r} she lies interred, with an tomb in the wall, with this inscription :—

" Its needless to erect a marble Tomb:
The daily bread, that for the hungry womb,
And bread of life thy bounty hath provided,
For hungry souls, all times to be divided;
World-lasting monuments shall reare,
That shall endure till Christ himself appear.
Pos'd was thy life; prepar'd thy happy end;
Nothing in either was without commend,
Let it be the care of all who live hereafter,
To live and die like Margaret Lady Yester:
Who died 15 March 1647. Her age 75."

The old Lady Yester's Church built in 1644, stood at the corner of the High School Wynd, surrounded by a churchyard. It is a proof of the flimsy character of modern ecclesiastical edifices, as well as the little veneration they excited in the minds of the worshippers, that this church has already disappeared, and been rebuilt considerably to the westward, in a very strange and nondescript style of architecture. The tomb of the foundress, and a tablet recording her good works, are both rebuilt in the New Church, and we presume her body has also been removed to the new "minister's little isle."

IV. CORPORATION AND MASONIC HALLS.

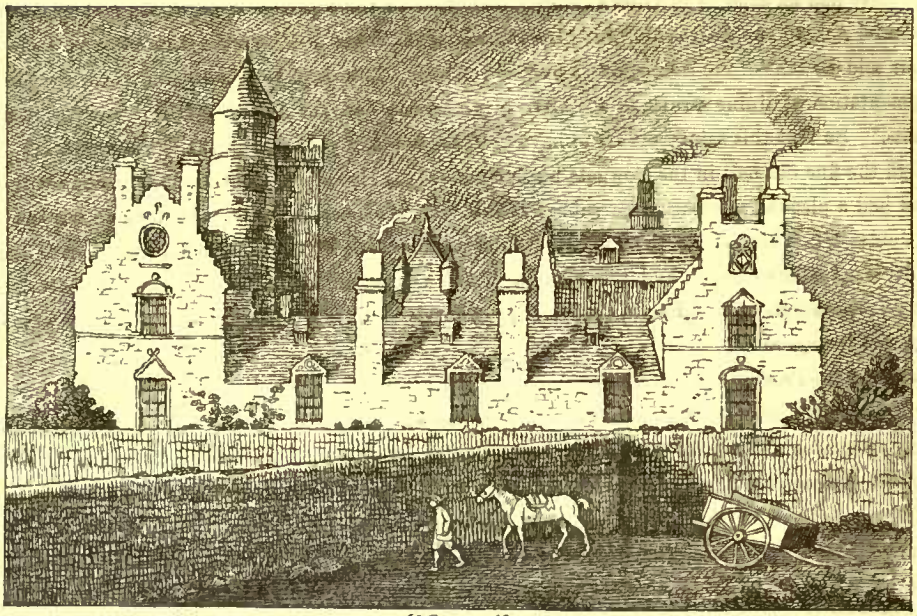
CANDLEMAKERS.—The Hall of this ancient Corporation still stands at the Candlemaker Row, with the arms of the Craft boldly cut over the doorway on a large panel, and beneath, their appropriate motto, *Omnia manifesta luce.* Internally, however, the hall is subdivided into sundry small apartments; much more circumscribed accommodation sufficing for the assembly of the fraternity in these days of gaslight and reform. The Candlemakers of Edinburgh were incorporated by virtue of a Seal of Cause granted them in 1517, wherein it is required "That na maner of Man nor Woman occupy the said Craft, as to be ane Maister, and to set up Buit, bot gif he be ane Freman, or ells an Freman's Wyfe of the said Craft, allanerlie; and quhan thay set up Buit, thay sall pay to Sanct Geil's Wark, half a mark of sylver, and to the Reparatioun, bylding and uphalding of the Licht of ony misterfull Alter within the College Kirk of Sanct Geils, quhair the said Deykin and Craftismen thinks maist neidfull, and half ane Mark by and quhill the said Craftismen be furnist of ane Alter of thair awin. And in lykwayis, ilk Maister and Occupiar of the said Craft, sall, in the Honour of Almichtie God, and of his blessit Mother, Sanct Marie, and of our Patroun, Sanct Geill, and of all Sanctis of Heaven, sall gif zeirlie to the helping and furthering of ony guid Reparatioun, either of Licht or ony other neidfull wark till ony Alter situate within the College Kirk, maist neidfull, Ten Shillings; and to be gaderit be the Deykin of the said Craft, ay and quhill thay be provydit of an Alter to thameselffis; and he that disobeis the same, the Deykin and the Leif of the Craft sall poynd with ane Officiar of the Toun, and gar him pay walx to oure Lady's Alter, quhill thay get an Alter of thair awin. And that nane of the said Craftismen send ony Lads, Boyis, or Servands, oppinlie upoun the Hie-gaitt with ony Candill, to roup or to sell in playne Streites, under the payne of escheiting of the Candill, paying ane pund of walx to oure Lady's Alter, the first falt," &c. It does not appear whether or not the Craft ever founded an altar or adopted a patron saint of their own, before the *new light* of the Reformers of the Congregation put an end to the whole system of candle-gifts and forfeits to the altars of St Giles's Church. The venerable fraternity of Candlemakers still exists, no unworthy sample of a close corporation. The number of its members amounts to *three*, who annually meet for the purpose of electing the office-bearers of the corporation, and distributing equitably the salaries and other perquisites accruing to them from its funds in return for their onerous duties!

TAILORS.—The Corporation of Tailors, a more ancient fraternity, claiming, indeed, as their founder the first stitcher of fig-leaf aprons, or, according to the old Geneva Bible, of *breeches*, in the plains of Mesopotamia,—appear to have had an altar in St Giles's Church, dedicated to their patron saint, St Ann, at the date of their Seal of Cause, A.D. 1500. In 1554, Robert, Commendator of Abbey of Holyrood, grants to "ye Tailzour crawft within our said Brwcht of the cannogait of our said Abbay," Letters of Incorporation, which specially provide for "augmentation of diuine seruice at ane altar biggit within our said Abbay, quhair Sanct An, thair patrone now stands." So that this saint appears to have been the adopted patroness of the Craft in general.

Though the fine old hall in the Cowgate has long been abandoned by this Corporation, they still exist as a body, and had a place of meeting in Carrubber's Close, one of the chief ornaments of which was an autograph letter of James VI., addressed to the Tailors of Edinburgh, which hung framed and glazed over the old fire-place. St Magdalene's Chapel, and the modern Mary's Chapel in Bell's Wynd, form the chief halls of the remaining Corporations of Edinburgh, that have long survived all the purposes for which they were originally chartered and incorporated.

FREEMASONS.—Probably in no city in the world have the brotherhood of the mystic tie more zealously revived their ancient secret fraternisation than they did in Edinburgh during the eighteenth century. The hereditary office of grand-master which had been granted by James II. to William St Clair of Roslin, and to his heirs and successors in the barony of Roslin, was then about to expire with the last of that old line. In 1736, William St Clair of Roslin, the last hereditary grand-master, intimated to a chapter of the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge his intention of resigning his office into the hands of the Scottish brotherhood, in order that the office he inherited might be perpetuated by free election. The consequence was the assembly in Edinburgh, on the ensuing St Andrew's Day, of a representative assembly, consisting of deputies elected by all the Scottish lodges, and thus was constituted *The Grand Lodge of Scotland.* The Scottish lodges took precedence according to seniority: the Kilwinning Lodge standing foremost, and next in order the ancient Edinburgh Lodge of St Mary, the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge, and after it the Lodge of Perth and Scone, the more ancient seat of the Scottish government. Their lodge halls are to be found in various quarters of the town Among the antiquities of C. K. Sharpe, Esq., is a finely carved oak door of a small press or ambry, having a figure of the Virgin carved in low relief on the panel, which belonged to one of the lodges. In the hall of St David's Lodge in Hyndford's Close, a still more venerable antique used to be shown,—an original portrait of King Solomon, painted for the first Grand Lodge, at the founding of the order, while the Temple of Jerusalem was in progress! We understand, however, that some of the brethren entertain doubts of its being *quite so old*, though one venerable octagenarian answered our inquiries by an ancient legend of the burgh, which bears that certain of the Town Guard of Edinburgh were present in Jerusalem at the Crucifixion, and carried off this veritable portrait from the Temple during the commotions that ensued; all which the reader will receive and believe as a genuine old Edinburgh tradition!

The most characteristic feature, however, of the Masonic fraternity of Edinburgh, was the Roman Eagle Lodge. There was at the period of Robert Burns's first visit to Edinburgh about a dozen different masonic lodges assembling in Edinburgh, wherein noblemen, judges, grave professors, and learned divines, lawyers, and scholars of all sorts, mixed with the brotherhood in decorous fraternisation and equality. It was, perhaps, from an idea of creating within the masonic republic a scholarly aristocracy, that should preserve for their own exclusive enjoyment one lodge of the fraternity, without infringing on the equality of rights in the order, that the *Roman Eagle Lodge* was founded, at whose meetings no language but Latin was allowed to be spoken. It was established, we believe, in the year 1780, by the celebrated and eccentric Dr Brown, author of *Elementa Medicinæ*, and founder of what is termed the Brunonian System in medicine. It affords no very flattering picture of Edinburgh society at that period, to learn that this classic fraternity owed its dissolution to the excesses of its members, wherein they far surpassed their brethren—not altogether famous as patterns of temperance. The Roman Eagle Hall, in Brodie's Close, still bears the name of the learned brotherhood.



Wrights Houses Wrights Houses Sold by I. Anslie at the Cross Edinburgh

V. WRYCHTISHOUSIS.

In the description attached to a view of Wrichtishousis, in "An elegant collection of interesting views in Scotland," printed by Oliver & Co., Nether Bow, 1802, the western wing is described as the most ancient part of the edifice, while the eastern wing is affirmed to have been built in the reign of King Robert III., and the centre range connecting the two in that of James VI. There was probably, however, no other authority for this than the dates and armorial bearings, the whole of which we conceive to be the work of the latter monarch's reign. Arnot furnishes the very laconic account of it, that it is said to have been built for the reception of a mistress of King James IV. That it was built for such a purpose cannot admit of any credit; but it is possible that that gay and gallant monarch may have entertained special favour for some of the fair scions of the old Napier stock.

Allusion is made in a foot-note, on page 351, to "The History of the Partition of the Lennox;" we find, however, that the author had not only pointed out the shields of the Merchiston and Wrychtishousis Napiers on the old tomb at St Giles's, in his Memoirs of Napiers of Merchiston, but we believe he was the first to detect that the bearings on one of these shields was the Wrychtishousis arms, and not those of Scott of Thirlestane, as they had previously been presumed to be; these two families having been united in the person of Francis fifth Lord Napier, son of the Baroness Napier and Sir William Scott, Bart., of Thirlestane. These arms, placed above the tablet marking the tomb of the Napier family, on the north wall of the choir of St Giles's Church, were removed, in the recent alterations, from the interior of the church, where they formerly stood above an altar-tomb, underneath the same window, on the outside of which the tablet was placed. There is no reason for believing them to be of the same date. The style of ornament round the border of the tablet can hardly be

assigned to an earlier reign than that of James VI., while the shape of the shields indicates a much more remote era.

We are indebted to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., for the above spirited etching of Wrychtishousis, as seen from the south-west. The principal front of the building was to the north-east, and the old tower, which had formed the nucleus of this picturesque edifice, and was the most prominent feature in the front view, is seen here rising above its roof.

VI. PORTEOUS MOB.

A VERY curious allusion to the Porteous Mob occurs in the defence of the celebrated Horne Tooke, on his trial for libel, in 1777. The judge before whom he pled his own cause was the Earl of Mansfield, whose services were engaged on behalf of the interests of the Scottish capital, at the time when it was sought to subject both it and and its magistracy to ignominious pains and penalties, in order to gratify the indignant Queen Caroline, whose unwonted powers as Regent had been insulted by the deed of the rioters, which set her royal pardon at naught. Lord Mansfield must have known whatever could be communicated to one of the council for the defence of Edinburgh and its ancient rights, and knowing this, Horne Tooke addresses him :—"I shall not trouble you to repeat the particulars of the affair of Captain Porteous at Edinburgh. These gentlemen are so little pleased with military execution upon themselves, that Porteous was charged by them with murder, he was prosecuted, convicted, and when he was reprieved after sentence, the people of the town executed that man themselves, so little did they approve of military execution. Now, gentlemen, *there are at this moment people of reputation, living in credit, making fortunes under the Crown, who were concerned in that very fact—who were concerned in the execution of Porteous.* I do not speak it to censure them ; for, however irregular the act, my mind approves of it."—"Trial of John Horne, Esq., for a libel, before the Right Hon. William Earl of Mansfield, in the Court of King's Bench, 4th July 1777." The libel for which he was tried, was a vehement attack on the conduct of the Ministry on the breaking out of the American war. The verdict involved him both in a tedious imprisonment and a fine of £200. It can hardly, therefore, be supposed that the defendant would unadvisedly risk such a statement, so that it affords a singular corroboration of the traditions that represent the higher classes to have furnished the chief leaders in the Porteous Mob. We have been told by an old citizen that Lord Mansfield was himself affirmed to have been among the rioters on the night of Porteous's execution ; but that is exceedingly improbable, as he had then been practising for five years at the English Bar.

VII. "LADY ANN BOTHWELL'S LAMENT."

THE account of the heroine of this beautiful ballad given in the text (page 227) is incorrect. In "The Scottish Ballads," p. 133, it is remarked :—"The editor, by the assistance of a valued antiquarian friend, is enabled now to lay a true and certain history of the heroine before the public. 'Lady Ann Bothwell,' was no other than the Honourable Anna Bothwell, sister of Bothwell Bishop of Orkney, at the Reformation, but who was afterwards raised to a temporal peerage under the title of Lord Holyroodhouse." As this account is necessarily wrong, since it was not the Bishop, but his eldest son John, who was created Lord Holyroodhouse, Lady Ann has been described in the text as the daughter of the latter. The following, however, is the true narrative,

which originally appeared in a note to "The Household Book of Lady Marie Stewart, Countess of Mar"—a work now of great rarity, only a very small edition having been printed. It was edited by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. There is no date to it, but we are informed by the editor that it was published in 1814. It is as an illustration of the following entry of 1st September 1640. (Page 43) :—"The Comptar craves allowance of two nights charges, being sent to waitt upon the buriall of Col. Alexander, his corps, which was buried before he came att Tyninghame, 53sh. 4d." To this the editor appends the following note in reference to the Colonel :—"Colonel Alexander Erskine, Lady Mar's third son, was blown up in the Castle of Dunglass, together with his brother-in-law the Earl of Hadington. 'Upon Sunday the 30th August 1640, the Earl of Hadington, with about eighty persons, of Knights, Barons, and Gentlemen, within the place of Dunglass in the Merse pertaining heritably to the Lord Hume, was suddenly blown up in the air, by a sudden fire occasioned thus : Haddington, with his friends and followers, rejoicing how they defended the army's magazine frae the English garrison of Berwick, came altogether to Dunglass, having no fear of evil, where they were all sudd enly blown up with the roof of the house in the air, by powder, whereof there was abundance in this place, and never bone nor hyre seen of them again.'—*Spalding.* Bishop Guthrie remarks, that 'The very day the Scots entered Newcastle, Dunglass Castle, in the keeping of Haddington (who had left the King's party, and held it under Leslie), was blown up about mid-day; he and about sixty gentlemen were buried under one of the walls, which fell upon them as they stood in the close. The King said upon it, albeit he had been very ungrateful to him, yet he was sorry that he had not at his dying some time to repent.'

"Sir Robert Gordon, in his History of the Sutherland Family, asserts that Lord Haddington and Colonel Alexander Erskine had returned the day before from a victorious skirmish with the English, and were at dinner when the explosion took place. He adds, 'This was ascryved to a servant of the Earle's (ane Englishman) who was his barbour, but how truly I know not.'

"Alexander Erskine, son to John Earl of Mar, had a letter of provision of the abbacy of Cambuskenneth, 31st May 1608. He and his brother, Lord Cardross, were two of the chief mourners at the funeral of their uncle, Ludovick Duke of Lennox, who died 16th February 1624, and was buried at Westminster (*Sir Robert Gordon's History of the Sutherland Family*). He was knighted, but at what time is uncertain, and was in the French military service, as appears from a letter printed by Lord Hailes, and communicated by Lord Alva. It is addressed to a person unknown in France, by the leaders of the Scottish army, written in bad French (which is translated by Lord Hailes), and dated from the camp at Dunse, 20th August 1640 :—

"'Sir,—The state of our affairs has constrained us to levy a numerous army for preserving this kingdom from utter ruin ; hence it is that we could not permit Colonel Erskine to transport his regiment (into France) last year, and the same course still obliges us to employ the Colonel at home in the defence of his country. Although he is exceedingly zealous in the public service, yet he will not accept of any commission from us, unless with the consent of his Most Christian Majesty, and under the condition of being permitted to repair to France at whatever time he may be required. . . . . Peace is the aim of our desires, and the wish of our souls ; as soon as that is concluded, we shall demonstrate, by our assisting Colonel Erskine in his levies, and by procuring good recruits for his Majesty's service, that true Scotsmen can never forget their ancient alliances, and the common interest which unites them with France ; and therefore, Sir, we again entreat you to represent what has been here said, and the situation of Colonel Erskine's affairs, to his Majesty, and to his Eminence. We hope to obtain these favours by your means ; and, besides the obligations which you will thereby confer on the Colonel, you will oblige us to remain, Sir, your most humble servants, A. Leslie. Argyle. Rothes. Mar. Balcarras. Belmerino. Seaforth.'

"This letter was written only ten days previous to the Colonel's death, which tradition affirms to have been regarded as a punishment of Providence for his amorous perjuries towards Anna Bothwell (a sister of Lord Holyroodhouse), whose lament has exercised the subtile wits of antiquarians, in the ascertainment of her pedigree. She has been made out to be the divorced Countess of Bothwell, and also, I believe, a Miss Boswell

of Auchinleck ; but a passage in Father Hay's MS. History of the Holyroodhouse Family, seems to confirm the tradition beyond the possibility of doubt. Recording the children of Bishop Bothwell, who died 1593, he tells us—'He had also a daughter named Anna, who fell with child to a sone of the Earle of Mar.' Colonel Alexander's portrait, which belonged to his mother is exceedingly handsome, with much vivacity of countenance, dark blue eyes, a peaked beard, and moustaches :—

'Ay me ! I fell—and yet no question make
What I should do again for such a sake.'"

Father Hay has thus recorded the seduction of Anna Bothwell, in his *Diplomatum Collectio* (MS. Advoc. Lib. vide Liber Cart. Sancte Crucis, p. xxxviii.) :—"Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, became Abbot of Holyrudehouse after Robert Steward, base son to King James the Fift by Euphem Elphinstone ; who was created Earle of Orkney and Lord Shetland by King James the Sixth, 1581. This Adam was a younger brother to Sir Richard Bothwell, Provost of Edinburgh in Queen Maries time, and a second sone to Sir Francis Bothwell, lord of the Session in King James the Fifts time, and was begotten upon Anna Livingstone, daughter to the Lord Livingstone. He married Margaret Murray, and begote upon her John, Francis, William, and George Bothwells, and a daughter Anna, who by her nurse's deceit, fell with child to a sone of the Earle of Mar."

Both the face and figure of Colonel Sir Alexander Erskine are very peculiar, as represented in his portrait. He is dressed in armour, with a rich scarf across his right shoulder, and a broad vandyke collar round his neck. The head is unusually small for the body ; and the features of the face, though handsome, are sharp, and the face tapering nearly to a point at the chin. The effect of this is considerably heightened by the length of his moustaches, and his peaked beard, or rather imperial, as the tuft below the under lip, which leaves the contour of the chin exposed, is generally termed. The whole combines to convey a singularly sly and cat-like expression, which—unless we were deceived when examining it by our knowledge of the leading incidents of his history—seem very characteristic of the "dear deceiver."

The original portrait, by Jamieson, bears the date and age of Colonel Erskine—1628, aged 29. Two stanzas of the ballad, somewhat varied, occur in Brome's Play of the Northern Lass, printed in 1632—not 1606 as erroneously stated before. From this we may infer, not only that the ballad must have been written very shortly after the event that gave rise to it—possibly by Anna Bothwell herself—but also that the seducer must himself have been very young, so that the nurse is probably not unfairly blamed by Father Hay as an active agent in poor Anna's wrongs.

VIII. ARMORIAL BEARINGS.

Blyth's Close.—The armorial bearings in Blyth's Close, with the initials A. A., and the date 1557 (page 148), may possibly mark the house of Alexander Achison, burgess of Edinburgh, the ancestor of the Viscounts Gosford of Ireland, and of Sir Archibald Achison, the host of Dean Swift at Market Hill, who, with his particularly lean lady, became the frequent butt of the witty Dean's humour, both in prose and verse. The old burgess acquired the estate of Gosford in East Lothian by a charter of Queen Mary, dated 1561. Nisbet says, "The name of Aitchison carries, argent, an eagle with two heads displayed, sable ; on a chief, vert, two mullets, or."

Gosford's Close.—Since the printing of the text (page 180), we have discovered the ancient lintel formerly in Gosford's Close bearing a representation of the Crucifixion, and have succeeded in getting it removed to the Antiquarian Museum. It has three shields on it, boldly cut, and in good preservation. On the centre

one is the Crucifixion, beautifully cut. On the shield to the right, two crescents in chief, on the field a boar's head erased. On the left shield, a saltier, a bar in pale, intersecting a small saltier in the middle chief point. On the fesse point, a circle forming with the saltier and bar a St Katherine's wheel. On the flanks, the initials M. T. Above the whole is the inscription cut in very neat old ornamental characters :—SOLI . DEO . HONOR . ET . GLORIA. This, we have little doubt, indicated the mansion of Mungo Tennant, burgess of Edinburgh, who, says Nisbet (vol. i. p. 146), "had his seal appended to a reversion of half of the lands of Leny, the fourth of October 1542, whereupon was a boar's head in chief, and two crescents in the flanks ; and in base the letter M., the initial letter of his Christian name." The bearings, it will be observed, are reversed. Similar liberties, however, are not of such rare occurrence as heraldic authorities would lead us to expect. Francis Tennant, probably a relative of this burgess, according to Nisbet sometime Provost of Edinburgh (though his name does not appear in Maitland's list), an adherent of Queen Mary, was taken prisoner while fighting for her in 1571.

WARRISTON'S CLOSE.—The mansion of Bruce of Binning, with its finely sculptured lintel and armorial bearings—Bruce impaling Preston—in Warriston's Close (page 231), appears from the following notice by Chalmers (Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 758, extracted from the Chartularies of Newbottle Abbey), to be a building of the very early part of the sixteenth century, if not earlier ; so that its substantial walls must have experienced little damage from the burning of 1544. "Andrew, the abbot [of Newbottle], in May 1499, granted his lands of Kinard, in Stirlingshire, to Edward Brus, his well-deserving armiger, rendering for the same sixteen marks yearly ; and in December 1500, he gave to *Robert Brus of Bining, and Mary Preston his spouse*, the Monastery's lands, called the Abbot's Lands of West-Bining in Linlithgowshire ; rendering for the same four shillings yearly."

IX. THE RESTORATION. BURNING OF CROMWELL, THE POPE, &c.

DURING the rejoicings in Edinburgh, consequent on the "happy Restoration," the means taken to show the sincerity of the new-fashioned loyalty were characterised by the oddest mixture of devotion and joviality conceivable. In the following account of them recorded in Nicoll's Diary, not the least noticeable feature is the scene between that *notable traytor Oliver* and the Devil, with which the holiday's heterogeneous proceedings are wound up :—

"The Kingdome of Scotland haiffing takin to thair consideration the great thinges and wonderfull that the Lord God had done for thame, in restoring unto thame thair native Soverane Lord and King, efter so long banischement, and that in a wonderfull way, worthy of admiration, thai resolvit upone severall dayis of thankisgeving to be set apairt for his Majesteis Restauratioun, and for his mercyes to this pure land, quho haid opned a dure of hope to his pepill, for satling thrie Kingdomes in religion and justice. And, first, this day of thankisgeving began at Edinburgh, and throw all the kirkis and pairtes of Lothiane, upone Tysday the nyntene day of Junij 1660, quhair thair wer sermondis maid throw all the kirkis, and quhairat all the Magistrates of Edinburgh and the Commoune Consell were present, all of them in thair best robis ; the great mace and sword of honor careyed befoir thame to the sermond, and throw the haill streitis as they went, all that day. And eftir the sermond endit, the Magistrates and Consell of Edinburgh, with a great number of the citizens, went to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, quhair a great long boord of foote of lenth wes covered with all soirtes of sweit meittis, and thair drank the Kinges helth, and his brether ; the spoutes of the Croce rynnand all that tyme with abundance of clareyt wyne. Ther wer thrie hundreth dosane of glassis all brokin and cassin throw the streitis, with sweit meitis in abundance. Major-generall Morgan commander in cheiff of all the forces in Scotland, and the Governor of the Castell of Edinburgh, being both Englischemen, with sum of the speciall officeris of the

airmy, wer all present. Thair wes a gaird, also, of the maist able burgessis of the toun, quha did gaird the croce, tabill and streitis during this feast, all of thame weill apperrellit, and with partizens in thair handis, to the number of four or fyve hundreth persones or thairby, in very gude equipage and ordor. And in the meantyme, quhyll thai wer thus feasting at the Croce, the haill bellis in Edinburgh and Cannogait did reing, the drumes did beatt, trumpettis soundit, the haill troupes on horsbak, and sodgeris on fute being also within the toun at this tyme and upone service, with the haill inhabitantes, both men, wemen, and chyldrene, gave thair severall volyes. Thair wer numberis of trumpettis and trumpettouris at this solempnitie, quha actit thair pairtes formalie. Farder, at nycht thair wes bonefyres put out throw the haill streitis of Edinburgh, and fyre workis both thair and at the Castell of Edinburgh, and within the Citidaill of Leith, that nicht, in abundance, till eftir xij houris and moir. Thair wer also sex violes, thrie of them base violes, playing thair continuallie. Thair wer also sum musicians placed thair, quha wer resolvit to act thair pairtes, and wer willing and reddy, bot by ressone of the frequent acclamationes and cryes of the pepill universallie throw the haill toun, thair purpos wes interruptit. Bachus also, being set upone ane punzeon of wyne upon the frontische pece of the Croce with his cumerhaldis, wes not ydle. And in the end of this solempnitie, the effigies of that notable tyrant and traytor Oliver, being set up upone a pole, and the Devill upone aneuther, upone the Castell Hill of Edinburgh ; it wes ordored by fyre wark, ingyne, and trayne, the devill did chase that traytour, and persewit him still, till he blew him in the air."

Burning the Pope.—Of a somewhat different character are the proceedings with which the populace celebrated the Christmas of 1680, in defiance of the more hospitable intentions of the Magistrates, who were anxious that no occurrence of an unpalatable nature should ruffle the serenity of the Duke of York, who had come to Scotland as Commissioner and representative of his royal brother Charles II., at the meeting of the Scottish Estates. The following is the account of these proceedings furnished by Lord Fountainhall, in his Historical Observes :—

"On the 26 of December 1680, being Christmas day, some of the schollars of the Colledge of Edinburgh having contributed together for the making ane effigies and image of the Pope, they entred in a bond and combination to burne him after a solemne procession on Yuille day, and gave oaths on to another for the secrecy of it ; yet it came abroad, and a Councell being called on the 24 of December, at night, for preventing it, they ordered the King's forces to be brought within the City of Edinburgh to oppose it, and seized on some English boyes of the name of Gray and others the next morning in thair beds, and imprisoned thame. Yet all this did not divert the designe, but, by a witty stratagem, the boyes carried a portrait to the Castlehil (as if this blind had been the true on, and they had intended to carry it in procession doune the streets and performe ther ceremony and pageantrie in the Abbey Court over against the Duke of Albanies windows), which made all the forces draw up at the West Bow head, and in the Grasse Mercat, leist the boyes should escape by coming doune the South Back of the Castle, and thus having stopped all avenues as they thought, thir boyes escaped by running doune vennels leading to the North Loch side, and other boyes carried the true effigies from the Grammar Schooll yeard to the head of Blackfreis Wind, and that on the Hy-Street, first clodded the picture with dirt, and then set fyre to the pouder within the trunk of his body, and so departed. This was highlie resented by some as ane inhospitall affront, designed to the Duke of York (though it was only to his religion and not to himselfe), being a stranger among us (though he be deschended of Scots blood), and that it was but ane aperie of the London apprentices, who had done the like before, and that it opened the Papists' mouths to call us cruell. But what the boyes did in show, the Papists ware wont to do to us as hæreticks in reality ; and some thought boyes might as well sport themselfes with this, as ministers in the pulpit affirme the Popes to have been bougerers, hæreticks, adulterers, sorcerers, sodomites, &c. ; the punishment whereof by all laws is Vivi comburium, burning alive ; and it was a compensation for his excommunicating all Protestants yearly on this day. In summe, it was a childish folly, and scarse deserved so much notice should have been taken of it."

The same incremation of his Holiness was re-enacted on the succeeding Christmas of 1681, accompanied

with some additional proceedings characteristic of the temper of the Government, and the consequent reaction produced on the popular mind. Fountainhall remarks :—"We see a great stir made for the Colleginers burning the Pope at Christmas 1680; this year the boyes and prentices forboor ther solemnity on Zuille day, because it happened to be a Sunday, but they had it on the 26th of December at night. Ther preparations were so quiet that none suspected it this year; they brought him to the Croce, and fixed his chair in that place wher the gallows stands, he was trucked up in a red goune and a mitar with 2 keyes over his arme, a crucifix in on hand and the oath of the Test in the other, then they put fyre to him, and it brunt lenthy till it came to the pouder at which he blew up in the air. While they ware at this employment ther ware lightnings and claps of thunder, which is very unusuall at that season of the year. At this tyme many things were done in mockerie of the Test: on I shall tell. The children of Heriots Hospitall finding that the dog which keiped the yairds of that Hospitall had a public charge and office, they ordained him to take the Test, and offered him the paper, but he, loving a bone rather than it, absolutely refused it; then they rubbed it over with butter (which they called ane Explication of the Test in imitation of Argile), and he licked of the butter but did spite out the paper, for which they held a jurie on him, and in derision of the sentence against Argile, they found the dog guilty of treason, and actually hanged him."

X. WEST BOW. MAJOR WEIR.

In our account of Major Weir (Part ii. chap. ix.), his sister is styled Grizel Weir, in accordance with *Master James Frazer's Providential Passages*, a MS. from which Mr George Sinclair has evidently borrowed the greater portion of his account of the Major, without acknowledging the source of his information. In Law's Memorials, however, as well as in Sinclair's *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, she bears the name of Jean Weir, by which she is most frequently alluded to. One of the witnesses examined on the trial of this noted wizard, as appears from the *Criminal Record in the Register House of Edinburgh*, was "Maister John Sinclare, minister at Ormistoune," who deponed, among other strange items of evidence, that "having asked him if he had seen the deivell, he answered, that any fealling he ever hade of him was in the dark!"—Law's Memorials, note, p. 26.

Projects for improving the Old Town of Edinburgh, and for extending it beyond its ancient limits, appear to have engaged general attention even so early as the reign of Charles II., when the court and levees of the Duke of York at Holyrood, revived somewhat of the old life and splendour of the Scottish capital, which her citizens had so long been strangers to. On account of the narrow limits of the Old Town, its inhabitants were on nearly the same familiar footing as those of a country village; and schemes of improvement that might now lie unheeded for years in the hands of some civic committee, were then discussed at every club and change-house, until they became incorporated among the *fixed ideas* of the population, affording at any time a ready theme for the display of wisdom by that industrious class of idlers, usually composed of retired traders, country lairds, and half-pay officers, to whom a subject for grumbling over, and improving in theory, is as necessary as daily food.

In Gough's British Topography (vol. ii. p. 674), the following account appears of an ingenious model of Edinburgh, constructed about the middle of last century. It was, no doubt, furnished to the author by George Paton, and shows how early some of the *improvement schemes*, which have since cost the citizens so much both in *antiquities and taxes*, were made the subject of reforming speculations, and favourably entertained as desirable alterations on the snug and closely-packed little Scottish capital of the eighteenth century:—

"A model of Edinburgh was executed by the late Mr Gavin Hamilton, bookseller: it was most accurately done, with his intended improvements of carrying a street of a gentle ascent from the Grassmarket in a line up to the west end of the Luckenbooths, for which purpose he could shift the representation of the houses, and lay open his plan to public view. This finished work cost him some years' labour, and was shown in a room of the Royal Infirmary in 1753 and 1754: but after his death it was neglected, and destroyed for firewood. His proposals, like other commodious, salutary, and beneficial projects for the improvement of the place, were rejected; as was likewise the scheme of an entry into the High Street of Edinburgh from St Cuthbert's or West Church, along the hill side by south and west of the Castle, which by a gradual ascent might be completed at no very considerable sum, to facilitate the easier conveyance of carriages from the south and west than by the West Bow, a most inconvenient and steep height for horses with coals and other articles for the citizens' use; this might terminate the head of the causeway on the Castle Hill. A south entry to the High Street being much wanted for the same necessary purposes, has been of late proposed, but hitherto rejected also, from an excess of toll all needful carriages would be subjected to, which many of the inhabitants are unable to bear.

"Sir John Dalrymple has been at uncommon care and expence in causing to be executed an accurate survey and plan for an easy access into the city from the south, by a gentle declivity and ascent from the High Street at the head of Marlin's Wynd to Nicolson's Park in a streight line, without any arch."

The following *jeu d'esprit* may suffice, like some of the school-rhymed arithmetical and grammatical rules, days of the month, and the like useful helps to short memories, to preserve in the reader's recollection some memento of the strange associations that have already been related in sober prose as pertaining to the old West Bow: the like of which he will in vain seek for in any existing corner either of the Old or New Town.

THE WAST BOW.

DEDICATED TO THE HON. BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR CITY IMPROVEMENTS.

Through the auld Wast Bow, and to the Grass-Market,
Mony a ane has gane doun fast an' erie;
Gentles wi' hollands fu' brawly besarkit,—
Covenant haulders o' warld's care fu' weary,—
Doom gaol an' gallows birds naething has carkit,
Fu' dauntonly fitting it to the Grass-Market.
Hurrying doun, stoiterin' an' stumblin',
The gleger ye gang better luck against tumblin'!

Up o'er its crooked an' dingy auld causey,
Fu' stately an' trig in their cleadin' o' braws,
Our Jamies escorted ilk royal Scottish lassie
To weddin' and beddin' in Holyrood ha's;
Our pedant, King Jamie, King Charlie the saucy,
An' bauld Noll, rade in state, ilka ane o'er its causey,
Hurrying doun, &c.

An' Provost an' Bailies, fu' prudely I'se warrant,
Ha'e bided for Royalty doun the Wast Bow;
An' speered at the yett, whan he cam, for his errand,
An' keeked round the corner, wi' face in a low;
An' Deacon an' Guild-Dean, an' Town-Clerk auld-farand,
Practeesing their best bow fu' loyale I'se warrant.
Hurrying doun, &c.

An' then there 's the Major, sin' less winna ser' him,
His servitude haulds o'er the crook o' the Bow,
Wi' his tittie, sin' better folk wunna gang near him,
Come thundering at midnight in glamour a'low;
The Deil for their coachman; a whup wi' some smeddum,
As needs maun wha drive wi' auld Clooty to lead 'em.
Hurrying doun, &c.

Or belyve, for a change, just as twal' is a bangin',
Whir, out frae the pend, in a whirlwind o' flame,
Ilk cloot, wi' a low frae the causey it 's clangin',
The headless hell-charger gangs galloping hame;
Ill luck to the loon says gude e'en as he 's gangin',
He were better gae doun the Wast Bow to his hangin'.
Hurrying doun, &c.

An' dinna forget, o' the auld gousty alley,
The Major's black caddie, his stick o' a' sticks,
At his bidin' on errands a shopin' wad sally,
Wad chap at the counter au' play aff its tricks;
Yet ne'er ane wagged his tongue 'gainst the Major's queer vally
As he chanced on him daunderin' doun the auld alley.
Hurrying doun, &c.

An' then there's Jock Porteous's gaist took an airin',
Wi' his gun o'er his shouther just primed for a shot,
Ance a year, at the fit o' the Bow disappearin',
Whar the dyster's pole ser'ed for the raxin' he got.
Deil ane, gaist or gomrell, wad think o' repairin',
To the new-fangled Bow for to tak him an airin'.
Hurrying doun, &c.

Foul fa' the Commissioners wi' their improvements,
Their biggins, an' howkins, an' sweepins awa;
May the Major, when neist bent on ane o' his movements,—
'Tis the warst-waled retour that I wus may befa',—
Whisk his coach doun the Bow, just for ilk anes behovements,
Wi' a team o' Commissioners o' the Improvements.
Hurrying doun, stoiterin' an' stumblin',
The gleger ye gang better luck against tumblin'!

XI. OLD BANK CLOSE. ASSASSINATION OF SIR GEORGE LOCKHART BY CHIESLEY OF DALRY.

The following is the circumstantial narrative of this savage act of vengeance, furnished in Father Hay's Manuscript Memoirs (Advocate's Library, tome iii. p. 135):—

"It was not known that the villain was com'd from London till Sunday the 31st, which day he came to the New Church, and offered money to the bedler for a part of my Lord Castlehills seat, just behind the Presidents, whom he designed to have murdered there; but not getting the seat, he would have none at all, and walked

up and down the church till the end of the sermon. When sermon was done, Chiesly went out before the President, and gained his closs head, where he saluted him going down, as the President did Chiesly. My Lord Castlehill and Daniel Lockhart convoyed [the President] a peace down the closs, and talked a while with him, after which they both departed. The President called back the last, and whilst Daniel was returning, Dalrey approached, to whom Daniel said, 'I thought you had been att London,' without receiving any other answer than that 'He was there now.' Daniel offered to take him by the hand, but the other shuffled by him, and comeing close to the President's back discharged his pistol, before that any suspected his design: The bullet going in beneath the right shoulder, and out att the left pap, was battered on the wall.

"The President immediately turned about, looked the murderer grievously in the face; and then finding himself beginning to faile, he leant to the wall, and said, 'Hold me, Daniel; hold me.' These were his last words. He was carried immediately to his own house, and was almost dead before he could reach it. Daniel and the President's Chaplain apprehended, in the meantime, Dalrey, who own'd the fact, and never offered to flie. He was carried to the guard, kept in the Weigh-house, and afterwards taken to prisone.

"The President's Ladie, hearing the shot and a cry in the closs, got in her smock out of her bed, and took the dead bodie in her arms, at which sight swounding she was carried to her chamber. The corps were laid in the same room where he used to consult. The first of Aprile a Meeting of the States was call'd, att nine of the clock, anent the Murtherer. The Provost of Edinburgh and two Bailliffs, with the Earle of Errol's deputys, were admitted to concurr if they pleased. Two of each bench of the meeting, viz. the Earle of Eglinton and Glencarne, Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Boyne and Blacbarroure, Barons, Sir John Dalrymple and Mr William Hamilton, Burgesses, were impower'd to sit on the Assize, and to cause torture Dalrey, to know if any other was accessarie to the murther. The President's friends, out of tenderness to the Ladie and childring, did not insist upon the crime of assassination of a Judge and Privy Counsellor. Calderwood, designed Writter in Edinburgh, upon suspicion was imprisoned. He was waiting at the closs head when the shot was given, and fled thereafter. He had been likewise seen with Dalrey at the Abbey the Saturday before, following the President as he came from Duke Hamilton's lodgeing.

"The Court sat down as the States rose. The Murtherer was brought in, who did not deny the fact, and confesst that none was accessarie. He got the boots and the thumekins. Dureing the torture he confessed nothing. Cardross and Polwart were against the tortureing. Calderwood was brought in also, but confessed nothing. Sir George was buried in the Gray Friers Church, upon the south side. He was a great favourer of the King's, no friend to the Roman Catholicks, and an open enimie of Melford's, whom he regarded as the author of all the troubles brought upon the King and Country."

The Lady Grange, the romantic story of whose captivity in the Island of St Kilda has since furnished materials both for the novelist and the historian, was a daughter of the assassin, Chiesley of Dalry, and is said to have owed her strange fate to the fierce and vindictive spirit she inherited from her father. Lord Grange entered deeply into the politics of the time, and his wife is believed to have obtained possession of some of the secrets of his party, the disclosure of which would have involved the leaders in great danger, if not in ruin. This accounts for the ready co-operation he found from men otherwise unlikely to have shared in such an abduction. Lady Grange is said to have accelerated the fate which her husband meditated for her, by reminding him, in a fit of passion, "that she was Chieslie's daughter," a threat that implied he might experience a fate similar to that of the Lord President if he provoked her anger. A curious accounnt of the abduction and confinement of Lady Grange in the Western Isles, will be found in the Edinburgh Magazine for 1817.

In the Archæologia Scotica (vol. iv. p. 18), Father Hay's narrative is accompanied with the following letter from Sir Walter Scott, addressed to E. W. A. Drummond Hay, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, in reference to the finding of the assassin's bones at Dalry. The reader will see that it greatly differs from the account we have given (page 179.) The latter is derived from Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., a better authority, we have no hesitation in saying, on questions of *fact* and *antiquarian research*, than

Sir Walter Scott, who, moreover, evidently writes with an imperfect recollection of what he had heard; whereas Mr Sharpe's own grandfather was proprietor of Dalry at the period, and he has himself often heard the facts related by his father, who was present when the discovery was made. The reader, however, has now both versions of the story, and may adopt which of them pleases him best :—

"DEAR SIR,—I return the curious and particular account of Sir George Lockhart's murder by Chiesley of Dalry. It is worthy of antiquarian annotation, that Chiesley was appointed to be gibbetted, not far from his own house, somewhere about Drumsheugh. As he was a man of family, the gibbet was privately cut down, and the body carried off. A good many years since, some alterations were in the course of being made in the house of Dalry, when, on enlarging a closet or cellar in the lower story, a discovery was made of a skeleton, and some fragments of iron, which (were) generally supposed to be the bones of the murderer Chiesley. His friends had probably concealed them there when they were taken down from the gibbet, and no opportunity had occurred for removing them before their existence was forgotten. I was told of the circumstance by Mr James Walker, then my brother in office, and proprietor of Dalry. I do not, however, recollect the exact circumstance, but I dare say Francis Walker Drummond can supply my deficiency of memory.—Yours truly, WALTER SCOTT. Shandwick Place, 15th January 1829. To E. W. A. Drummond Hay, Esq."

XII. SIR DAVID LINDSAY.

IN the quotation from Sir David Lindsay's *Complaynt* (page 39), the text of Chalmers has been followed. Slight as the change is that its punctuation requires to render it correct, the alteration in its sense is very considerable. It should be read thus :—

> "The first sillabis that thow did mute
> Was pa, da, Lyn. Upon the lute
> Then playit I twentie springis perqueir,
> Quhilk was greit plesour for to heir."

"Any old woman in Scotland," says Sir Walter Scott, in his notes to Marmion, "will bear witness that *pa, da, Lyn*, are the first efforts of a child to say *where's David Lindsay?*" A still better reading of it has been suggested, and the true one, as we think, viz., *Play Davy Lindsay.* The poems of Lindsay have now ceased to occupy the place they so long held in the library of the Scottish cottage, yet some trace of their former study is still preserved in the common rustic expression of scepticism—*It's no between the brods o' Davy Lindsay!*—implying that not even Lindsay, whom nothing escapes, has noticed the thing in question.

XIII. UMFRAVILLE'S CROSS.

A FEW additional notices of the Scottish Umfravilles may perhaps help to suggest a clue to the date of erection of the ancient cross that formerly stood on the boundary of the Borough Muir, at St Leonard's Loan (page 293.) In the year 1304, Edward, Longshanks, granted an indemnity to the Scots under certain conditions, one of which imposed a graduated scale of fines on the Scottish clergy and nobles, proportioned in its severity to the opposition he had encountered from them, and the tardiness of their submission to his power. The heaviest of

all these oppressive exactions is imposed on INGELRAM DE UMFRAVILLE, and a proportionately severe fine is required from his vassals.—(Lord Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 288.) This, therefore, indicates one of the chief leaders of the Scots against their English invaders. His fine was to extend over a period of ten years, long before which Edward was in his grave, and nearly every place of strength in Scotland had been wrested from his imbecile son. There seems little reason to doubt that Ingelram de Umfraville would early avail himself of an opportunity to renounce a foreign yoke burdened by such exactions, and to bear his part in expelling the invaders from the kingdom. The following, however, is the very different account of Nisbet, in his "Historical and Critical remarks on the Ragman Roll" (p. 11), if it refer to the same person :—

"Ingelramus de Umphravile was a branch of the Umfraville family that were Englishmen, but possessed of a great estate in Angus, and elsewhere, which they lost, because they would not renounce their allegiance to England, and turn honest Scotsmen. In the rolls of King Robert I., there are charters of lands granted by that Prince, upon the narrative that the lands had formerly belonged, and forfeited to the Crown, by the attainder of *Ingelramus de Umphravile.*"

At an early date the Scottish Umfravilles occupied a high rank. In 1243, Gilbert de Umfraville, Lord of Prudhow and Herbottil, in Northumberland, became Earl of Angus, by right of his marriage with Matilda, Countess in her own right. The name of *Gilleberto de Umframuill* appears as a witness to a confirmation of one of the charters of Holyrood Abbey, granted by William the Lyon (Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis, p. 24); and in a subsequent charter in the same reign he appears as bestowing a carukate of land in Kinard on the same Abbey (Ibid, p. 34). These notes can afford at best only grounds for surmise as to the knight whose memorial cross was not altogether demolished till the year 1810. The base of it, which remained on its ancient site till that recent date, was a mass of whinstone, measuring fully five feet square, by about three feet high above ground. There was a square hole in the centre of it, wherein the shaft of the cross had been inserted. We are informed that it was broken up and used for paving the road.

The poet Claudero, of whom some account is given in a succeeding note, has dedicated an elegy to the "Tunefield Nine," *On the Pollution of St Leonard's Hill, a consecrated and ancient burial-place, near Edinburgh.*" The following stanzas will be sufficient to account for the complete eradication of every vestige of its hospital and graves from the ancient site :—

"The High Priest there, with art and care,
Hath purg'd with gard'ner's skill,
And trench'd out bones of Adam's sons,
Repos'd in Leonard's Hill!

"Graves of the dead, thrown up with spade,
Where long they slept full still,
And turnips grow, from human pow,
Upon St Leonard's Hill!"

XIV. GREYFRIARS' MONASTERY.

THE residence of Henry VI. of England, as well as his heroic Queen and their son, at the Greyfriars Monastery in the Grassmarket, after the total overthrow of that unfortunate monarch's adherents at the Battle of Towton, is referred to in the description of the Grassmarket (pages 17 and 342). The visit of Henry to the Scottish capital has, however, been altogether denied by some writers. The following note by Sir W. Scott, on the fifth canto of Marmion, ought to place this at least beyond doubt :—

"Henry VI. with his Queen, his heir, and the chiefs of his family, fled to Scotland after the fatal Battle of Towton. In this note a doubt was formerly expressed, whether Henry VI. came to Edinburgh, though his Queen certainly did; Mr Pinkerton inclining to believe that he remained at Kirkcudbright. But my noble friend Lord Napier has pointed out to me a grant by Henry of an annuity of forty marks to his Lordship's ancestor, John Napier, subscribed by the King himself *at Edinburgh*, the 28th day of August, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, which corresponds to the year of God, 1461. This grant, Douglas, with his usual neglect of accuracy, dates in 1368. But this error being corrected from the copy in Macfarlane's MSS. pp. 119, 120, removes all scepticism on the subject of Henry VI. being really at Edinburgh. John Napier was son and heir of Sir Alexander Napier, and about this time was Provost of Edinburgh. The hospitable reception of the distressed monarch and his family called forth on Scotland the encomium of Molinet, a contemporary poet. The English people, he says,—

Ung nouveau roy créerent,
Par despiteux vouloir,
Le vieil en deboutérent,
Et son legitime hoir,
Qui fuytyf alla prendre
D'Escossé le garand.
De tous siecles le mendre,
Et le plus tollerant.'"—*Recollection des Avantures.*

No such doubts seem to have been entertained by earlier writers on the question of Henry's entertainment at Edinburgh. The author of the Martial Achievements remarks, in his Life of James III. (Abercombie's Martial Achievements, vol. ii. p. 384) :—"A battle ensued between Caxton and Towton, King Edward gained the day, and King Henry, hearing of the event (for he was not allowed to be at the battle, his presence being thought fatal to either of the parties that had it), hastened with his wife and only son, first to Berwick, where he left the Duke of Somerset, and then to Edinburgh, where he was received with uncommon civility, being honourably lodged and royally entertained by the joint consent of the then Regents."

The same writer, after detailing various negotiations, and the final agreement entered into, between Henry and the administrators of Government in Scotland, James III. being then a minor, adds :—"These transactions being completed, the indefatigable Queen of England left the King, her husband, at his lodgings in the Grey-Friers of Edinburgh, where his own inclinations to devotion and solitude made him choose to reside, and went with her son into France."—(Ibid, p. 386.)

XV. THE WHITEFRIARS' MONASTERY.

THE following curious fact, relating to the Monastery of the Carmelite Friars, founded at Greenside, under the Calton Hill, in the year 1526, is appended in the form of a note to the description of this monastic order, in the third part of "Lectures on the Religious Antiquities of Edinburgh, by a Member of the Holy Guild of St Joseph" (p. 129), and is stated, we have reason to believe, on the authority of a well-known Scottish antiquary :—

"The humble brother of our Holy Guild who is now engaged in an endeavour to form a *Monasticon Scoticanum*, informs me, on undoubted authority, that the succession of the Priors of Greenside is still perpetuated in the Carmelite Convent at Rome, and his informant has seen the friar who bore the title of *Il Padre Priore di Greenside.*"

XVI. ST KATHERINE'S WELL.

THE marvellous history of the origin of this well (page 418) rests on very early authority. Boece gives the following account of both the well and chapel :—"Ab hoc oppido plus minus duobus passuum millibus, fons cui olei guttæ innatant, scatturit ea vi, ut si nihil inde collegeris, nihilo plus confluat; quamtumvis autem abstuleris nihilo minus remaneat. Natam esse aiunt effuso illic oleo Divæ Catherinæ, quod ad Divam Margaritam, ex Monte Sinai adferebatur. Fidem rei faciunt, Fonti nomen Divæ Catherinæ inditum, atque in ejusdem honorem sacellum juxta, Divæ Margaritæ jussu ædificatum. Valet hoc oleum contra varias cutis scabricies." Dr Turner thus describes the substance which forms the peculiar characteristic of this and similar wells :—

"Petroleum and Bitumen. Under these names are known certain natural tarry matters, more or less fluid, which have evidently resulted from the decomposition of wood or coal, either by heat or by spontaneous action under the surface of the earth. The most celebrated are those of Persia and the Birman empire, and of Amiano in Italy."—(Elements of Chemistry, seventh edition, p. 1182.)

The following analysis of the water of St Katherine's Well has been made expressly for this work, in the chemical laboratory of Dr George Wilson, F.S.A. :—"The water from St Katherine's Well contains, after filtration, in each imperial gallon, grs. 28.11 of solid matter, of which grs. 8.45 consists of soluble sulphates and chlorides of the earths and alkalies, and grs. 19.66 of insoluble calcareous carbonates."

XVII. CLAUDERO.

THE eccentric poet *Claudero* deserves special notice among the Memorials of Edinburgh in the olden time, as he has not only commemorated in his verse some of the most striking objects of the Old Town that have disappeared, but he appears to have been almost the sole remonstrant against their reckless demolition. James Wilson, the poet and satirist, who amused the citizens some eighty years ago with his humorous and somewhat coarse lampoons, was a native of Cumbernauld, some of whose characters form the subject of his verse. He was a cripple, in consequence, it is said, of the merciless beating he received from his own parish minister at Cumbernauld, where he had rendered himself an object of universal hatred or fear by his mischief-loving disposition. The account of this unwonted practice of clerical discipline, which is given in the Traditions of Edinburgh, states that the occasion of his lameness was a pebble thrown from a tree at the minister who, having been previously exasperated by his tricks, chased him to the end of a closed lane, and with his cane inflicted such personal chastisement, as rendered him a cripple, and a hater of the whole body of the clergy all the rest of his life. He went with a crutch under one arm, and a staff in the opposite hand ; one withered leg swinging entirely free from the ground. The poetical merits of Claudero's compositions are of no very high order, but it can hardly be doubted, notwithstanding, that all this youthful energy which rendered him so great a torment to the whole village and parish, might have been turned to some good account under gentler moral suasion than his Reverence of Cumbernauld applied with *the pastoral staff* to his unruly parishioner.

Claudero had the good sense to disarm his numerous enemies of the handle they might find in the satirist's own personal deformity, by being the first to laugh at himself. In his *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, published in 1766, and dedicated to the renowned Peter Williamson, he remarks in the author's preface :—"I am regardless of critics ; perhaps some of my lines want a foot ; but then, if the critic look sharp out, he will

find that loss sufficiently supplied in other places, where they have a foot too much ; and besides men's works generally resemble themselves—if the poems are lame, so is the author ! "

Claudero lived ostensibly by teaching a school, which he kept in an old tenement in the Cowgate, at the bottom of the High School Wynd. By his poetic effusions he contrived to eke out a precarious income, deriving no unfrequent additions to his slender purse, both by furnishing lampoons to his less witty fellow-citizens who desired to take their revenge on some offending neighbour by such means, and by engaging to suppress similar effusions, which he frequently composed on some of the rich but sensitive old burghers, who willingly feed him to secure themselves against such a public pillory. He latterly added to his *professional* income by performing *half-merk* marriages, an occupation which, no doubt, afforded him additional satisfaction, as he was thereby taking their legitimate duties out of the hands of his old enemies, the clergy.

Claudero, like other great men who have kept the world in awe, was himself subjected to a domestic rule sufficiently severe to atone to his bitterest enemies for the wrongs they suffered from his pen. His wife was an accomplished virago, whose shrewish tongue subdued the poetic fire of the poor satirist the moment he came within her sphere, though, probably with little increase to her own comfort. Like other poets' helpmates, she had, no doubt, frequent occasion to complain of an empty larder, and the shrill notes of her usual welcome often helped to send the not unwilling bard to some favourite *howf*, with its jolly circle of boon companions.

"The first piece in Claudero's collected poems is, "The Echo of the Royal Porch of the Palace of Holyrood-House, which fell under Military Execution, Anno 1753." From this it would appear that the military guardians of the Palace had been employed in this wanton act of destruction. The poet—or rather the Echo of the Old Porch—thus speaks of these "Sons of Mars, with black cockade :"—

" They do not always deal in blood ;
Nor yet in breaking human bones,
For Quixot-like they knock down stones.
Regardless they the mattock ply,
To root out Scots antiquity."

In the same vein the poet mourns the successive demolition of the most venerable antiquities of Edinburgh ; generally allowing the expiring relic to speak its own grievances. The following is the lament for the old City Cross, which, Claudero insinuates in the last line, was demolished lest its tattered and time-worn visage should shame the handsome polished front of the New Exchange ; and this idea is enlarged on in the piece with which it is followed up in the collection, entitled :—"The serious advice and exhortation of the Royal Exchange to the Cross of Edinburgh, immediately before its execution."

"*The Last Speech and Dying Words of the Cross of Edinburgh, which was hanged, drawn, and quartered, on Monday the 15th of March* 1756, *for the horrid Crime of being an Encumbrance to the Street:*—

Ye sons of Scotia, mourn and weep,
Express your grief with sorrow deep ;
Let aged sires be bath'd in tears,
And ev'ry heart be fill'd with fears ;
Let rugged rocks with grief abound,
And Echos multiply the sound;
Let rivers, hills, let woods and plains,
Let morning dews, let winds and rains,
United join to aid my woe,
And loudly mourn my overthrow.——
For *Arthur's Ov'n* and *Edinburgh Cross,*
Have, by new schemers, got a toss
We, heels o'er head, are tumbled down,
The modern taste is *London* town.

I was built up in *Gothic* times,
And have stood several hundred reigns;
Sacred my mem'ry and my name,
For kings and queens I did proclaim.
I peace and war did oft declare,
And roused my country ev'rywhere:
Your ancestors around me walk'd;
Your kings and nobles 'side me talk'd;
And lads and lasses, with delight,
Set tryst with me to meet at night;
No tryster e'er was at a loss,
For why, *I 'll meet you at the Cross.*
I country people did direct
Through all the city with respect,
Who missing me, will look as droll
As mariners without the pole.
On me great men have lost their lives,
And for a *maiden* left their wives.
Low rogues likeways oft got a peg
With turnip, ——, or rotten egg;
And when the mob did miss their butt,
I was bedaubed like any slut.
With loyal men, on loyal days,
I dress'd myself in lovely bays,
And with sweet apples treat the crowd,
While they huzza'd around me loud.

Professions many have I seen,
And never have disturbed been,
I 've seen the *Tory* party slain,
And *Whigs* exulting o'er the plain:
I 've seen again the *Tories* rise,
And with loud shouting pierce the skies,
Then crown their king, and chase the *Whig*
From *Pentland Hill* to *Bothwell Brig.*
I 've seen the cov'nants by all sworn,
And likewise seen them burnt and torn.
I neutral stood, as peaceful *Quaker,*
With neither side was I partaker.

I wish my life had longer been,
That I might greater ferlies seen;
Or else like other things decay,
Which Time alone doth waste away:
But since I now must lose my head,
I, at my last, this lesson read:
'Tho' wealth, and youth, and beauty shine,
And all the graces round you twine,
Think on your end, nor proud beave,
There 's nothing sure this side the grave.'

Ye jolly youths, with richest wine,
Who drunk my dirge, for your propine,
I do bequeath my lasting boon:
May heav'n preserve you late and soon:
May royal wine, in royal bowls,
And lovely women cheer your souls,

Till by old age you gently die,
To live immortal in the sky.

To own my faults I have no will,
For I have done both good and ill;
As to the crime for which I die,
To my last gasp, *Not guilty, I.*
But to this magisterial hate
I shall assign the pristine date.
When the intrepid, matchless Charles
Came here with many Highland Carls,
And o'er my top, in public sight,
Proclaim'd aloud his Father's Right;
From that day forth it was agreed,
That I should as a Rebel bleed;
And at this time they think it meet
To snatch my fabric off the street,
Lest I should tell to them once more
The tale I told ten years before.

At my destroyers bear no grudge,
Nor do you stain their mason-lodge,
Tho' well may all by-standers see
That better masons built up me.
The royal statue in the close
Will share the fate of me, poor Cross;
Heav'ns, earth, and seas, all in a range,
Like me, will perish for *Exchange.*"

Few civic events connected with the destruction of old, or the rearing of new buildings, escape the poet's notice. One poem records the repair of the Abbey Church; another mourns the rifling of its sepulchres; a third refers to the laying the foundation-stone of St Bernard's Mineral Well, 15th September 1760; while between these are lampoons and eulogies on old citizens, most of them long since forgotten. The fate of the Nether Bow Port, which he witnessed, forms the subject of some of his wittiest prose, in "A Sermon preached by Claudero, on the Condemnation of the Nether Bow Porch of Edinburgh, 9th July 1764, before a crowded audience." A brief extract from this will suffice for an example of his humour, which is the more curious, as what was then extravagant hyperbole, sounds now like the shrewdest foresight :—

"What was too hard for the great ones of the earth, yea even queens, to effect, is now, even now in our day, accomplished. No patriot duke opposeth the scheme, as did the great Argyll in the grand senate of our nation; therefore the project shall go into execution, and down shall Edina's lofty porches be hurled with a vengeance. —Streets shall be extended to the east, regular and beautiful, as far as the Frigate Whins, and Porto Bello shall be a lodge for the captors of tea and brandy. The city shall be joined to Leith on the North, and a procession of wise masons shall there lay the foundation of a spacious harbour. Pequin or Nanquin shall not be able to compare with Edina for magnificence. Our city shall be the greatest wonder of the world; and the fame of its glory shall reach the distant ends of the earth.

"No more shall the porch resound to the hammer of the cheerful Zaccheus; and his neighbours are bathed in tears at the overthrow of his well-tuned anvil.

"The Nether Bow coffee-house of the loyal Smieton can now no longer enjoy its ancient name with propriety; and from henceforth *The Revolution Coffeehouse* shall its name be called.

"Our gates must be extended wide for accommodating the gilded chariots, which, from the luxury of the age, are become numerous.—With an impetuous career they jostle against one another in our streets, and the unwary foot-passenger is in danger of being crushed to pieces.

"The loaded cart itself cannot withstand their fury, and the hideous yells of Coal Johnie resound through the vaulted sky.—The sour-milk barrels are overturned, and deluges of Corstorphine cream run down our strands, while the poor unhappy milk-maid wrings her hands with sorrow.

"Who, then, can blame the wise guardians of Edina, whose greatest care is the preservation of her people and the safety of her inhabitants?—Be hush, therefore, ye malevolent tongues, let sedition perish, and animosities be forgotten."

This is followed by a soliloquy of the old Port, narrating some facts in its own history not unworthy of being recorded:—

"*The Last Speech, Confession, and Dying Words, of the Nether Bow Porch of Edinburgh, which was exposed to roup and sale on Thursday, the 9th of August* 1764:—

"I was erected by King James VI. of ever-glorious memory, whose effigies was put upon my inside, and stood there, till demolished by *Cromwell* the Usurper. My inscription is as follows:—

Anag.
Aris excubo.
Jacobus Rex.
Non sic excubiæ, nec circumstantia pila,
Ut tutatur amor.—

Englished thus:—
Watch-tow'rs, and thund'ring walls, vain fences prove;
No guards to monarchs like their people's love.
Jacobus VI. Rex, Anna Regina, 1606.

"May my clock be struck dumb in the other world, if I lie in this; and may Mack, the reformer of *Edina's* lofty spires, never bestride my weathercock on high, if I deviate from truth in these my last words. Tho' my fabric shall be levelled with the dust of the earth, yet I fall in hope, that my Cock shall be exalted on some more modern dome, where it shall shine like the burnished gold, reflecting the rays of the sun to the eyes of ages unborn. The daring Mack shall yet look down from my Cock, high in the airy region, to the brandy shops below, where large grey-beards shall appear to him no bigger than mutchkin bottles, and mutchkin bottles shall be in his sight like the spark of a diamond.

"Many, alas! have been my crimes, but the greatest of all was, receiving the head of the brave Marquis of Montrose from the hands of dastardly miscreants," &c.

What the exact date or the incidents that marked the close of the poet's history were, we are not aware, though it is not very difficult to guess the probable career of such a worshipper at the shrines of Bacchus and the Muses. We learn from his poems that he visited London in 1765—if we are safe in drawing such inferences from any declaration of his verse. He seems to hint at a final abandonment of Edinburgh, its tasteless citizens being left free to get a bill for removing, not the Cross alone, but even King Charles's statue, the pride of the Scottish capital, from Parliament Close, without any one molesting them with remonstrance in prose or rhyme. All classes are represented as mourning the loss of this personification of virtue clad in satiric guise. There is no doubt, however, that he died at Edinburgh in 1789, after having been one of the most noted among the minor characters in its compact little community for upwards of thirty years. His ghost may address the bereaved capital on his final exit, in a verse of the "Epistle to Claudero, on his arrival at London, 1765:"—

"Now vice may rear her hydra's head,
And strike defenceless virtue dead;
Religion's heart may melt and bleed
With grief and sorrow,
Since satire from your streets is fled,
Poor Edinburrow!

XVIII. ST GILES'S CHURCH.

THE accompanying ground-plan of St Giles's Church is designed to illustrate the description of the successive additions to the ancient Parish Church of Edinburgh, given in the concluding chapter (pp. 377–394). It exhibits it as it existed previous to the alterations of 1829, and with the adjacent buildings which have been successively removed during the present century. We are indebted for the original drawing to the Rev. John Sime, chaplain of Trinity Hospital, whose ingenious model of the Old Church, with the Tolbooth, Luckenbooths, &c., has already been referred to.

REFERENCES TO THE GROUND-PLAN.

The light subdivisions between the pillars mark the party walls with which the ancient church was partitioned off into several places of worship. The large letters of reference in each mark the earliest sites of the pulpits. *H* shows the old position of Dr Webster's pulpit in the Tolbooth Church, from which it was removed about the year 1792 to its latter position against the south wall, in front of the old turnpike, now demolished. *K* indicates the site of the old pulpit of the High Kirk, from whence it was removed about the years 1775–80, to its present position in front of the great east window. Previous to this alteration, the king's seat projected in front of the pillar directly opposite the pulpit, so that his Majesty, or the successive representatives of royalty who occupied it, were within a convenient conversational distance of the preacher. This throws considerable light on the frequent indecorous colloquies that were wont to ensue between James VI. and the preachers in the High Kirk; and shows how very pointed and irritating to royalty must the rebukes and personalities have been, in which the divines of that day were accustomed to indulge, seated as his Majesty thus was *vis-a-vis* with his uncourtly chaplain, like a culprit on the stool of repentance. King James, however, used to bandy words with the preacher with a tolerably good-natured indifference to the dignity of the crown.

The following references will enable the reader to find without difficulty the chief objects of interest in St Giles's Church, alluded to in the course of the work :—

a The Preston, or Assembly Aisle, where the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland held its annual sessions previous to 1829.

b The Montrose Aisle.

c The Tomb of John, fourth Earl of Atholl.

d The Tomb of the Regent Murray.

e Door which stood always open during the day, approached by a flight of steps from the Parliament Close.

f Ancient Tomb (described on page 386), said to be that of William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, created Earl of Caithness by James II., in 1455. The whole of this chapel to the west of the buttress and centre pillar is now removed.

g The South Porch, built in 1387. The beautiful doorway has been rebuilt between the south pillars of the tower, as an entrance to the *Old Kirk*. Above this porch was the Painted Chamber (*vide* page 385), in which a number of ancient charters were discovered in 1829, which, with the turret staircase indicated in the plan, and the beautiful little dormer window that lighted the Priest's Chamber, all disappeared under the hands of the *restorers*.

h The five Chapels built in 1387. The two west ones are now demolished.

i The Pillar of the Albany Chapel (*vide* p. 388), decorated with the arms of Robert Duke of Albany, and the Earl of Douglas.

k The ancient North Porch, with fine Norman doorway, demolished about 1760. The room above, entered by the narrow turnpike stair indicated in the plan, was the place of confinement of Sir John Gordon of Haddo, in 1644. This, and the adjoining chapel to the east, are now entirely removed.

l A modern Doorway into Haddo's Hold Kirk, now built up.

m Modern North Doorway to the Old Kirk.

n Entrance to the old Belfry Turret, being a passage partitioned off from St Eloi's Chapel, nearly the whole site of which is now occupied with the new Belfry Turret.

o North Transept and Aisle, used as the City Clerk's Chambers.

p Opening under the Belfry.

q Modern North Entrances to the High Kirk, now built up.

r The Napier Tomb.

s Our Lady's Niche.

t Modern South Entrance to the High Kirk, now built up.

u Entrance to the Assembly Aisle.

v Old Kirk Style, or Stinking Style.

w Entrance to the Old Tolbooth, assaulted by the Porteous Mob in 1636, and now rebuilt at Abbotsford.

x Beth's or Bess Wynd.

y Covered Passage from the Tolbooth to Parliament Close, through the New Tolbooth or Council House.

It is not unworthy of notice here that the Town Council Records prove that the different chaplainries of St Giles's Church, were held long after the Reformation had pulled down the altars and abolished their services. In September 1620, "James Lennox is elected chaplain of the Chapelry of the Holy Rood and Holy Crose, in the Burgh Kirk Yard of Saint Giles." This, no doubt, refers to the chapel founded and endowed by Walter Chepman in 1528. Every vestige of the chapel had disappeared half a century before, and it is doubtful if even the lower churchyard, in which it had stood, was in existence at the date of this election; though it is probable that the "*Nether Kirkyard*" remained in use long after the upper yard had been abandoned as a place of sepulture. So late as March 4th, 1629, "John Yair is elected chaplane of St Ninean's Altar in the College Kirk of St Giles."

St Giles's Churchyard.—In Edgar's map of Old Edinburgh there is shown about the middle of Forrester's Wynd, on the east side, a small open court, which retained, till near the close of last century, distinct marks of having formed the entrance to the lower Churchyard of St Giles. It was pointed out as such early in the present century to the Rev. John Sime, by Mr Cunningham, the builder of Portobello Tower,—a fabric, wherein the chief sculptured stones and other relics of the ancient tenements demolished to make way for the South Bridge, have been preserved. Mr Cunningham described a curious piece of sculpture, emblematic of death, which appropriately decorated the lintel of the ancient gateway through which our forefathers were wont to be borne to their last resting-place. It is the same sculptured lintel, we have no doubt, which is thus alluded to in the Edinburgh Magazine for July 1800,—"A ng stone, on which was curiously sculptured a group resembling *Holbein's Dance of Death*, was some months ago discovered at the head of Forrester's Wynd, which, in former days was the western boundary of St Giles's High Churchyard. This relic was much defaced, and broken in two, by being carelessly tossed down by the workmen. It was a curious piece. Amid other musicians who brought up the rear, was angel playing on the Highland bagpipe,—a national conceit, which appears also on the entablature of one of the pillars of the supremely elegant Gothic chapel at Roslin." We look in vain now for this singular specimen of early Scottish art, where it should have been preserved, in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Oak Coffins.—A description is given (page 330), of the discovery of oaken coffins on the site of the

lower churchyard, in 1844; the following notices of the Town Council Records, indicates the date and reason of their disuse. An Act of Council, September 30th, 1618, "Discharges Oak Kists to be made for burials of the deceased persones within the Brough." This, however, must have met with very slight attention, the ancient usages in reference to the burial of the dead being in all countries and states of society the most difficult to eradicate. Another Act of the Town Council, in February 1635, prohibits the *Oak Kists* being brought to the Greyfriars' Churchyard, "The-burial place in Greyfriars being scarce capable of the dead bodies occasioned through Wainscott Kists." Even this failed in securing sufficient room for the dead, and an Act of Town Council, dated 1st April 1636, provides for the augmentation of the Greyfriars' burial-ground.

XIX. ANCIENT LODGINGS.

A FEW additional notices of some value, regarding some of the ancient mansions referred to in the course of the work, are introduced here, having been overlooked when preparing the Text, or only discovered when too late to insert in their proper places.

WINTOUN HOUSE.—The site of the ancient mansion of the Earls of Wintoun is described on page 303. The following notice of it appears in the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, a very curious collection of contemporary records of the sixteenth century, printed by the Bannatyne Club, the practical value of which is greatly abridged by the want of an index:—"Vpon the xiij day of Februar, the zeir of God foirsaid, *Henrie lord Dernlie*, eldest sone to Matho erle of Lennox, come to Edinburgh be post fra Ingland, and wes lugeit in my lord Seytouns lugeing in the Cannongait besyid Edinburgh."—(Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 79.)

CARDINAL BEATON'S HOUSE.—From the following notices it will be seen that the ancient tenement which stood till lately in the Cowgate, at the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd, was the scene of the first festivities in Edinburgh after the arrival of Queen Mary, and was, not long after, honoured by her own presence, with the chief nobles of her court:—

"Vpoun the xix day of August lxj, Marie, quene of Scottis, our souerane ladie, arryvit in the raid of Leith at sex houris in the mornyng, accumpanyit onlie with tua gallionis; and thair come with hir in cumpany monsieur Domell, the grand pryour, monsieur marques [d'Elbeuf], the said quenes grace moder broder, togidder with monsieur Danguill [d'Amville], second sone to the constable of France, with certane vther nobill gentilmen; and at ten houris the samen day, hir hienes landit vpoun the schoir of Leith, and remanit in Andro Lambis hous be the space of ane hour, and thairefter wes convoyit vp to hir palice of Halyrudhous.

"Vpoun the xxiiij day of August, quhilk wes Sonday, the quenes grace causit say mes in hir hienes chappell within hir palace of Halyrudhous, quhairat the lordis of the congregatioun wes grittumlie annoyit.

"*Vpoun the last day of August lxj, the toun of Edinburgh maid the banket to monsieur Domell, the grand pryour, marques, and monsieur Danguill, in ane honourable maner, within the lugeing sumtyme pertenying to the cardinall.*

"Vpoun the first day of September, the said monsieur Domell depairtit, with the twa gallionis quhilk brocht the quenes grace hame to France, and his broder remanit in Scotland.

"Vpoun the secund day of September lxj, the quenes grace maid hir entres in the burgh of Edinburgh on this maner. Her hienes depairtit of Halyrudhous, and raid be the lang gait on the north syid of the said burgh, vnto the tyme scho come to the castell, quheir wes ane zet maid to hir, at the quhilk scho, accumpanijt with the maist pairt of the nobilitie of Scotland except my lord duke and his sone, come in and raid vp the castell bank to the castell, and dynit thairin; and quhen sho had dynit at tuelf houris, hir hienes come furth of the said

castell towart the said burgh, at quhilk depairting the artailzerie schot vehementlie. And thairefter, quhen sho was rydand down the castellhill, thair met her hienes ane convoy of the zoung mene of the said burgh, to the nomber of fyftie, or thairby, thair bodeis and theis coverit with zeallow taffateis, thair armes and leggs fra the kne doun bair, cullorit with blak, in maner of Moris, vpon thair heiddes blak hattis, and on thair faces blak visouris, in thair mowthis rings, garnesit with intellable precious stanes, about thair neckkis, leggis and armes infynit of chenis of gold; togidder with saxtene of the maist honest men of the toun, cled in velvet gownis and velvet bonettis, berand and gangand about the paill wnder the quhilk her hienes raid; quhilk paill wes of fyne purpour velvet lynit with reid taffateis, freinziet with gold and silk; and efter thame wes ane cart with certane bairnes, togidder with ane coffer quhairin wes the copburd and propyne quhilk suld be propynit to hir hienes; and quhen hir grace come fordwart to the butter trone of the said burgh, the nobilitie and convoy foirsaid precedand, at the quhilk butter trone thair was ane port made of tymber, in maist honourable maner, cullorit with fyne cullouris, hungin with syndrie armes; vpon the quhilk port wes singand certane barneis in the maist hevinlie wyis; vnder the quhilk port thair wes ane cloud opynnand with four levis, in the quhilk was put ane bony barne. And quhen the quenes hienes wes cumand throw the said port, the said clonde opynnit, and the barne discendit doun as it had bene ane angell, and deliuerit to her hienes the keyis of the toun, togidder with ane bybill and ane psalme buik, coverit with fyne purpourit velvet; and efter the said barne had spoken some small speitches, he deliuerit alsua to her hienes thre writtingis, the tennour thairof is vncertane. That being done, the barne ascendit in the cloud, and the said clud stekit; and thairefter the quenis grace come doun to the tolbuith, at the quhilk was twa skaffattis, ane abone and ane vnder that; vpone the vnder was situat ane fair wirgin, callit Fortoune, vnder the quhilk was thrie fair virgynnis, all cled in maist precious attyrement, callit [Peace] Justice and Policie. And efter ane litell speitche maid thair, the quenis grace come to the croce, quhair thair was standand four fair virgynnis, cled in the maist hevenlie clething, and fra the quhilk croce the wyne ran out at the spouttis in greit abundance; thair wes the noyiss of pepill casting the glassis with wyne. This being done, our sonerane ladie come to the salt trone, quhair thair wes sum spekaris; and efter ane litell speitche, thaj brunt vpoun the skaffet maid at the said trone, the maner of ane sacrifice; and swa that being done, sho depairtit to the nether bow, quhair thair wes ane vther skaffet maid, havand ane dragoun in the samyn, with some speiches; and efter that the dragoun was brynt, and the quenis grace hard ane psalme song, hir hienes past to hir abbay of Halyrudhous with the said convoy and nobilities; and thair the bairneis quhilk was in the cairt with the propyne maid some speitche concernyng the putting away of the mess, and thairefter sang ane psalme; and this being done, the cart come to Edinburgh, and the said honest men remaynit in her vtter chalmer, and desyred hir grace to ressaue the said copeburd, quhilk wes donble ourgilt; the price thairof wes ij^{m} merkis; quha ressauit the samyne, and thankit thame theirof. And sua the honest men and convoy come to Edinburgh."

"And vpoun the nynt day of Februar at evin, the quenis grace and the remanent lordis come up in ane honourabill maner fra the palice of Halyrudnous, *to the cardinallis ludging in the Blak Freir Wynd*, quhilk wes preparit and hung maist honourable; and thair hir hienes sowpit and the rest with her; and efter supper the honest young men in the toun come with ane convoy to hir, and vther sum come with merschance, weill accouterit in masry, and thairefter depairtit to the said palice. And the samyn nycht Thomas Grahame, comptroller to the quenis grace, decessit in the cunsie hous besyid Halyrudhous."

First Coach in Scotland.—The following incidental notice in the "Memorie of the Somervilles," may be inserted here, as bearing on the same period of Queen Mary's arrival in Scotland.—"Abont Ten o'clock the Regent [Morton] went to the House, which was the same which is now the Tolbuith Church, in Coach. Ther was non with him but the Lord Boyd, and the Lord Somervill. This was the second Coach that came to Scotland. The first being brought by Alexander, Lord Seatone, when Queen Mary came from France."

Bailie Macmorran's House, Riddle's Close.—If the following notice in Birrel's Diary refers to the old mansion still standing in Riddle's Close, Lawnmarket (described on page 168), of which there can scarcely be

any reasonable doubt entertained, it shows that both King James VI. and his Queen, Anne of Denmark, have been entertained there by the Magistrates of the city, in the palmy days of Old Edinburgh :—"1598, May 2.—The 2 of Maii, the Duck of Holsten got ane banquet in M^cMorran's ludging, given by the toune of Ed^r. The Kings M. and the Queine being both y^r ther wes grate solemnitie and mirrines at the said banquet."—(Fragment of Scottish History, Diary, p. 46.)

Queensberry House.—In a foot-note at page 298, it is suggested that Queensberry House occupies the site of a mansion built by the celebrated Lord Halton, afterwards Earl of Lauderdale, in 1681. The following entry in Fountainhall's Decisions, omitted, like many other of the old Judge's curious details, in the printed folio, proves that the house is the same which was built by Lord Halton, and afterwards disposed of to the first Duke of Queensberry :—

"21 Junij 1686.—By a letter from his Majesty, Queensberry is laid asyde from all his places and offices, as his place in the Treasurie, Privy Counsell, Session, &c., and desired not to goe out of Toune, till he cleared his accounts. So he bought Lauderdale's House in the Cannongate."

XX. THE PILLORY.

Branding and Mutilating.—The strange and barbarous punishments recorded both by old diarists, and in the Scottish criminal records, as put in force at the Cross or Tron of Edinburgh, afford no inapt illustration of the gradual and very slow abandonment of the cruel practices of uncivilised times. In the sixteenth century, burning or branding on the cheeks, cutting off the ears, and the like savage mutilations were adjudged for the slightest crimes or misdemeanors. On the 5th May 1530, for example, "William Kar oblissis him that he sall nocht be sene into the fische merkat, nother byand nor selland fische, vnder the pane of cutting of his lug and bannasing of the toune, bot gif he haif ane horse of his aune till bring fische to the merket till sell vniuersale as vther strangearis dois till our Souerane Lordis legis."—(Acts and Statutes of the Burgh of Edinburgh, Mait. Misc., vol. ii. p. 101.) At this period the Greyfriars or Bristo Port appears to have been a usual scene for such judicial terrors. On the 1st July 1530, "Patrick Gowanlok, fleschour, duelland in the Abbot of Melrosis lugying within this toune," is banished the town for ever, under pain of death, for harbouring a woman infected with the pestilence; "And at the half of his moveable gudis be applyit to the common workis of this toune for his defalt, And als that his seruand woman callit Jonet Gowane, quhilk is infekkit, for hir conceling the said seiknes, and passand in pilgrimage, scho haiffand the pestilens apone hir that scho salbe brynt on baith the cheikis and bannist this toune for ever vnder the pane of deid. *And quha that lykis till see justice execute in this mater, that thai cum to the Grayfrier port incontinent quhar thai sall se the samyn put till executioun.*"—(Ibid, p. 106.)

Drowning.—Of a different nature is the following scene enacted in the year 1530, without the Greyfriar's Port, which was then an unenclosed common on the outskirts of the Borough Muir, and remained in that state till it was included within the precincts of the latest extension of the town walls in 1618. Drowning in the North Loch, and elsewhere, was a frequent punishment inflicted on females. "The quhilk day Katryne Heriot is convict be ane assise for the thiftus steling and conseling of twa stekis of bukrum within this tovne, and als of commoun theift, and als for the bringing of this contagius seiknes furth of Leith to this toune, and brekin of the statutis maid tharapone, For the quhilk causes *scho is adiuyit to be drounit in the Quarell hollis at the Grayfrere port, now incontinent*, and that wes gevin for dome."—(Ibid, p. 113.) The workmen engaged in draining the ancient bed of the North Loch in the spring of 1820, discovered a large coffin of thick fir deals,

containing apparently the skeletons of a man and two women; which, says Mr Skene, in narrating the discovery, "Corresponds singularly with the fact of a man of the name of Sinclair, and two sisters, with both of whom he was convicted of having committed incest, being drowned in the North Loch in the year 1628."—(Archæologia Scotica, vol. ii. p. 474.)

Boring Perjurers' Tongues.—The Acts of Sederunt of the Court of Session abound with evidence of similar cruel practices of early times. On the 13th June 1561, Mongo Steivenston convicted of being "perjurett and mainsworn," is ordered to be punished "be persing throw the toung, and escheiting all his movabill guds to our Soverane Lady's use," and the Provost and Magistrates are required to proceed forthwith to the Market Cross, and put the same in execution. In another case of supposed perjury, on the 29th June 1579, the King's advocate produces a royal warrant for examining "Iohne Souttar, notar, and Robert Carmylie, vicar of Ruthwenis; and for the mair certane tryale of the veritie in the said matter, to put thaim in the buttis, geuis, or ony uther tormentis, and thairby to urge thaim to declair the treuth."

Another era was that of the Douglas wars, when the highest crime that could be committed by the peasantry of the Lothians, was the carrying provisions to the beleaguered capital; and accordingly many poor men, and a still greater number of women, were mutilated and hanged, simply for being caught bringing coals, salt, or garden stuffs, to Edinburgh. Coming down, however, to more recent and peaceful times, we find similar modes of punishment adopted in the seventeenth century. In the Acts of Sederunt, 6th February 1650, "The Lords found John Lawsone, indwellar in Leith, to be a false lying witnes, and alse ane false informer of an assize; and ordaines him to be set upon the Trone ane hour, and his tongue to be bored with ane yrone, and thereafter to be dismissed. And in lyke manner find John Rob to be ane false informer of witnesses; and ordain him to be set upon the Trone, and his lugg to be nailed to the Trone be the space of ane hour, and thereafter to be dismissed. And declares both the persons forsaids to be *infamous* in all tyme coming; and their haill moveables to be escheat to his Majestie's use."

Commonwealth Punishments.—Towards the close of the year 1650, an entire change took place in the administration of justice, by the transfer of the government to the nominees of Cromwell and of the English Parliament. Their rule is generally allowed to have been impartial, but the modes of punishment in use continued to be of the same character as we have already described. Nicoll remarks in his Diary for December 1651 (p. 69):—"It wes observed, that in the Englische airmy thair wes oftymes guid discipline aganes drunkiness, fornicatioun, and uncleanes; quhipping fornicatouris, and geving thame thrie doukis in the sea, and causing drunkardis ryd the trie meir, with stoppis and muskettis tyed to thair leggis and feit a paper on thair breist, and a drinking cop in thair handis; and by schuitting to death sindrie utheris quha haid committed mutinie."

The next entry we shall quote from the old diarist introduces us to a new crime, brought about by the political changes of that eventful period, and for which we find a novelty introduced in the mode of punishing that unruly member, *the Tongue*:—"Last of September 1652.—Twa Englisches, for drinking the Kingis helth, war takin and bund to the gallous at Edinburgh Croce, quhair ather of thame resavit threttie nyne quhipes upon thair naiked bakes and shoulderis, thaireftir thair lugges wer naillit to the gallous. The ane haid his lug cuttit from the ruitt with a resoure; the uther being also naillit to the gibbit, haid his mouth skobit, and his tong being drawn out the full lenth, was bund togidder betuix twa stickes hard togidder with ane skainzie threid the space of half ane hour or thairby."

One or two more notices from the same gossipping chronicle of the seventeenth century will suffice to illustrate the tender mercies of the Commonwealth rule in Edinburgh:—

"26 Marche 1655.—Mr Patrik Maxwell, ane arrant decevar, wes brocht to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, quhair a pillorie wes erectit, gairdit and convoyed with a company of sodgeris; and thair, eftir ane full houris

standing on that pillorie, with his heid and handis lyand out at hoilis cuttit out for that end, his rycht lug was cuttit af; and thaireftir careyit over to the toun of St Johnnestoun, quhair ane uther pillorie wes erectit, on the quhilk the uther left lug wes cuttit af him. The caus heirof was this; that he haid gevin out fals calumneis and leyis aganes Collonell Daniell, governour of Peirth. Bot the treuth is, he was ane notorious decevar and ane intelligencer, sumtyme for the Englisches, uther tymes for the Scottis, and decevand both of thame: besyde mony uther prankis quhilk wer tedious to writt."

"Last of Apryle 1655.—The Marschellis man, quha wes apoynted to haif cuttit Mr Patrik Maxwell haill lug, bot being buddit [bribed] did onlie cutt af a pairt of his lug, was thairfoir this day brocht to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, and set upone the pillarie, and thair his lug boirit for not obeying his commissioun in that poynt."

"23 Marche 1657.—Thair wes ane Englische sodger bund naikit to the gallous of Edinburgh, and first scourgit, and thaireftir his lugges naillit to the gallous by the space of ane hour or thairby, and thaireftir his lugges cuttit out of his heid for cunzieing and forging two halff crounes. The quhich two half crounes war festned and naillit to the gibit, quhair they remayne to this day."

These are only the minor punishments inflicted on offenders. The same annalist records hanging and burning for more heinous crimes, with painful frequency; proving either a period of unusual depravity, or of unwonted strictness in searching after secret offences that are now scarcely ever heard of before our criminal courts.

The mode of public pillory, by nailing the offender's ear to the Tron, continued in use in the eighteenth century, though it was latterly only resorted to for the punishment of graver offenders, others being simply exposed, with a label affixed to them publishing their infamy. On the 24th July 1700, as appears by the Acts of Sederunt, John Corse of Corsemlin was convicted of using a vitiated bond, the same having been altered with his knowledge, "and therefore the Lords ordain the said John to be sent to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and from thence on Friday next, before eleven o'clock in the forenoon, to be taken by the hands of the common hangman to the Tron, and there to have his ear nailed to the Tron and to stand so nailed till twelve hours strike, and to have these words in great letters fixed on his breast, as he goes down the street, and upon the Tron, *For his knowledge of, and using a vitiate bond.*"

Nose Pinching.—The following notices of a still later date show the same process of nailing continued, with the addition of an entirely novel means of torture, called Nose Pinching. This, we presume, must have been effected by screwing some instrument like a hand-vice on the nose, which, in addition to the acute pain it inflicted, must have presented a singularly ludicrous appearance to the by-standers, as the culprit stood nailed to the post with his *pincher* dangling from his nose, hugging as it were the instruments of his torture. The following notices are extracted from a "List of Precedents excerpte from the Records of Warrands to vouch the use and exercise of the Town of Edinburgh's Jurisdiction of Sheriffship by the Lord Provost and Baillies."

"29 October 1723.—The trial and process against James Stewart, alias M'Pherson, a vagrant thief, whipt and sent to the Correction House for life."

"28 December 1726.—The trial against George Melvil, notour thief; set on the trone, and his nose pinch'd."

"17 October 1727.—The trial against David Allison for theft. Pillar'd, pinch'd in the nose, and sent to the Correction House."

"29 March 1728.—The trial against Jean Spence, notour thief; pillar'd, her lug nailed, and her nose pinched."

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INDEX.

[In Part I. of this Work, the incidents are related in chronological order; and in Part II. (p. 119), according to a systematic arrangement indicated in the headings of the several Chapters. By a reference to the Contents, any historical event, or the description of a particular locality, may be readily found. The Index is intended as a guide to incidental notices throughout the volume; and, to render it more complete, all noblemen mentioned merely by their titles in the course of the work, are here distinguished from one another by their proper names, and other individuals generally by some distinctive title or description.]

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